The Western Yugur (Yellow Uygur) Language.

Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary.

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One learns as long as one lives and still dies a fool
(Bulgarian proverb)

Preface

The Western Yugur (or Yellow Uygur) language is a Turkic language, spoken by a small community of some 4,600 people, living in the province of Gānsù in China. Western Yugur is an unwritten language. The Western Yugur are part of the Yugur nationality, one of China's 56 recognized nationalities.

This study presents a concise description of the grammar, a small corpus of texts, as well as a vocabulary with etymological notes.

The phonemic system of the Western Yugur language has eight vowels and twenty eight consonants. Obstruents display an opposition of aspiration versus non-aspiration, and affricates and fricatives between retroflexion and alveolo-palatality, as in Chinese. Also operating within the system as a distinguishing feature is the phenomenon of preaspiration. Vowel harmony, otherwise typical of the Turkic languages, is operative in a limited set of suffixes only.

The morphology of Western Yugur is based on agglutination by means of suffixes, as in other Turkic languages.

Nouns are inflected for number, possession, and case. The possessive system, however, has been abraded considerably. There are six cases; three spatial clitics may be regarded as newly developing case suffixes. Western Yugur is the only Turkic language that has preserved the anticipating counting system to some extent.

Verbs are inflected for tense, aspect and mood. In contrast to many other Turkic languages, Western Yugur does not have personal markers on the verb, except for the imperative. Several Western Yugur paradigms have grammaticalized the notion of evidentiality, reminiscent of the Tibetan verbal paradigm.

Thus, these paradigms comprise an evidential and a non-evidential form; the evidential expresses an action that happens without the speaker controlling it ('accidentally, it turned out that'), or an action that is non-volitional. The second and third person take the evidential form by default, and the first person the non-evidential form. Disjunct use of the evidential (e.g. a first person taking the evidential, or a second or third person taking the base form) marks special circumstances with regard to the control of the action by the speaker.

Furthermore, there are converbal and participle (nominalizing) suffixes. Suffixes expressing aktionsart usually have arisen as a fusion product of a converb and following verb.

The Western Yugur language can be classified as belonging to the Northeastern Turkic languages, a periferal group that has retained some archaic features. Most notable are the retention in some way of Common Turkic **d*, and the correspondence between Western Yugur preaspiration, Tuva and Tofa pharyngealization, and Yakut short vowels, while absence of preaspiration and pharyngealization corresponds to Yakut long vowels.

Currently, Western Yugur is under strong influence of the Chinese language. There is a large influx of Chinese loanwords, at the expense of the vernacular lexicon and older Tibetan and Mongolic loanwords. Calquing from Chinese is frequent.

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1. Introduction

1.1. The Yugur people

The Yugur ('Yellow Uygur') are one of China's 56 officially recognized nationalities, consisting of 12,297 persons according to the 1990 census. The Yugur live primarily in Gānsù Province, in Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County. This County, the capital of which is called Hóngwānsì Town, was established 20 February 1954, and is subordinate to Zhāngyé Prefecture. A small number of the Yugur live in Huángníbǎo Yugur Township, which is subordinate to Jiǔquán City. The Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County's area is about 24,007 square kilometres, and consists of three parts which are not contiguous: both Mínghuā District, situated in the plains, and the mountainous Huángchéng District are separated from the main body of the County[1].

The total population of Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County numbers 35,500 people, about half of whom are Chinese; the Yugur people number 8,820, and the Tibetans 8,390; a small number of Hui, Monguor and Mongols are resident in this County as well. The Yugur living in Huángníbǎo Yugur Township number 924, constituting about half of the Township's total population of 1629[2].

The Yugur live in an area where four different language groups, Turkic, Mongolic, Chinese and Tibetan converge. The Yugur nationality itself consists in fact of four linguistically different groups.

The largest of these groups are the Turkic speaking Western Yugur (in Chinese: Xībù Yùgù), comprising about 4,600[3] persons; they mainly live in the western part of the County, in Dàhé and Mínghuā Districts, especially within the latter's Mínghǎi and Liánhuā Townships[4]. Mínghǎi Township, which is the most isolated of the two, is considered to have preserved the Western Yugur language best; Liánhuā Township is situated closer to Jiǔquán City, where Chinese is spoken. An older name for Mínghǎi is Dōnghǎizi ('Eastern Lake'), and for Liánhuā Xīhǎizi (Western Lake').

The Mongolic speaking Eastern Yugur (in Chinese: Dōngbù Yùgù) number about 2,800[5]; they mainly live in the County's eastern part, in Hóngshíwō and Qīnglóng Townships in Kānglè District, and in Běitān and Dōngtān Townships in Huángchéng District[6].

[1] Cf Yáng et al. 1993: 101-103.

[2] Figures from Yáng et al. 1993: 103, 581, based on the 1990 census.

[3] All estimates according to Chén & Léi 1985: 1, based on the 1982 census which mentions a total number of 10,569 Yugur. Both the 1982 and the 1990 census do not distinguish between the different linguistic groups of the Yugur.

[4] Cf Tenišev 1976: 4, Chén & Léi 1985: 1.

[5] Cf Chén & Léi 1985: 1; J̌uunast 1981: 1 estimates that the number of Turkic, Mongolic and Chinese speaking Yugur is more or less equal. He does not account for the Tibetan speaking Yugur.

[6] Cf J̌uunast 1981: 1; Tenišev 1976: 4 mentions Kānglè and Mǎtì Districts as main places of residence of the Eastern Yugur.

Population of the Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County

	total	Yugur	Chinese	Tibetan	Hui	Monguor	Mongol
total	35500	8825	16976	8393	614	356	316
Hóngwānsì	5637	1193	3568	754	48	38	24
Huángchéng							
Běitān	1504	456	818	168	49	2	11
Dōngtān	2052	578	1333	36	100	4	
Huájiān	1509	29	928	477	33	38	
Mǎyíng	650	419	215	16			
Yāngxiáng	1693	4	236	1340	11	101	1
Mǎtí							
Dàquángōu	1974	8	1442	524			
Dàdōumá	2034	21	1142	815	8	35	13
Xīshǔi	1257	14	217	1004	20		2
Kānglè							
Báiyín	831	28	556	29	9		218
Hóngshíwō	1655	1156	404	45	4	8	38
Qīnglóng	1456	267	889	98	146	55	
Yánggē	524	380	108	24	11		1
Dàhé							
Jiǔcàigōu	1729	1103	561	28	32	1	4
Lǎmawān	1149	74	1038		29	8	
Shǔiguān	618	336	170	111	1		
Xuěquán	2306	618	1404	121	100	63	
Mínghuā							
Mínghǎi	1052	1002	47	1			1
Liánhuā	890	779	93	17			1
Qiántān	476	307	167	1		1	
Qífēng							
Qílián	1088	3	77	1007		1	
Qílín	654	7	67	580			
Qíwén	1181	40	374	760	4	1	2
Qíqing	485		40	440	4		
nomads	1096	3	1082	6	5		

Distribution of the nationalities within Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County, according to its six Districts and their respective subordinate Townships (cf Yáng et al. 1993: 106).

A limited number of the Yugur living in Dàhé and Huángchéng Districts is bilingual in both Western and Eastern Yugur[7].

A very small number of the Yugur living in Huángchéng District speak Tibetan[8]. They are most likely Tibetans who married into the Yugur community, especially into the Mongolic speaking part, as they consider themselves as belonging to the Eastern Yugur[9].

The remaining Yugur of the Autonomous County, living mainly in Qiántān Township in Mínghuā District and in Jīnzitān and Xīchéng Villages in Mǎyíng Township of Huángchéng District, and the Yugur of Huángníbǎo Yugur Township, lost their respective Yugur language and speak Chinese[10]. Chinese is the language of contact between the different linguistic groups, and functions as written medium. Both Western and Eastern Yugur are unwritten languages.

The Western Yugur's autonym is *yoɣïr* or *sarïɣ yoɣïr* (*sarïɣ* 'yellow', *yoɣïr* 'Yugur'). It is uncertain whether the designation 'yellow' refers to the Buddhist-Lamaist religion, which the Yugur traditionally adhered to. The Western Yugur living in the plains of Mínghuā District designate themselves as *oy kïsï* (*oy* 'steppe', *kïsï* 'person'), and they designate the Eastern Yugur as *tʰaɣ kïsï* (*tʰaɣ* 'mountain')[11]. The Western Yugur call the Tibetans *taʰt*[12]. The same designation *taʰt* is currently used for the the Eastern Yugur. The Western Yugur denote the language of the Mongolic speaking Eastern Yugur as *ïŋkar*[13]. They call the Muslim Uygur and Hui *sart*[14].

The Eastern Yugur's autonym is *šėra yɔʁɔr* (*šėra* 'yellow', *yɔʁɔr* 'Yugur')[15]. The Mongolic speaking Yugur designated the Turkic speaking Yugur as *qara yögür*[16] (*qara* 'black'), but this designation is not confirmed in modern sources.

The Tibetans considered the Yugur as Mongols, designating them as *hor*, the Turkic speaking Yugur as *hor* (*gur*) *nag* ('black (tent) Mongols'), and the Mongolic speaking Yugur as *hor* (*gur*) *ser* ('yellow (tent) Mongols')[17].

[7] Cf Chén & Léi 1985: 1, J̌uunast 1981: 1.

[8] Cf Chén & Léi 1985: 1; Tenišev 1962: 59-60, and 1965: 647 reports a total of 4000 Yugur, of whom 2000 Turkic, 1500 Mongolic, 400 Chinese, and 200 Tibetan speaking (figures of 1953); he mentions a place called Yugej, close to lake Kuku Nor as the place of residence of the latter.

[9] Cf Tenišev 1962: 60.

[10] Cf Tenišev 1976: 4, Chén & Léi 1985: 1, J̌uunast 1981: 1.

[11] Tenišev 1976: 3 mentions the terms *oylïɣ* 'steppe dweller' and *tʰaɣlïɣ* 'mountain dweller'.

[12] Cf Tenišev 1976: 3, Chén & Léi 1985: 37; according to the latter, the Tibetan speaking Yugur are also designated by the term *taʰçoɣur* < *taʰt yoɣur*.

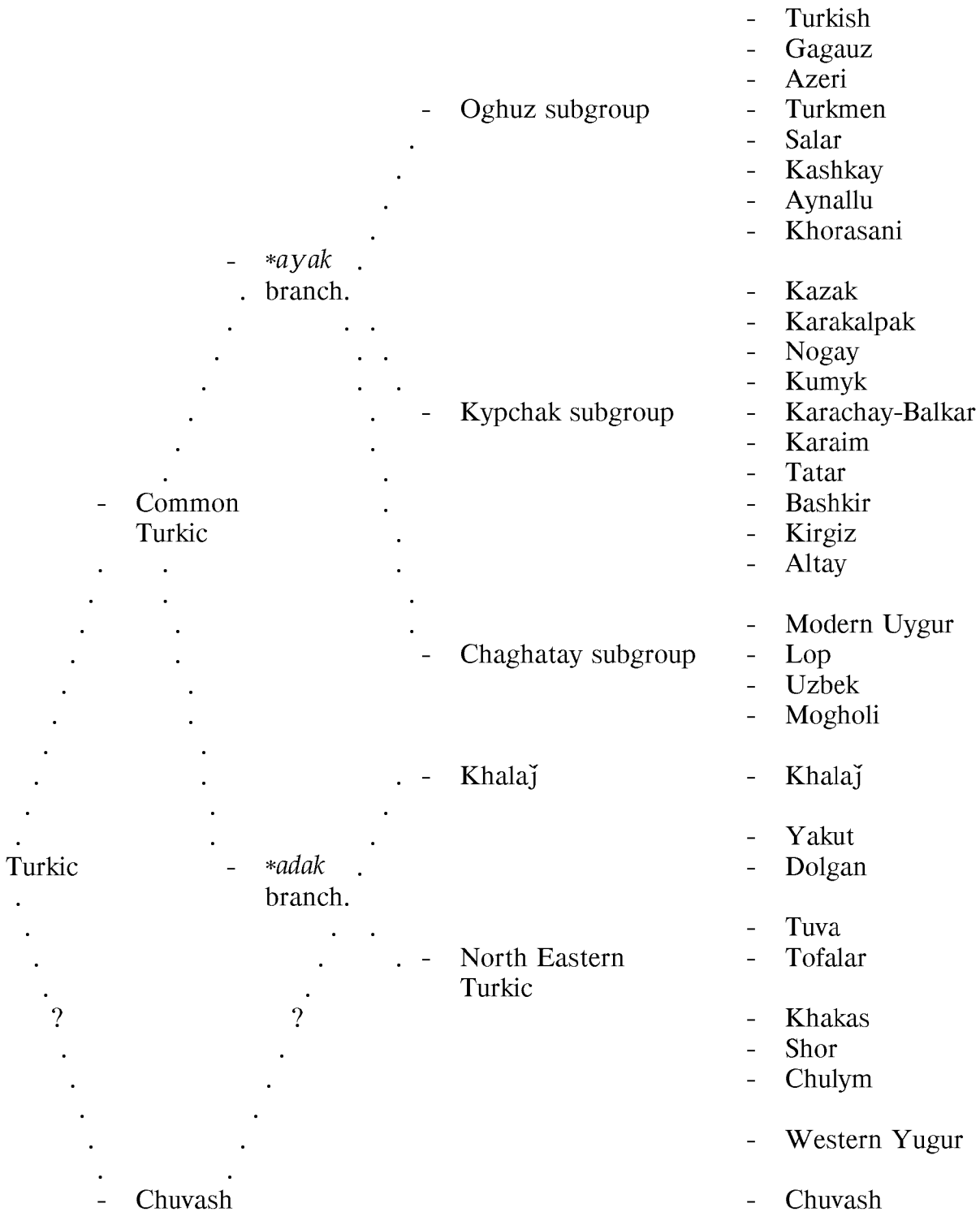
[13] Cf Chén & Léi 1985: 2.

[14] Malov 1957: 18a and Tenišev 1976: 3 mention the term *arïq* meaning 'Chinese; Muslim Turk'; it is more likely that *arïq* refers to the local Tibetan population and language, cf Literary Tibetan a-rig 'name of a country of nomad herdsmen situated to the west of Amdo' (Das 1991: 1346a).

[15] Cf Chén & Léi 1985: 2.

[16] Cf Potanin 1893: 440, Mannerheim 1911: 32, Hermanns 1940: 80; this ethnonymic problem is further discussed by Clark (forthcoming).

[17] Hermanns 1940: 80; cf Western Yugur *xor* (Tenišev 1962: 64) and Eastern Yugur *χɔr* (Bolčuluu 1984: 159) 'a Yugur clan name' ←Literary Tibetan Hor 'a Mongol' (Jäschke 1958: 598a), 'a herdsman of Northern Tibet' (Das 1991: 1330a), Amdo Tibetan *xor* 'Turk of Central Asia, Mongol' (Roerich 1958: 157), *hor* 'Monguor' (Mǐn & Gěng 1992: 486).



Classification of the Turkic languages.

An older Chinese name for the Yugur was Huángfān (huáng 'yellow', fān 'foreigner, barbarian')[18]. Today, the official designation of the nationality is Yugur (in Chinese: Yùgù), coined on the basis of the autonyms *yoɣïr* and *yɔʁɔr*.

It is difficult to determine when exactly the Western and Eastern Yugur peoples came to live together in the same area. The Western Yugur are considered to be the descendants of a group of Uygurs that fled southwards to Gānsù[19] after the collapse of the Uygur Empire in 840 A.D. The Eastern Yugur are most likely the descendants of one of the Mongolic speaking groups invading northern China during the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century[20]. During the Míng dynasty (1368-1644) the Gānsù area eventually came under the sovereignty of China, and the Western and Eastern Yugur peoples were settled on the border of the Chinese Empire. From this it may be conjectured that the Yugur people have been living together for about six centuries.

1.2. The Western Yugur language

1.2.1. The classification of Western Yugur

Western Yugur can be classified as belonging to the Northeastern Turkic languages, together with Khakas and its sister languages Shor and Chulym, Tuva and its sister language Tofalar, and Yakut and its sister language Dolgan. Together with Khalaǰ (and perhaps also Chuvash), the Northeastern Turkic languages constitute the **adak* branch of Turkic languages[21]. This branch is characterized by the retention of a reflex of Common Turkic[22] **d*, either as *d* (Khalaǰ, Tuva and Tofalar), as *t* (Yakut and Dolgan), or as *z* (Western Yugur, Khakas, Shor, and Chulym)[23], as opposed to the **ayak* branch which developed Common Turkic **d* > *y*.

Mostly for geographical reasons, Western Yugur has sometimes been considered a dialect of Modern Uygur, together with Salar. Salar and Modern Uygur, however, both belong to the **ayak* branch of Turkic languages, Salar to the Oghuz subgroup[24] and Modern Uygur to the Chaghatay subgroup.

[18] Cf Potanin 1893: 440, Mannerheim 1911: 5, Hermanns 1940: 80; this name is analogous to Hēifān (hēi 'black'), the designation for the Tibetans.

[19] For the older history of the Uygur of Gānsù, cf Hamilton 1955, Pinks 1968, and Yang 1994.

[20] There is no linguistic evidence for Tenišev's assumption (1976: 3) that the Eastern Yugur are mongolized Turkic speakers, as Hermanns (1940: 80) already noted.

[21] For the division of the Turkic languages in two main branches, **ayak* and **adak* Turkic (both meaning 'foot'), see Nauta 1989: 258-259. Though most classifications of the Turkic languages are roughly based on the one devised by Samoĭlovič in 1922 (cf Poppe 1965: 34), there is still no consensus and many items remain to be investigated.

[22] Common Turkic is the traditional designation in Turkology for the reconstructed language to which all Turkic languages can be traced back, except the aberrant Chuvash (cf Poppe 1965: 33).

[23] Cf Räsänen 1960 for some examples of Western Yugur words containing *z* <Common Turkic **d*.

[24] Cf Hahn 1988.

1.2.2. The status of Western Yugur

Western Yugur is spoken as a language of daily communication in Mínghǎi and Liánhuā Townships of Mínghuā District. Children learn Western Yugur at home as their first language, and Chinese is learned as a secondary language in primary school[25]. In Hóngwānsì Town, the seat of the local administration, Chinese is in fact the language of daily usage.

The Yugur living in Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County are mainly employed in animal husbandry. As the economical conditions are strenuous, young people try to find a living elsewhere. There are no compact language communities outside the County, and leaving the area implies that speaking Western Yugur as a language of daily communication is largely given up.

Outside the County, language retention is lower in men than in women. Women spontaneously shift to speaking Western Yugur, though switches between Yugur and Chinese occur frequently, whereas men prefer to speak Chinese. Children of mixed marriages usually learn Chinese, and not Western Yugur. Chinese functions as a secondary language throughout the Western Yugur language community, and its influence on Western Yugur is considerable.

1.3. Earlier research on the Yugur languages

The first to report on the languages of both the Western and Eastern Yugur were the explorers Potanin and Mannerheim. During his expedition in northern China in 1884-1886, Potanin recorded a small glossary of some 200 Western and 200 Eastern Yugur words, along with some short information on the administrative and geographical situation[26]. Mannerheim visited the Yugur in 1907, during his 1906-1908 expedition through Central Asia and northern China. He collected more extensive information on the customs and material culture of the Yugur people. During his anthropological research he also took some craniometrical measurements, which are included in his article, besides pictures of landscapes, people, clothing and objects of daily usage. He recorded some 150 Western and 250 Eastern Yugur words (1911)[27].

The first linguist to visit the Yugur was Malov; during his linguistic expeditions in northern China in 1909-1911 and 1913-1915, he visited the Yugur at several occasions, in the periods of February-June, and October-December 1910, in January-March 1911, and from the end of August until mid December 1913[28].

[25] This information was pointed out to me by Mr. Zhōng Jìnwén. There is no information available on the status of the language in Dàhé and Huángchéng Districts.

[26] Cf Potanin 1893: 440-444 (volume I) for his his travel account, and 1893: 435-437 (volume II) for the Western Yugur vocabulary; the Eastern Yugur words are included in the Mongolian vocabulary section. Potanin's Western Yugur language materials are discussed by Clark (forthcoming).

[27] Reviewed by Malov 1912c, in which some of Mannerheim's words are corrected, e.g. *turvaq* meaning 'earth', not 'horse'. The mistake apparently arose from a confusion of Chinese mǎ 'horse' and Finnish maa 'earth'.

[28] Cf Malov 1967: 5.

During his research he made recordings by means of a phonograph. The 76 wax rolls with the recordings from his first expedition to Xīnjiāng and Gānsù are kept in the archives of the Institute of Russian Literature in Saint Petersburg[29]. Malov collected mainly materials on Western Yugur, a part of which were published in several articles[30]. It was only in 1957 when his first monograph was published, comprising a vocabulary of more than 5500 words and small grammatical sketch, followed by the second volume in 1967 dealing with his rich collection of texts of diverse content. Both monographs were published with the assistance of Malov's student Tenišev. The eventual publication of his materials was impelled by a sense of scholarly competition, since by this time, Chinese scholars had started to research the Western Yugur language (see below).

Hermanns, who as a missionary of the Roman Catholic congregation Societas Verbi Divini (founded in 1875 in Steyl in the Netherlands) was mainly active among the Tibetans of the Amdo region in the 1930s, provided some information on the culture and religion of the Western Yugur, including a small number of texts (Hermanns 1940-1941). He was also the first to collect an extensive comparative vocabulary of both Western and Eastern Yugur (Hermanns 1951), containing some 750 words of both languages. His language materials, however, are presented in a rather distorting orthography[31].

A short survey of the Western Yugur language was compiled by Thomsen for the Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta (1959).

In the late 1950s several Sino-Russian research expeditions were organized in Gānsù and Qīnghǎi Provinces; the language materials collected were published in subsequent years. The main participants researching the Western Yugur language were the Russian linguist Tenišev, and the Chinese linguists Chén and his wife Léi. Malov's vocabulary, which had just been published, 'facilitated the field work considerably'[32].

Tenišev visited the Western Yugur during three weeks in July 1958, together with a Chinese linguist of the Institute of Nationality Languages, who wrote down most of the texts. In his travel report, Tenišev indicates that the research team consisted of himself, and four students and a staff member of the Institute of Nationality Languages, none of whom are mentioned by name, however. In fact, this linguist was Chén, and Léi was one of the other participants. Tenišev himself collected one Western Yugur tale and eight songs, together with some Eastern Yugur words. In all, the Western Yugur material from the expedition amounted to 110 pages of texts.

[29] Numbered FV 2926-3001.

[30] Malov 1912, 1912a, 1914; these articles do not include Western Yugur language samples.

[31] Note for example the inconsistent use of *r* for *ṛ* [ʁ], e.g. *yirax* ~ *yiṛax* for *yiɣaṣ* 'wood', while *ṛ* is also used for [ʐ], e.g. *saṛtax* for *ṣaʐtïɣ* 'wife', and of *x* representing [x], [ʂ] and [ks], e.g. *xe* ~ *kse* for *kïsï* 'person', and *taŋxa* for *tʰaŋṣa* 'advise'. Nouns are often suffixed with the evidential particle *dro* ~ *ter*, and verbs mostly appear in the first person plural of the imperative. Word boundaries are often incorrectly noted, e.g. *büriö* for *pïr yü* 'one house', *xsegaipter* 'guest', actually *kïsï kiptï* 'a person came', and *bu dox d'asine* 'to write' for *pïʰtïɣ tïzinï* 'let's write letters'. Some Western and Eastern Yugur words seem to have been switched, e.g. *tarden* 'wolf' is noted as an Eastern Yugur instead of a Western Yugur word.

[32] Cf Tenišev's travel report (1961: 183).

The first publication to appear from this expedition was an article by Tenišev on the Yugur clan names (1962), and a short survey of both Western and Eastern Yugur, jointly edited by Tenišev and Todaeva (1966). A more detailed monograph on Western Yugur, consisting of a grammar, vocabulary (some 2250 words) and texts was published by Tenišev in 1976, followed by a small article on Mongolic loanwords in Western Yugur (1976a).

Apparently due to political circumstances, it was only in the 1980s that the Chinese participants of the 1958 expedition started to publish on these languages. Chén and Léi jointly published a grammar with vocabulary (some 1000 words) of Western Yugur (1985)[33]. Chén wrote a substantial number of articles on this language[34], among which a treatise on preaspiration, and Léi conducted a comparative study of Western Yugur and Modern Uygur (1992a).

A Western Yugur-Chinese dictionary, containing some 7000 words was compiled by Léi[35]. It may not be surprising that the data in these recent Russian and Chinese publications show a considerable amount of overlap. No reference, however, is made to Tenišev's 1976 publication[36]. It should further be noted that Léi also included language materials from Malov in her dictionary without stating so explicitly.

An article on Western Yugur kinship terms was prepared by Wú (1992).

A concise article on the Western Yugur language was prepared by Gěng and Clark (1992-1993), including a small number of texts collected by Gěng[37].

An article dealing with Yugur proverbs, excerpted from the older sources as well as recently collected ones, is to be published by Roos, Nugteren and Zhōng.

[33] Reviewed by Hahn 1987.

[34] Chén 1982 and 1987 constitute an overview of the Western Yugur language; Chén 1985 deals with Chinese loanwords in Western Yugur, and Chén 1986 with preaspiration in Western Yugur; in Chén 1992 and 1993 some words from the Dīvān Lugāt at-Turk that have survived in Western Yugur are discussed; Chén 1994 discusses a number of religious terms.

[35] Léi 1992, proofread by Chén, reviewed by Hahn 1994, Roos 1994, and Dwyer 1995.

[36] The interpretation and translation of some words in Tenišev that are erroneous, however, are corrected in Léi. *kïtïk* 'rooster' (Tenišev 1976: 188b) is correctly translated as 'puppy' in Léi 1992: 147. *popesïn al=* 'to ask pardon' (Tenišev 1976: 171b, 241b), should be 'to take his treasure' (*pope* 'treasure' + POS3ACC), from Chinese bǎobèi 'treasure' (Léi 1992: 62a). *s̈ök perek* 'kidney' (Tenišev 1976: 175b, 245), is in fact a compound *öʰkpe erek* 'internal organs' (*öʰkpe* 'lung', *erek* 'heart') (Chén & Léi 1985: 103); the *s̈* is a reflex of preaspiration. The analysis of the form *perek* by 'kidney' may have been inspired by forms like Khakas *pürek*, actually < **bögürek* <CT **bögür* 'kidney' + a denominal noun suffix -Ak. The Western Yugur word for 'kidney' is *pʰeɣïr*. *s̈awu* 'pancake' (Tenišev 1976: 210b) is an incorrect derivation of *s̈awune* 'relentless' (cf Tenišev 1976: 251 and Léi 1992: 240b).

[37] The transcription of the texts, however, is not quite accurate. Some items presented as new findings (cf Gěng & Clark 1992-1993: 213) can be analyzed differently, e.g. *mïnïya* 'then' consists of *mïnï* 'this' (ACC) + the clause particle *-ya*; *awut* 'all kinds of' is the first part of a compound *awut qus*, to be read as *aŋït* 'a species of duck' + *qus* 'bird'. *horuu* 'lacking' (Gěng & Clark 1992-1993: 211) is a converb in *-v* from *hora=* 'to lack'; *qomïs̈* 'desert depression' (Gěng & Clark 1992-1993: 219) should be analysed as *qʰom* 'sand' followed by the clitic *-(ï)s̈ki* 'into'.

A short encyclopaedic article on the Yugur people and culture was compiled by Tenišev in 1965, and in China two small monographs appeared, dealing with the culture (Fán 1986) and history of the Yugur (Lí 1983). A synopsis of Yugur studies was published by Zhōng (1995), containing an extended bibliography. Zhōng also wrote an article on shamanistic elements in Yugur folktales (1995a), provided with linguistic notes (Zhōng & Roos 1997).

The Eastern Yugur materials are less extensive. Kotwicz (1950) compiled an article on the Eastern Yugur materials collected by Potanin, Mannerheim and Malov. Apart from some 350 Eastern Yugur words, Malov also noted down a song. J̌uunast published a concise grammar with vocabulary of Eastern Yugur (1981)[38], as well as a short article (1987), and Bolčuluu (1984) compiled an Eastern Yugur vocabulary of some 3750 words. Bolčuluu and J̌alcan together published a collection of texts (1988) and a grammar (1990). To this can be added the Eastern Yugur materials included in the Mongolic dictionary by Sūn (1990). Róna-Tas (1962) conducted research on some Tibetan loanwords in Eastern Yugur, based on the older language materials.

Finally, two etymological studies of the Turkic and Mongolic, and the Tibetan loanwords in Western and Eastern Yugur, also based on the earlier published language materials were prepared by Nugteren and Roos (1996, 1998).

There is no information available on the language of the Tibetan and Chinese speaking Yugur.

1.4. The present research

The present research is based on two periods of recording. The first recordings were made in August 1994 with Mr. Zhōng Jìnwén (*çoŋül yakʰïr*), native speaker of Western Yugur, when he visited Germany and the Netherlands. Mr. Zhōng was born in 1963 in Liánhuā; he has been living in Běijīng for 14 years, and is currently employed as a deputy research fellow within the Institute of Literature and Arts of the Central University for Nationalities. Throughout my research, Mr. Zhōng was my main source of information, with whom I could carefully check and discuss all tape recordings.

In August and September 1995, I was able to conduct more extensive research in China. As the Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County unexpectedly remained closed to foreigners, all recordings had to take place outside the County, in Zhāngyé, Lánzhōu, and Běijīng.

Several people were interviewed by means of an elicitation list (vocabulary and grammar):

Mr. Hè Xīyuán[39] (*xoraŋqat serïn-tonçïp*), born in Liánhuā, and Mr. Suǒ Guǒwěi (*soqalïɣ ïnçin-torçi*), born in Mínghǎi, now both in their fifties, were recorded in Zhāngyé. They are both employed as leading cadre in Hóngwānsì. Mr. Hè Xīyuán, who had also been detached in Dàhé Distict, provided me with some words typical of Dàhé speech;

[38] Reviewed by Hahn 1987a.

[39] Mr. Hè Xīyuán was also interviewed by Gěng, cf Gěng & Clark 1992-1993: 194.

Mrs. Zhōng Yùméi (*ɕoŋïl norɕis*), born in 1965 in Liánhuā, was recorded in Lánzhōu, where she has been living since 1983, and is now working as a teacher;

Mrs. Hè Yínxìng (*xoraŋqat inʂiŋɕis*), born in 1960 in Liánhuā, was recorded in Běijīng, where she has been living since 1981, and is working as a singer within the Central Song and Dance Ensemble of Nationalities.

Miss Xuělián (*kʰunɕis*) is a young *lomaqɕï* (storyteller) who learned many folk tales from her grandparents. She was born in 1977 in Liánhuā, and spend her holidays in Mínghǎi with her family. She has been living in Běijīng since 1993. She told me four tales, and taught me two recipes. She also provided me with some words typical of Mínghǎi speech.

All other tales presented here were recorded on tape by Mr. Zhōng in 1992 from speakers living within Mínghuā District, and generously put at my disposal by him. The storytellers are all women in their fifties: Mrs. Guō Jīnlán (*qoŋïrat nayiŋtay*), elder sister of Mr. Zhōng, Mrs. Ān Xiūzhēng, mother of Mrs. Zhōng Yùméi, originally from Mínghǎi, and Mrs. Zhōng Yùzhēn.

Though several linguists, Malov, Tenišev, and Chén and Léi, have researched the Western Yugur language, it appears that they all differed considerably in their phonological and grammatical interpretations.

Malov lacks a number of phonemically distinctive features, and his grammatical section is limited[40].

Tenišev contains a lot of inconsistencies and erroneous interpretations in the reading of his texts, thus giving rise to a number of ghost words and incorrect translations[41]. In his grammatical section, he fails to recognize the role of the evidential.

Chén and Léi are accurate in distinguishing all the phonemic distinctions, though they put considerable weight on Chinese phonetics. However, it appears that their publications, even the most recent ones, do not match today's speech, and that they do not account for a great number of changes that have taken place in the language.

[40] E.g. the distinctive features of aspiration and preaspiration are lacking; the allophonic feature of voice of the plosives and affricates is transcribed as phonemic and the voiced allophones of *k* and *q* are rendered by means of the fricative graphemes *ɣ* and *ʁ*. Furthermore, Malov does not consider the velar and the uvular plosives as phonemes but interprets them as allophones, nor does he make a distinction between the retroflex versus alveolo-palatal affricates and sibilants, or between *h* and *x*.

[41] E.g. *ɕaŋqïftpaqʰ* 'hobble' (Tenišev 1976: 176a, 230) should be translated as *ɕaʰqïrtʰpaqʰ* 'Chinese iris' (Léi 1992: 284a), *ʂorɣoʰɕïn* 'fly swatter' (Tenišev 1976: 210a, 252) as 'ant', *pra* 'wedding kerchief' (Tenišev 1976: 252) as *pïra* 'conch'. *ara=* (Tenišev 1976: 173b, 254) and *χra=* (Tenišev 1976: 219b) 'to look for, search' are a misinterpretation of *qara=* 'to look'. The translation of *ʂu* 'that' (Tenišev 1976: 78, perhaps inspired by Turkish şu 'that') or even 'small' (interpreted as a Chinese loanword xiǎo 'small' (Tenišev 1976: 210a)) are incorrect readings of *uʂ* 'three'. *χuqar=* 'to look well after' (Tenišev 1976: 250) should be read as *oʰqar=* 'to pasture livestock', and not be analysed as a contraction of *χu qara=* (*χu* is erronneously interpreted as a Chinese loanword hǎo 'good'). *uɣur haɕïɣe* 'herd of mares' (Tenišev 1976: 273), 'herd of stallions' (Tenišev 1976: 179) should be read as *uɣïr aʰtïʂki* 'into the herd of horses', and is not a Mongolic loanword. The phrase *ʒiŋkesïn qʰanaʰte* 'I saw her relative' (Tenišev 1976: 232) is to be read as *yiŋnï sïŋqʰanïʰtï* 'the needle has broken'.

At the moment the Western Yugur language changes rapidly, not only when comparing the older literature with today's speech, but even when comparing the speech of older and younger speakers.

The most salient phonetic changes are the raising of *e* to *i* and, similarly, of *ö* to *ü*. Older speakers retain *e* in far more instances than younger speakers. Furthermore, numerous contractions and crases (here: a contraction involving more than one word) can be noted[42], and irregular variant forms occur[43]. Idiolectal pronunciations are frequent[44].

In the lexical field, specific terms are lost[45], and a large influx of Chinese loanwords, both established and nonce loans can be noted[46].

This study presents first a grammatical description of the Western Yugur language. Special attention will be paid to historical developments, notably the vowel shifts which led to the deterioration of the vowel harmonic system (which is otherwise considered typical of Turkic languages), and the role of preaspiration, which links Western Yugur to Tuva and Tofa, languages which have the corresponding feature of pharyngealization.

As for the morphology, it can be noted that suffixes marking person are lost and replaced by analytic structures: the Western Yugur system of possessive noun suffixes is reduced considerably compared to other Turkic languages, and the system of subject marking on the verb was lost completely, though Western Yugur developed a dichotomy, based on evidentiality, in the verbal paradigm to distinguish between the first person on the one hand and the second and third on the other.

The second part of this study consists of Western Yugur texts with interlinear and English translation. These texts form the main body of this research.

The last part consists of an etymological vocabulary.

[42] Some contractions and crases are already noted in the older sources, e.g. *qarq* 'nose' < *qaŋïrïq*, *mos* 'horn' < *moŋïs*, *antaqanta* 'then' < *antaɣ qïlɣanta* 'when doing like that'; others seem to be recent, e.g. *qʰar=* ~ *qʰaɣïr=* 'to bake', *kʰazaq* 'the foot end of the kang' < *kʰaŋ azaq*, *üsï* 'its upside' < *üzisï*.

[43] E.g. younger people pronounce *taʰq=* 'to find' for older speakers *taʰp=*, and *qʰanaq* 'wing' for *qʰanat*. The irregular form *qolaŋqe* 'rainbow' has replaced *solaŋqa*.

[44] E.g. Xuělián pronounces *kʰunsin* 'every day' for *kʰunsin*, *tuaşï* 'very' for *çuaşï*, *uzin* 'with' for *uçin*, *qurzïq* 'tail' for *quzïrïq*, and *qʰowan* 'pig' for *qʰawan*, and Mr. Zhōng *mion* 'neck' for *moyn*, *ulïɣ* 'hand' for *ïlïɣ*, and *qïlaş* 'reed' for *qïlïş*. Mrs. Zhōng Yùméi pronounces *üʰker* 'friend' for *nüʰker*, *örin* 'man' for *yerin*, *öɣin* 'nephew' for *iɣin*, *conaɣ* ~ *coɣun* 'bee' for *cona*.

[45] E.g. the anticipating counting system is known until the number 30 by older speakers, but only until the number 20 by younger speakers; the word *oya* 'egg' (cf Léi 1992: 36a) has been replaced by the Chinese loanword *çitan*.

[46] Though in careful speech, the influence of Chinese is less noted, as Xuělián pointed out to me. Text № 2, which she word for word dictated to me, contains only few established loans from Chinese, and no nonce loans. Of the vocabulary items collected in this study, about 60% of the words is of Turkic and about 15% of Chinese origin, 15% is of mixed, unclear or unknown etymology, 9% of Mongolic and 1% of Tibetan etymology. There are also a few words of Arabic and Iranian origin.

2. Phonetics and phonology

2.1. Vowels

Western Yugur has eight vowels *i e ï a ü ö u o*, which can be divided according to the three oppositions of palatality, opening, and rounding. The vowels occur in all positions in the word, but the occurrence of rounded vowels is restricted beyond the first syllable.

	front	rounded	back	rounded
high	*i*	*ü*	*ï*	*u*
non-high	*e*	*ö*	*a*	*o*

Vowel phonemes of Western Yugur.

2.1.1. The phoneme */i/* is realized as a closed high front unrounded vowel [*i*]; */i/* occurs in all positions in the word, e.g. ***iʰt*** 'meat', ***kʰip*** 'custom', ***aʰti*** 'small', ***iʰtikti=*** 'to carry in one's skirt'.

2.1.2. The phoneme */e/* is realized as a closed mid front unrounded vowel [*e*]; */e/* occurs in all positions in the word, e.g. ***eʰt=*** 'to arrive', ***sen*** 'you', ***pezïk*** 'big', ***temïr*** 'iron', ***ɕʰoqe=*** 'to sit', ***semen*** 'food', ***tʰeke*** 'male goat', ***kʰeleke*** 'shade'.

The phoneme */e/* is now in the process of merging with */i/*, as its pronunciation [*e*] by more and more speakers, especially the younger generations, is being raised to [*i*], e.g. ***keʰp*** ~ ***kiʰp*** 'much, many', ***ɕʰe*** ~ ***ɕʰi*** 'camel', ***eʰt=*** ~ ***iʰt=*** 'to reach', ***eʰrkek*** ~ ***eʰrkik*** 'male', ***tʰeŋïlïk*** ~ ***tʰiŋïlïk*** 'blind'[1].

The pronunciation [*e*] is usually retained when */e/* precedes *r l ɣ ŋ* or follows *ʂ*, consonants that are either pronounced in the velar region (*ɣ ŋ*) or contain a velar element like retroflexion (*r, ʂ*) or velarization (*l*), e.g. ***kel=*** 'to come', ***pʰeɣ*** 'chief', ***meŋ*** 'my', ***naɣʂe*** 'what to do?', ***ezer*** 'saddle', ***ewer*** 'ghost'.

The raising of [*e*] to [*i*] can be noted morphonologically in the word ***kel=*** 'to come' when *-l* is dropped (see 6.2.1.), e.g. ***kel*** ~ ***ki*** 'come!'

2.1.3. The phoneme */ï/* is realized as an open high back unrounded vowel [*ï*]; */ï/* occurs in all positions in the word, e.g. ***ïʂt*** 'dog', ***pït*** 'leg', ***tïʰk=*** 'to sow', ***tïrlï=*** 'to revive', ***kuziɣï*** 'husband'.

Near *q*, as in e.g. ***taʰqï*** 'yet', ***qïʰrq=*** 'to shave', ***qïʰqïr=*** 'to shout', */ï/* tends to be pronounced lower[2], approaching [*a*].

[1] Apparently the raising of *e* > *i* is a very modern process. It is noted by Malov in very few words only (e.g. *pis* 'five') and not at all in suffixes; it is indicated briefly by Tenišev, Chén and Léi.

[2] In the literature variants with *a* appear in *qïʰqïr=* (see the vocabulary section).

The */ï/* in the noun ***ïş*** 'inside' and the verb ***ïş=*** 'to drink' morphonologically becomes */i/* when a suffix with initial vowel is affixed, e.g. ***iʰçinti*** 'in it', ***iʰçi*** 'drinking' (see further 3.1.3.).

2.1.4. The phoneme */a/* is realized as an open low back unrounded vowel [*a*]; */a/* occurs in all positions in the word, e.g. ***at*** 'name', ***aʰt*** 'horse', ***tʰar*** 'narrow', ***qʰulaq*** 'ear', ***paɣaça*** 'bucket'.

The phoneme */a/* is realized as an open low front unrounded vowel [*ɛ*] when following a palatal consonant *y ç çʰ ş* and preceding *n*, e.g. ***yan*** 'side' [*yɛn*], ***marçan*** 'coral' [*marçɛn*].

Furthermore, [*e*] occurs as an allophone of */a/* in the sequence */ay/*, e.g. ***yay*** ~ ***e*** 'summer', ***qʰaynaq*** ~ ***qʰenaq*** 'ox'. Note also ***ay*** 'moon; month', but ***pïr e*** 'January', a compound consisting of ***pïr*** 'one', and ***ay*** 'month'[3].

2.1.5. The phoneme */ü/* is realized as an open high front rounded vowel [*ÿ*]; */ü/* occurs in all positions in the word, e.g. ***üʰkpi*** 'lung', ***kük*** 'blue', ***çümü=*** 'to pluck'. However, the occurrence of */ü/* beyond the first syllable is restricted (see 2.1.10.).

2.1.6. The phoneme */ö/* is realized as an open mid front rounded vowel [*ɔ̈*], or as a closed mid front rounded vowel [*ö*]. Except for a few words (see 2.1.10.), */ö/* does not occur beyond the first syllable, e.g. ***örçi*** 'things', ***köʰp*** 'much, many', ***köz*** 'eye', ***közti=*** 'to appear as', ***söz*** 'word', ***tös*** 'chest', ***kʰöm=*** 'to bury'.

Congruently to */e/*, the phoneme */ö/* too is now in the process of being raised, as its pronunciation [*ɔ̈* ~ *ö*] is shifting to [*ÿ*], e.g. ***köş=*** ~ ***küş=*** 'to migrate', ***kök*** ~ ***kük*** 'blue', ***örek*** ~ ***yürik*** 'heart', ***köʰkïs*** ~ ***küʰkïs*** 'loin'.

Raising is rare when */ö/* precedes *r l ŋ*, e.g. ***kör=*** 'to see', ***kʰöl*** 'lake', ***köŋül*** 'heart, emotion'.

In the following words, an alternation of */e/* and */ö/* occurs[4], depending on the speaker: ***köʰp*** ~ ***keʰp*** (~ ***kiʰp***) 'much, many', ***tʰörïn*** ~ ***tʰerïn*** '(at) midnight' and the idiolectical ***yörin*** 'man' for ***yerin***, and ***öɣin*** 'nephew' for ***eɣin*** ~ (***iɣin***).

2.1.7. The phoneme */u/* is realized as an open high back rounded vowel [*ʊ*]; */u/* occurs in all positions in the word, e.g. ***un=*** 'to come out', ***uʰk=*** 'to fly', ***kʰul=*** 'to laugh', ***qʰantampu*** 'terrific', ***şuku*** 'goat'. However, the occurrence of */u/* beyond the first syllable is restricted (see 2.1.10.).

The */u/* in ***uş*** 'three' morphonologically becomes */ü/* in the following instances: ***üʰçüz*** 'three hundred', and ***üʰçüsï*** 'the three of them' (see further 3.1.7.).

Near *q*, the */u/* in the completive suffix *-uʰt* (see 6.3.1.) is lowered to [ɔ], compare e.g. ***aʰçuʰt=*** 'to open', and ***sïʰqoʰt=*** 'to squeeze out'.

[3] In a number of words, e.g. *çʰoqe=* 'to sit', *tale* 'sea', *maqʰe* 'camel foal', the phone [*e*] has no currently attested variant [*ay*], but as these words are back-vocalic, the front vowel [*e*] can be assumed to have arisen from a historical sequence [*ay*] (see further 3.1.35.).

[4] For other examples from the literature, see the vocabulary entries *kʰemzï, kʰempiş, kʰeleke,*

kʰeŋer, pezïk, pʰeɣïr, pʰerïk, kʰöm=, kʰömir, örli=, örliɣ, törtiŋ; see also 3.1.29.

2.1.8. The phoneme */o/* is realized as an open mid back rounded vowel [ɔ]. Except for a few words (see 2.1.10.), */o/* does not occur beyond the first syllable, e.g. ***ot*** 'fire', ***oʰt*** 'grass', ***qol*** 'arm', ***pʰorn*** 'before'.

Raising of [ɔ] to [ʊ] can be noted morphonologically in ***pol=*** 'to be, to become' when *-l* is dropped (see 6.2.1.), e.g. the past tense ***pottï*** ~ ***puttï*** 'became'.

2.1.9. The status of the closed mid back rounded vowel [*o*], transcribed here as *ʊ*, is difficult to determine. *ʊ* occurs in few words only: ***ɕʊ*** 'Lhasa', ***qʰarʊ*** 'letter', ***kʊkʰe*** 'pancake' (all loanwords), and ***kʊ*** 'this, that, s/he, it'; *ʊ* occurs as the result of a contraction in ***ʊka*** < ***awaka*** 'grandfather'; *ʊ* also occurs in the following suffixes: the vocative case *-ʊ*, the simultaneous converb *-ʊ*, the tense auxiliary *-ʊ*, the progressive *-ʊtï*, the evidential particle *-trʊ*, and in the stressed variants *-tʊ* and *mʊ* of the evidential particle *-tï* and the question particle ***mi***.

The demonstrative ***kʊ***, the converb *-ʊ* and the progressive *-ʊtï* have an allophonic open high back rounded vowel [ʊ] occurring in free variation; the declensional forms of ***kʊ*** have either */u/*, as in ***kunïŋ*** 'of him/her', or */o/*, as in ***koɣa*** 'to him/her'.

2.1.10. The occurrence of rounded vowels is restricted beyond the first syllable.

Rounded high vowels beyond the first syllable usually require a rounded vowel in the first syllable, e.g. ***ʂuku*** 'goat', ***uzun*** 'long', ***tʰutuqus*** 'peacock'.

Rounded high vowels beyond the first syllable often have unrounded alternants, e.g. ***örɕü*** ~ ***örɕi*** 'stuff', ***ɕümü=*** ~ ***ɕümi=*** 'to pluck', ***oɣul*** ~ ***oɣïl*** 'son', ***untur=*** ~ ***untïr=*** 'to take out', ***qʰulum*** ~ ***qʰulïm*** 'foal'.

The following words have a rounded vowel beyond the first syllable that is not preceded by a rounded vowel in the first syllable: ***qʰantampu*** 'terrific', ***azur*** 'a bit', ***antur*** 'that much', ***niɕor*** 'how much', ***niyor*** 'how', ***piʰtior*** 'quite', ***kʊyoq*** 'not done, inconceivable', ***aʰʂköz*** 'mosquito', ***qʰarʊ*** 'letter'.

Furthermore, the following suffixes have a rounded vowel: the vocative case *-ʊ*, the simultaneous converb *-ʊ*, the tense auxiliary *-ʊ*, the progressive *-ʊtï*, and the completive suffix *-uʰt*.

2.1.11. High vowels preceding a sibilant tend to be reduced and whispered (devoiced) in initial position, as in e.g. ***iskinni=*** 'to scrape with the hoof', ***isï*** 'self', ***ïs*** 'smoke', ***ïsïɣ*** 'warm', ***ïsta=*** 'to resemble', or when preceded by a plosive, e.g. ***kiʂ*** 'late', ***pisek*** 'lump', ***pïs=*** 'to cook', ***tïs*** 'tooth; cauldron', ***qïs*** 'winter', ***tïsï*** 'female', ***kïtïs=*** 'to itch', ***yiltïs*** 'star', ***kïsï*** 'person', ***saqïs*** 'eight', ***yaŋqïs*** 'alone', ***pïrsï*** 'one of them', ***tus=*** 'to descend', ***kus*** 'bovine', ***qus*** 'bird', ***qus=*** 'to vomit', ***kuʂtïɣ*** 'fat', ***küsi=*** 'to chew'.

The same applies to high vowels when occurring between a voiceless sibilant and a plosive, as in e.g. ***sïk*** 'door', ***örlisïk*** 'belt', ***ʂuku*** 'goat', ***ʂukti=*** 'to load', ***ʂuq=*** 'to glue', ***tawasïq*** 'bladder'.

Reduction is not noted in ***sïtïk*** 'urine', ***ʂïtïq*** 'wet', ***uʂ*** 'three', ***üsïnti*** 'upon it'[5].

[5] In the speech of younger speakers *uʂ* is pronounced [*ʍʊʂ*] (see 2.5.), but in the speech of older speakers [*ʊ̥ʂ*] occurs as well; *üsïntï* 'upon it' is a haplologic form of *üzisïnti* (see 2.8.).

2.1.12. All vowels are phonemically short, but phonetic length occurs as a technique in storytelling to indicate a transgression to the next episode in a narrative, e.g. ***maŋʊ:*** ~ ***mʊ:*** 'walking on', ***pïr kʰu:nki eʰtkinti*** 'one day', or to highlight an item or event, e.g. ***ɕa:ŋ*** 'just as', ***a:::q qʰantampu kizkï*** 'white, splendid clothes'.

If an intervocalic consonant is elided (see 2.8.), e.g. ***menïŋ*** ~ ***meŋ*** 'my', ***alïn=*** ~ ***an=*** 'to take along', the two adjacent vowels are contracted into a short vowel.

2.1.13. No high back vowels /ï/ and /u/ occur following the palatal consonants *y ɕ ɕʰ ʂ*; in this position, only the high front vowels /i/ and /ü/ occur.

Likewise, no high front vowels /i/ and /ü/ occur following *q qʰ ɕ ɕʰ ʂ*; in this position, only the high back vowels /ï/ and /ʊ/ occur. Following one of these consonants, a suffix containing /i/ is often lowered to /e/, e.g. ***naɣʂe?*** 'what to do?'.

2.1.14. Below follow a number of examples of minimal pairs.

/i/ - /ï/:

tis= 'to discuss'	***tïs*** 'tooth; cauldron'
kim 'disease'	***kʰïm*** 'who'
yerin 'man'	***yirïŋ*** 'snot'
örli= 'to stand'	***yörlï=*** 'to turn'
eni 'again'	***ïnï*** 'younger brother'
yimis 'does not eat'	***yimïs=*** 'to suckle'

/u/ - /o/:

un= 'to come out'	***on*** 'ten'
tʰul= 'to cook'	***tʰol=*** 'to become full'
tuz 'salt'	***toz=*** 'to eat one's fill'

/u/ - /ü/:

uʂ 'three'	***üsïnti*** 'on it'
kus 'bovine'	***küsi=*** 'to chew'
tuki 'heifer'	***tüʰk=*** 'to pour'

2.2. Sequences of vowels

Sequences of vowels are not typical of Turkic languages, and in Western Yugur, they almost exclusively occur in Chinese loanwords (see 2.11.). However, there are a few vernacular words which contain a sequence of vowels[6]: ***piaɣïr*** 'a few days ago', ***tiat=*** 'to send', ***entiaq*** 'the east', ***mion*** 'neck', ***piʰtior*** 'quite', ***ɕiuti*** 'jujube', ***yiuti*** 'many, much', ***ʂuaq*** 'crumbs', ***yüat=*** 'to be shy, ashamed', ***tʰearïn*** ~ ***tʰerïn*** '(at) midnight'. The vowel sequences with initial high vowel are realized as rising diphtongs [*ia iɔ iʊ va ʊ̈a*].

Furthermore, a vowel sequence *iʊ* occurs when the simultaneous converb *-ʊ* is suffixed to a verb ending in a high vowel *-i* (see 6.2.2.), e.g. ***kïpti-ʊ***. This sequence is usually realized as a rising diphtong [*io*], but an allophonic falling diphtong occurs as well (written *-iw*, e.g. ***kïpti-w***, see 2.4.28.).

[6] Historically, these vowel sequences arose from the elision of a phoneme, or from a crasis, or a metathesis; see the vocabulary section.

2.3. Vowel harmony

Western Yugur has a vowel harmonic system based on palatality, which is operative in one class of suffixes only; the vowel harmonic system tends to become further reduced as even suffixes of this class lose their vowel harmonic variants. Vowel harmony is not observed in word stems. The suffixes in Western Yugur can be classified in three groups, A-suffixes, *ï*-suffixes, and a group of diverse composition.

The A-suffixes have a back-vocalic variant *a* and a front vocalic variant *i*. The back-vocalic variant is used in words containing the vowels *a o*, and the front-vocalic variant in words containing the vowels *e ö*. The vowel harmonic category of words having a high vowel *i ü ï u* is lexically determined[7]. Idiolectical variants concerning the harmonic class occur, e.g. ***pïs=*** (*pïski ~ pïsqa*) 'to cook', ***uʰk=*** (*uʰkki ~ uʰkka*) 'to fly', ***tiŋïrtaqï ~ tiŋïrtikï*** 'being in the sky'.

yaʰt=	'to lie'	***yaʰtqa***	'lying'
qoz=	'to pour'	***qozɣa***	'pouring'
per=	'to give'	***perɣi***	'giving'
kör=	'to see'	***körɣi***	'seeing'
ti=	'to say'	***tiɣi***	'saying'
yiɣ=	'to gather'	***yiqqa***	'gathering'
çʰük=	'to kneel'	***çʰükki***	'kneeling'
yü=	'to wash'	***yüɣa***	'washing'
pïl=	'to know'	***pïlɣi***	'knowing'
ïşt=	'to push'	***ïştqa***	'pushing'
un=	'to come out'	***unki***	'coming out'
qus=	'to vomit'	***qusqa***	'vomiting'

A-suffixes that are on the verge of losing their vowel harmonic variant are the plural suffix -LA*r* (see 4.1.), and the verbalizer -LA (see 4.5.6.); the verbs belong to the vowel harmonic class indicated by the verbalizer.

The *ï*-suffixes do not have vowel harmonic variants and are always realized as *ï*[8], but are transparent to vowel harmony: a following A-suffix takes the vowel harmonic form required by the stem.

al-ïn-qa	'taking along' (take-RFL-CCO)
un-tïr-ɣi	'taking out' (come.out-CAUS-CCO)

[7] In the vocabulary section, the vowel harmonic class is indicated by the dative suffix -GA for nouns, and the coordinative converb suffix -GA for verbs. Stems that historically contained a front vowel retain a front vowel in the suffix, and stems that historically contained a back vowel retain a back vowel in the suffix. Some high vowel words that historically belonged to the front-vocalic class, however, now have shifted entirely to the back-vocalic class, as the dative forms of e.g. *ïnï* (*ïnïɣa*) 'younger brother', *sïŋnï* (*sïŋnïɣa*) 'younger sister' indicate.

[8] Though following *ç*, *ï* > *i*, e.g. *iʰçinti* 'in it' (see 2.1.13.).

The third group of suffixes consists of a small group that cannot be subsumed under any of the above; these suffixes do not have vowel harmonic variants.

i-suffixes: the future participle *-ir* (see 6.4.3.), the imperative of the first person singular *-in* and plural *-inï* (see 6.1.8.), the future -G*ïmis* (see 6.1.2.), and the negative converb *-min* (see 6.2.5.)[9]. The suffix *-ir* is transparent to vowel harmony, compare e.g. the dativ forms ***peziryi*** 'in order to be big' (***pezï=*** 'to be big'), ***alirya*** 'in order to take' (***al=*** 'to take').

e-suffixes: the third person imperative -G*e*[10] (see 6.1.8.).

v-suffixes: the simultaneous converb *-v* (see 6.2.2.), and the progressive *-vtï* (see 6.1.3.).

The aktionsart and auxiliary suffixes (see 6.3.), which historically mostly derive from independent verbs, do not have vowel harmonic variants either, nor are they transparant to vowel harmony; they all happen to take back-vocalic suffixes.

2.4. Consonants

Western Yugur has 28 consonants (see the table below).

The occurrence of consonants in the word is centred around the vowel: a consonant may precede or follow a vowel, e.g. CV ***pu*** 'this', ***tʰa=*** 'to guess', VC ***at*** 'name', CVC ***pït*** 'foot', ***kʰun*** 'day', (C)VCV(C) ***aɕa*** 'father', ***enik*** 'cow', ***hora=*** 'to coil', ***soɣïl=*** 'to bake'.

The occurrence of the aspirated obstruents, *pʰ tʰ kʰ qʰ ɕʰ çʰ* and the approximant *h* is limited to word initial position[11]. *ɣ ŋ* do not occur in initial position, and the affricates, *c ɕ ɕʰ ç çʰ*, do not occur in final position.

Consonant clusters occurring finally are of limited inventory (see 2.6.), e.g. (C)VCC ***art*** 'west', ***tört*** 'four'. There is only one case of an initial consonant cluster, viz. the obsolescent evidential particle ***-trv*** (see 7.3.2.).

[9] Historically, the suffix *-ir* has lost its back-harmonic variant completely; the imperatives and the negative converb have contracted from a sequence of the vowel -A followed by -*y*(*ï*).

[10] Historically a contraction of *-GA*y*. Some speakers now realize this suffix as -G*i*, e.g. *kelye* ~ *kiɣi* 'may s/he come'.

[11] With the exception of the following words: *patʰïr* 'hero', *yikʰï* 'rib', *ɕünkʰin* 'meadow', *maqʰe* ~ *maʰqe* 'camel foal', *kʰeçʰin* 'guest', *yükʰïçʰer* 'often'. In the material of Chén and Léi, final consonants are indicated as aspirated, but in intervocalic position, these consonants become unaspirated, e.g. *aqʰ* 'white', *aqar=* 'to become white', *tiatʰ=* 'to send', *tiatïp* 'sending' (Léi 1992: 349). In the present material, final aspirated cononants rarely occur, and only as allophones in free variation with unreleased consonants.

Two-member consonant clusters in intervocalic position occur frequently, e.g. ***alma*** 'fruit', ***soqpa*** 'millet', but are susceptible to the restraint that sonants never follow plosives[12]. For consonant clusters on a morpheme boundary, arising from suffixation, and the assimilation processes that take place here, see 2.6. and 2.7. Geminate clusters occur as a result of suffixation[13].

Three-member consonant clusters in intervocalic position are not very frequent; they consist of a final cluster followed by a third consonant that is susceptible to the same restraints that applies to two member clusters, e.g. ***ezertpi*** 'leader', ***arslan*** 'lion'.

It furthermore appears that in words with an initial aspirated consonant, the consonant following the vowel (C^2 in a structure C^hVC^2-) is generally voiced (i.e. a sonant or voiced fricative), e.g. ***qʰar*** 'snow', rather than voiceless (i.e. a plosive, affricate, or voiceless sibilant), e.g. ***qʰaq*** 'dry'.

	labial	apical	retroflex	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
plosives							
aspirated	*pʰ*	*tʰ*			*kʰ*	*qʰ*	
unaspirated	*p*	*t*			*k*	*q*	
affricates							
aspirated		(*cʰ*)	*ʈʰ*	*cʰ*			
unaspirated		*c*	*ʈ*	*c*			
fricatives							
voiceless	(*f*)	*s*	*ʂ*	*ɕ*	*x*		
voiced		*z*	*ʐ*		*ɣ*		
nasals	*m*	*n*			*ŋ*		
liquids							
vibrants		*r*					
laterals		*l*					
approximants				*y*	*w*		*h*

Consonant phonemes of Western Yugur; loan phonemes are placed in parentheses.

[12] With the exception of unassimilated cases of -M suffixes (see 2.7.), e.g. *temïr soqpa* ~ *temïr soqma* 'smith' (*temïr* 'iron', *soq*= 'to hit'), apparently a very modern development.

[13] These are *pp tt kk qq mm nn ll*. Geminates of /ɣɣ/ are realized as *kk* or *qq*. As a result of compounding, geminates with an aspirated consonant as a second member occur, e.g. *akkʰer*= 'to bring' (< *ap kʰeɣïr*=), *yoqqʰa*= 'to die' (< *yülïp qʰal*=), *untïqqʰa*= 'to forget' (< *untïp qʰal*=).

2.4.1. The phoneme /*p*/ is realized as a voiceless bilabial stop [*p*]. Preceding plosives and affricates, and in final position /*p*/ is unreleased [*p*̚]; near voiced phonemes, /*p*/ has a devoiced [*b̥*] as an allophone.

The phoneme /*p*/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial: ***paş*** 'head', ***pïr*** 'one'.
final: ***tïp*** 'bottom', ***kïlap*** 'strong', ***soŋkap*** 'hammer', ***köʰp*** 'much'.
intervocalic (three instances only): ***qʰapaq*** 'lid', ***şopaq*** 'mud', ***papa*** 'uncle'.
cluster (geminate): ***appar=*** 'to take to'.
cluster (*p* first member): ***kïpti=*** 'to fasten', ***ɕaʰpɕïɣïr*** 'hoe'.
cluster (*p* second member): ***qortpaq*** 'seminal fluid', ***üʰkpi*** 'lung', ***soqpa*** 'millet', ***qʰantampu*** 'terrific'.

Final *p* > *w* when a suffix with initial vowel is added, e.g. ***tïp*** 'base', ***tïwïnti*** 'at the base'; ***qʰap=*** 'to take with the mouth', ***qʰawïttï*** 'took with the mouth'; ***kiʰp*** 'much', ***kiwi=*** 'to increase'; ***qoʰp=*** 'to rise', ***qowar=*** 'to cause to rise'.

Compounds with ***paş*** 'head' as a second element show *p* > *w* following vowels, liquids and fricatives: ***yüwaş*** 'roof', ***ɕozïwaş*** 'table top', ***ɕorɣawaş*** 'Chorghawash', ***ïŋkarwaş*** 'stupid person', ***tiŋïrwaş*** 'heaven's top', ***tʰoɣwaş*** 'bald', ***tʰaɣwaş*** 'mountain top', ***tïzwaş*** 'kneecap', ***qïşwaş*** 'face'. Following nasals, *p* is retained: ***tʰaqanpaş*** 'fool'.

In rapid speech, an initial *p* > *w* following vowels, liquids and fricatives as a result of sandhi; this is especially notable in the frequently used existential noun ***par*** 'present' and the verb ***pol=*** 'to become' (which even has variants *w* ~ *ø*[14]).

For assimilations of the compounding converb suffix -(*ï*)*p*, see 6.2.1.

Though in general *w* occurs in complementary distribution with *p* (in intervocalic position and following sonants other than nasals), the three instances of intervocalic *p* decide against considering *w* as an allophone of *p*.

2.4.2. The phoneme /*pʰ*/ is realized as a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop [*pʰ*], and occurs in initial position only.

Examples of minimal pairs /*p*/ - /*pʰ*/:

paqa 'frog'	***pʰaqa=*** 'to defecate'
per= 'to give'	***pʰer=*** 'to hit'
peʰrk 'courageous'	***pʰerïk*** 'hat'
paɣïr 'liver'	***pʰeɣïr*** 'kidney'
piɕin 'monkey'	***pʰi*** 'mare'

2.4.3. The phoneme /*t*/ is realized as a voiceless apico-alveolar stop [*t*]. Preceding plosives and affricates, and in final position /*t*/ is unreleased [*t*̚]; near voiced phonemes, /*t*/ has a devoiced [*d̥*] as a free variant.

[14] E.g. *kïʰɕiɣ pït* 'lower leg' [*kɟʰɕiɣ b̥ït ~ kɟʰɕiɣ wït*]; *maɣa par* 'I have' [*maʁa b̥aɹ*], *yer war-e* 'has songs' [*yeɹ ware*]; *pozɣa pottï* 'became pregnant' [*pɔzʁa b̥ɔt:ï ~ pɔzʁa wɔt:ï*], *kiş pottï* 'it became late' [*kiş pɔt:ï ~ kiş ut:ï*].

The phoneme /t/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial: ***ti=*** 'to say', ***toʰqïs*** 'nine'.
final: ***at*** 'name', ***ɕowat=*** 'to thank', ***aʰt*** 'horse'.
intervocalic: ***otïŋ*** 'firewood', ***ɕïta=*** 'can', ***sïtïk*** 'urine', ***iʰtik*** 'skirt', ***oʰtïs*** 'thirty'.
cluster (geminate): ***ortta=*** 'to slurp', ***attïɣ*** 'famous', ***aɣïttïr=*** 'to cause to stop'.
cluster (*t* first member): ***satpa*** 'merchant', ***eʰtkïr=*** 'to let arrive', ***aʰtɕï*** 'horseherd'.
cluster (*t* second member): ***tʰuktis=*** 'to meet', ***toʰqtï*** 'lamb', ***ïsta=*** 'to resemble', ***aʰʂtï=*** 'to clear', ***qïmtan*** 'axe', ***kʰïntïk*** 'navel', ***soŋtaqï*** 'last', ***altam*** 'quick', ***aʰltï*** 'six', ***törtiŋ*** 'wolf', ***oʰrta*** 'middle', ***tʰayta=*** 'to throw', ***poztas=*** 'to moo', ***uʐtïɣ*** 'sharp', ***ɕiɣti*** 'jujube'.

2.4.4. The phoneme /t^h/ is realized as a voiceless aspirated apico-alveolar stop [t^h], and occurs in initial position only, and medially in the word ***patʰïr*** 'hero'.

Examples of minimal pairs /t/ - /t^h/:

tar= 'to cultivate land'	***tʰar*** 'narrow'
toz= 'to eat one's fill'	***tʰoz=*** 'to meet'
teɣ= 'to touch'	***tʰeɣ=*** 'to gallop'
tara= 'to comb'	***tʰara=*** 'to go apart'
taqa 'uncle'	***tʰaqan*** 'flour'
tuki 'heifer'	***tʰuki=*** 'to finish'
törïm 'the year after next'	***tʰörïn*** 'midnight'

2.4.5. The phoneme /k/ is realized as a voiceless dorso-velar stop [k]. Preceding plosives and affricates, and in final position /k/ is unreleased [k^-]; near nasals and *z*, /k/ has a devoiced [$\mathring{g}$] as a free variant.

The phoneme /k/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial: ***kel=*** 'to come', ***küy*** 'pine'.
final: ***yürik*** 'heart', ***yütïrïk*** 'cough', ***örlisïk*** 'belt', ***tïʰk=*** 'to sew'.
intervocalic: ***tʰeke*** 'male goat', ***ʂuku*** 'goat', ***aʰka*** 'uncle', ***tʰamaʰkï*** 'tobacco'.
cluster (geminate): ***tïʰkki*** 'sewing'.
cluster (*k* first element): ***üʰkpi*** 'lung', ***ʂukti=*** 'to load', ***ɕʰïmïkɕï*** 'thief', ***yükɕʰer*** 'often'.
cluster (*k* second element): ***kuʰtkï*** 'throat', ***ïʂkïʂ*** 'food', ***unkin*** 'female camel', ***ezeŋkï*** 'stirrup', ***tʰulkï*** 'fox', ***kiseʰlkï*** 'lizard', ***arkan*** 'box', ***eʰrkik*** 'male', ***ayka*** 'grandmother', ***uzki*** 'else'.

2.4.6. The phoneme /k^h/ is realized as a voiceless aspirated dorso-velar stop [k^h], and occurs in initial position only, and medially in the words ***yikʰï*** 'rib', and ***ɕünkʰin*** 'meadow'.

Examples of minimal pairs /k/ - /k^h/:

ker 'bowl'	***kʰer*** 'yellow (of an animal)'
kim 'disease'	***kʰïm*** 'who'
kel= 'to come'	***kʰeln*** 'wife'
kïrmïk 'eyebrow'	***kʰïntïk*** 'navel'

2.4.7. The phoneme /*q*/ is realized as a voiceless uvular stop [*q*]. Preceding plosives and affricates, and in final position /*q*/ is unreleased [*q*̚]; following nasals, /*q*/ has a devoiced [*ɢ*] as a free variant, and following voiceless sibilants, /*q*/ has a voiceless dorso-velar fricative [*x*] as a free variant, e.g. ***oṣqa*** 'old man' [*ɔṣqa ~ ɔṣxa*], ***qïsqa*** 'short' [*qïsqa ~ qïsxa*], ***tusqan*** 'hare' [*tusqan ~ tusxan*].

The phoneme /*q*/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial: ***qara*** 'black', ***qus*** 'bird'.
final: ***qʰaq*** 'dry', ***orq=*** 'to be impatient', ***olɣaq*** 'kid goat', ***tïʰq=*** to thrust into'.
intervocalic: ***qïzaqa*** 'elder sister', ***ɕʰïqan*** 'cousin', ***yaqïn=*** 'to cover', ***yaʰqïn*** 'near'.
cluster (geminate): ***yeqqal=*** 'to shake', ***toqqan*** 'family home'.
cluster (*q* first element): ***soqpa*** 'millet', ***taɕaqta=*** 'to waddle', ***toʰqtï*** 'lamb', ***lomaqɕï*** 'story-teller'.
cluster (*q* second element): ***quʰrtqa*** 'old woman', ***yaŋqïs*** 'alone', ***qʰolqïɕï*** 'beggar', ***arqaṣ*** 'bag', ***aʰrqa*** 'back'.

2.4.8. The phoneme /*qʰ*/ is realized as a voiceless aspirated uvular stop [*qʰ*], and occurs in initial position only, and medially in the word ***maqʰe*** (alternating with ***maʰqe***) 'camel foal'. Following voiced consonants and vowels, /*q*/ has a voiceless uvular fricative [*χ*] as a free variant in sandhi[15].

Examples of minimal pairs /*q*/ - /*qʰ*/:

qol 'arm; river'	***qʰol=*** 'to want to have, to ask for something'
qayta 'where'	***qʰay*** 'shoe'
qoŋqïr 'buttock'	***qʰoŋqïra*** 'bell'
qïti= 'to call'	***qʰïti*** 'Chinese'

Examples of minimal pairs /*k*/ - /*q*/:

sïk 'door'	***sïʰq=*** 'to squeeze'
tïʰk= 'to sew; to erect'	***tïʰq=*** 'to insert'
kus 'bovine'	***qus*** 'bird', ***qus=*** 'to vomit'
köʰp 'many'	***qoʰp=*** 'to stand up, to rise'

Examples of minimal pairs /*kʰ*/ - /*qʰ*/:

kʰun 'day'	***qʰun=*** 'to seize'
kʰïr= 'to enter'	***qʰïr=*** 'to scrape, to peel'

2.4.9. The phoneme /*c*/ is realized as a voiceless apico-alveolar affricate [*c*]. /*c*/ occurs in one word only, ***cona ~ zona*** 'wasp'. /*c*/ further occurs in Chinese loanwords (see 2.11.), but it is usually replaced by /*z*/, especially word-internally.

[15] E.g. *yikʰï qʰaqtama* 'lazybones' [*ʑikʰï qʰaq̚tama ~ ʑikʰï χaq̚tama*], *köz qʰalaq* 'eyelid' [*kɔ̈z qʰałaq̚ ~ kɔ̈z χałaq̚*].

2.4.10. The phoneme /ʈ/ is realized as a voiceless retroflex affricate [ʈ].

The phoneme /ʈ/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial: ***ʈal=*** 'to pray', ***ʈowat=*** 'to thank'.
intervocalic: ***aʈï=*** 'to be worried', ***quʈaqta=*** 'to hug', ***yaŋqïʈa*** 'alone', ***qaʰʈan*** 'when'.
cluster (ʈ second member): ***ʈaʰpʈïɣïr*** 'hoe', ***aʰtʈï*** 'horseherd', ***ʈʰïmïkʈï*** 'thief', ***poʰqʈa*** 'bag', ***kusʈï*** 'cowherd', ***ʈʰamʈa*** 'shirt', ***törtïnʈï*** 'fourth', ***qïlʈïqʰ-qalʈïqʰ*** 'crooked and bent', ***eʰlʈï*** 'shaman', ***temïrʈï*** 'smith', ***qoyʈï*** 'shepherd'.

2.4.11. The phoneme /ʈʰ/ is realized as a voiceless aspirated retroflex affricate [ʈʰ], and occurs in initial position only.

Examples of minimal pairs /ʈ/ - /ʈʰ/:

ʈotta= 'to scold'	***ʈʰotta=*** 'to libate'
ʈïl 'sheep droppings'	***ʈʰïla=*** 'to be angry'
ʈalïm 'hoar frost'	***ʈʰamʈa*** 'shirt'
ʈoqï= 'to pinch'	***ʈʰoqe=*** 'to sit'

2.4.12. The phoneme /ʂ/ is realized as a voiceless front-prepalatal affricate [ʂ].

The phoneme /ʂ/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial: ***ʂara*** 'hedgehog', ***ʂüɣer*** 'healthy'.
intervocalic: ***miʂa*** 'little', ***uʂin*** 'with', ***peʂin*** 'monkey', ***iʰʂir=*** 'to give to drink'.
cluster (ʂ second member): ***sukʂi*** 'Sùzhōu', ***örʂi*** 'thing', ***aʰrʂa*** 'juniper', ***qʰayʂi*** 'shears'.

2.4.13. The phoneme /ʂʰ/ is realized as a voiceless aspirated front-prepalatal affricate [ʂʰ]; /ʂʰ/ occurs in initial position only, and in the words ***kʰeʂʰin*** 'guest', and ***yükʂʰer*** ~ ***yükʰïʂʰer*** 'often'.

Examples of minimal pairs /ʂ/ - /ʂʰ/:

ʂiɣin 'donkey'	***ʂʰi*** 'camel'
ʂüt 'meagre'	***ʂʰük=*** 'to kneel'

The front-prepalatal affricates mainly occur preceding front vowels, but there are many exceptions[16], e.g. ***ʂazï*** 'family', ***ʂar*** 'meagre', ***ʂʰala=*** 'to hold a child', ***miʂa*** 'little', ***qorʂaq*** 'short', ***marʂan*** 'coral', ***ïrʂalïŋ*** 'flute', ***niʂor*** 'how much', ***arʂaq*** 'the west', the diminutive suffix -ʂA*r*.

[16] Often loanwords or contracted forms, see the vocabulary section. The cluster *rʈ* does not occur in Western Yugur monomorphemic words, only *rʂ* is found here (see 2.7.). Concerning the loanwords from Chinese, the following may be noted: in Chinese orthography the front-prepalatals, *ʂ ʂʰ ʂ*, only occur preceding the front vowels *i ü*, reflecting a historical development. In the present day Chinese phoneme system, this feature may be regarded as redundant, e.g. Western Yugur *ʂazï* ←Chinese jiāzi, phonemic- ally /*ʂazi*/.

2.4.14. The phoneme /s/ is realized as a voiceless apico-alveolar fricative [s].

The phoneme /s/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial: ***saqal*** 'beard', ***soq=*** 'to knock'.
final: ***as=*** ~ ***aʰs=*** 'to cross', ***oʰtïs*** 'thirty', ***sanïs*** 'cheap', ***oynas=*** 'to play together'.
intervocalic: ***ïsïɣ*** 'warm', ***pulisïk*** 'thimble', ***oʰsïrïq*** 'fart', ***yaʰsïl*** 'green'.
cluster (s first member): ***ïsta=*** 'to resemble', ***kusçï*** 'cowherd', ***aʰslaq*** 'lid', ***qʰarslaŋ*** 'gun'.
cluster (s second member): ***tïmsïɣ*** 'mouth', ***sarïmsaq*** ~ ***saŋsïrïq*** 'garlic', ***paʰrsï*** 'tiger', ***pïrsï*** 'one of them', ***qaysï*** 'which (one)'.

2.4.15. The phoneme /ʂ/ is realized as a voiceless retroflex fricative [ʂ].

The phoneme /ʂ/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial: ***ʂaz*** 'hair', ***ʂuku*** 'goat'.
final: ***paʂ*** 'head', ***kiʂ*** 'late', ***aʰʂ=*** 'to open', ***qïlïʂ*** 'sword', ***qamïʂ*** 'reed'.
intervocalic (two instances only): ***oʰʂaq*** 'crumbs', ***tʰoʂan*** 'gruff'.
cluster (ʂ first member): ***qïʂta=*** 'to chase after', ***kükiʂkin*** 'pigeon', ***quʂqala=*** 'to singe', ***yaʰʂça*** 'completely', ***ïʂsi*** 'if drinks', ***qïʂwaʂ*** 'face'.
cluster (ʂ second member) (two instances only): ***oŋʂï=*** 'to read', ***tʰaŋʂa*** 'idea'.

When a suffix with initial vowel is affixed, final ʂ > ç preceding back vowels, e.g. ***paʂ*** 'head', ***paʰçïnta*** 'on its head', ***aʰʂ=*** 'to open', ***aʰçuʰt=*** 'to open', ***uʂ*** 'three', ***uʰçun*** 'thirty', and final ʂ > ç preceding front vowels, e.g. ***aʰʂ=*** 'to open', ***aʰçit=*** 'to open quickly', ***üʰçüz*** 'three hundred', ***üʰçüsï*** 'the three of them' (irregular formations derived from ***uʂ*** 'three'). The noun ***ïʂ*** 'inside', and the verb ***ïʂ=*** 'to drink' always have ʂ > ç when a suffix with initial vowel is affixed, e.g ***iʰçinti*** 'in it', ***iʰçʊtï*** 'is drinking' (see further 3.1.3.).

Examples of minimal pairs /s/ - /ʂ/:
sart 'Uygur' ***ʂart=*** 'to break'
yaʰs= 'to hide' ***yaʰʂ*** 'good'
kis= 'to cut dough' ***kiʂ*** 'late'

2.4.16. The phoneme /ś/ is realized as a voiceless front-prepalatal fricative [ś].

The phoneme /ś/ does not occur frequently: apart from Chinese loanwords, there are only six instances of initial /ś/: ***śiki*** 'slender', ***śor=*** 'to sweep', ***śoz*** 'word', ***śozïr=*** 'to drag', ***śoɣïl=*** 'to bake', ***śünan*** 'Sùnán', and two instances in which /ś/ occurs as the second member of a cluster: ***kanśü*** 'Gānsù', ***kunśin*** ~ ***kunśin*** 'every day'.

Example of a minimal pair /s/ - /ś/:
sor= 'to suck' ***śor=*** 'to sweep'

Example of a (near) minimal pair /s/ - /ś/ - /ʂ/:
siki 'goat' ***śiki*** 'slender' ***ʂïkï*** 'two'

2.4.17. The phoneme /z/ is realized as a voiced apico-alveolar fricative [z].

The phoneme /z/ does not occur initially, except for ***zona*** ~ ***cona*** 'wasp', and ***zïk*** ~ ***sïk*** 'door'[17], nor does /z/ occur beyond the first syllable, except for ***üʰçüz*** 'three hundred' (an irregularly formed crasis of ***uʂ*** 'three' + ***yüz*** 'hundred').

The phoneme /z/ further occurs in the following positions in the word:
final: ***mïz*** 'we', ***yüz*** 'face', ***suz=*** 'to butt', ***kiz=*** 'to get dressed'.
intervocalic: ***azaq*** 'foot', ***uzaq*** 'far', ***qozï*** 'lamb', ***uzïrïq*** 'fist', ***ezeŋkï*** 'stirrup'.
cluster (z first member): ***qʰaztïq*** 'cover', ***uzki*** 'else', ***tʰazmaq*** 'riddle', ***qazna*** 'mother-in-law', ***tïzwaʂ*** 'kneecap', ***azɣïr*** 'stallion'.
cluster (z second member) (two instances only): ***kʰemzï*** ~ ***kʰenzï*** 'bun', ***quzïrïq*** ~ ***qurzïq*** 'tail'.

Examples of minimal pairs /z/ - /s/:

yaz= 'to spread'	***yaʰs=*** 'to hide'
az 'few'	***as=*** 'to exchange'
kiz= 'to get dressed'	***kis=*** 'to cut (dough)'

2.4.18. The phoneme /ʐ/ is realized as a voiced apico-alveolar retroflex [ʐ].

The phoneme /ʐ/ does not occur frequently: apart from Chinese loanwords, /ʐ/ occurs only in the following seven stems: ***ʐïq*** 'bad', ***uʐ*** 'point', ***ʂaʐ*** ~ ***saʐ*** 'hair', ***ʂaʐ=*** 'to sprinkle', ***uʐyaɣ*** 'grease', ***qoʐɣar*** 'ram', ***tʰoʐɣïr=*** 'to fill'[18].

When a suffix with initial vowel is affixed, ʐ > ɕ, e.g. ***uʐ*** 'point', ***uɕï*** 'its point', ***ʂaʐ=*** 'to sprinkle', ***ʂaɕuʰt=*** 'to sprinkle out'.

Example of a minimal pair /z/ - /ʐ/ - /ʂ/ - /s/:

uz= 'to rip'	***uʐ*** 'point'	***uʂ*** 'three'	***qus*** 'bird'

2.4.19. The phoneme /ɣ/ is realized as a voiced dorso-velar fricative [ɣ]; near low back vowels, /ɣ/ has a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] as an allophone. Both allophones are realized with very little friction, approaching a voiced dorso-velar or uvular approximant [ɣ˗, ʁ˗].

The phoneme /ɣ/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
final: ***tʰaɣ*** 'mountain', ***pʰeɣ*** 'chief', ***sarïɣ*** 'yellow', ***antaɣ*** 'thus', ***kïsïlïɣ*** 'inhabited'.
intervocalic: ***ɕiɣin*** 'donkey', ***ʂïɣan*** 'mouse', ***aɣïrlïɣ*** 'expensive', ***kuziɣï*** 'husband'.
clusters (ɣ first member): ***ɕiɣti*** ~ ***ɕiuti*** 'jujube'[19], ***yaɣmïr*** 'rain', ***qïzïɣla=*** 'to walk past', ***taɣras=*** 'to murmur', ***tʰaɣwaʂ*** 'mountain top'.
clusters (ɣ second member): ***yülɣïn*** 'tamarisk', ***halɣar*** ~ ***harɣa*** 'bovine dung', ***uzɣan=*** 'to wake up', ***qoʐɣar*** 'ram', ***qoyɣantïr=*** 'to cause to wear in the bosom'.

[17] According to Xuéliǎn, *zïk* is used instead of *sïk* [*sʲïk˗*] to enhance the audibility.

[18] And the derived words *unkin-ʐïq* 'ugly', *uʐtïɣ* 'sharp', *ʂaʐtïɣ* '(married) woman'.

[19] This is the only instance of ɣ followed by a plosive; in *kʰeti* 'paper', ɣ has been elided.

For assimilations of suffixes with initial -G (having *k q ɣ* as allophones), see 2.7.

Examples of minimal pairs */q/ - /ɣ/*:
taqïŋ 'uncle' (+ POS1/2) ***taɣïn*** 'next day'
toqïr 'round' ***toɣïr*** 'other'
puqa 'bull' ***puɣa*** 'hither'

Example of a near minimal pair */k/ - /ɣ/*:
kikïrt= 'to burp' ***kʰeɣïr=*** 'to bring'

2.4.20. The phoneme */x/* is realized as a voiceless dorso-velar fricative [*x*]. */x/* occurs in ***xosï*** 'all', and ***xor*** 'time, instance' and further in Chinese loanwords only.

2.4.21. The phoneme */h/* is realized as a voiceless glottal approximant [*h*]. */h/* occurs in initial position only, e.g. ***halɣar*** 'bovine dung', ***hanï=*** 'to go', ***hapta=*** 'to step (over)', ***hora=*** 'to lack'.

Examples of (near) minimal pairs */h/ - /x/*:
haçï 'nephew' ***siçï xaçï*** 'Sizhı Khazhı (legendary place name)'
hora= 'to lack' ***xor*** 'time, instance'

2.4.22. The phoneme */m/* is realized as a voiced bilabial nasal [*m*].

The phoneme */m/* occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial: ***man=*** 'to wear', ***moyn*** 'neck'.
final: ***yüm*** 'trousers', ***törïm*** 'the year after next', ***aʰltïm*** 'gold'.
intervocalic: ***tamïr*** 'vein', ***sïmïk*** 'bone', ***aramaq*** 'ring finger', ***tʰamaʰkï*** 'tobacco'.
cluster (geminate): ***kʰïm-ma*** 'whoever'.
cluster (*m* first member): ***kʰempiştïɣ*** 'woman', ***samtïq*** 'tattered', ***çʰamça*** 'shirt', ***tïmsïɣ*** 'mouth'.
cluster (*m* second member): ***alma*** 'fruit', ***kïrmïk*** 'eyebrow', ***yaɣmïr*** 'rain', ***tʰazmaq*** 'riddle', ***qayma*** 'vagina (vulgar)'.

For assimilations of suffixes with initial -M (having *p* as an allophone), see 2.7.

2.4.23. The phoneme */n/* is realized as a voiced apico-alveolar nasal [*n*]. Preceding a velar or uvular plosive, */n/* is realized as a voiced dorso-velar nasal [*ŋ*].

The phoneme */n/* occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial: ***ni*** 'what', ***nüʰker*** 'friend'.
final: ***sen*** 'you', ***yoɣïn*** 'thick', ***tuʰtïrqan*** 'rice'.
intervocalic: ***ana*** 'mother', ***hanï=*** 'to go'.
cluster (geminate): ***ennïɣ*** 'broad', ***iskinni=*** 'to scrape with the hoof'.
cluster (*n* first member): ***tʰaqanpaş*** 'fool', ***yantïr=*** 'to vomit', ***sançï=*** 'to stab'.
cluster (*n* second member): ***ilïmni=*** 'to glue', ***yiŋni*** 'needle', ***qazna*** 'mother-in-law', ***oyna=*** 'to play'.

For assimilations of suffixes with initial -N (having *t* as an allophone), see 2.7.

Examples of minimal pairs */m/ - /n/*:
tïrma 'turnip' ***tïrna=*** 'to scratch'
qʰom 'sand' ***qʰun=*** 'to seize'

In final position, the following words show an alternation *m ~ n*: ***alïm ~ alïn*** 'forehead', ***ɕalïm ~ ɕalïn*** '(hoar)frost', ***qʰarɣïm ~ qʰarɣïn*** 'frost', ***qʰulïm ~ qʰulïn*** 'foal'.

2.4.24. The phoneme */ŋ/* is realized as a voiced dorso-velar nasal [*ŋ*].

The phoneme */ŋ/* occurs in the following positions in the word:
final: ***oŋ*** 'right side', ***maŋ=*** 'to walk', ***yalïŋ*** 'naked', ***aytïŋ*** 'moonlight', ***ïrɕalïŋ*** 'flute'.
intervocalic: ***yaŋaq*** 'jaw', ***yaŋï*** 'new', ***tʰeŋï*** 'deaf'.
cluster (*ŋ* first member): ***ezeŋkï*** 'stirrup', ***qʰarmaŋqï*** 'ancestor', ***oŋʂï=*** 'to read', ***aŋna=*** 'to understand', ***maŋras=*** 'of sheep to bleat together'.
cluster (*ŋ* second member) (one instance only): ***tïrŋaq*** 'nail'.

Examples of minimal pairs */n/ - /ŋ/*:
man= 'to wear (clothes)' ***maŋ=*** 'to go'
yerin 'man' ***yirïŋ*** 'snot'

Examples of minimal pairs */m/ - /n/ - /ŋ/*:
yim 'medicin' ***yin*** 'sheep dung' ***yiŋ*** 'sleeve'
am 'now' ***an=*** 'to take along' ***aŋ*** 'joint'

2.4.25. The phoneme */l/* is realized as a voiced velarized apico-alveolar lateral approximant [*ɬ*].

The phoneme */l/* occurs in the following positions in the word:
final: ***tïl*** 'tongue', ***yol*** 'way', ***yʊtal*** 'work', ***tʰeɣïl=*** 'to be blind'.
intervocalic: ***qʰulaq*** 'ear', ***yülïr=*** 'to kill', ***tʰeŋïlïk*** 'blind'.
cluster (geminate): ***mallir*** 'livestock'.
cluster (*l* first member): ***taltaqï*** 'ghost', ***qoʰltïq*** 'armpit', ***tʰulkï*** 'fox', ***kiseʰlkï*** 'lizard', ***qʰolqïɕï*** 'beggar', ***eʰlɕï*** 'shaman', ***alma*** 'fruit', ***alno*** 'taking', ***yalɣa=*** 'to lick'.
cluster (*l* second member): ***aɣïrlïɣ*** 'expensive', ***olɣan ~ oɣlan*** 'boy', ***tïmsïɣlïɣ*** 'having a mouth', ***ʂeylï*** 'motherless', ***qaɣla=*** 'to run', ***aʰslaq*** 'lid', ***qïrïsla=*** 'to munch'.

For assimilations of suffixes with initial -L (having *t n* as allophones), see 2.7.

2.4.26. The phoneme */r/* is realized as a voiced apico-alveolar trill [*r*]. Preceding obstruents and in word-final position, */r/* has a voiced retroflex approximant [*ɹ*] as an allophone; in word-final position, */r/* also has a strongly trilled, nearly syllabic, voiced apico-alveolar trill [*rï*] as a free variant.

The phoneme /r/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial (one instance only): **rïzaqta=** 'to be troublesome'.
final: **yör=** 'to untie' **yüntar=** 'to gather together', **tukiçer** 'small heifer'.
intervocalic: **ara** 'between', **yürïk** 'heart, **yütïrïk** 'cough'.
cluster (*r* first member): **şïrti=** 'to curse', **taʰrtïɣ** 'rope', **arkan** 'box', **tuʰtïrki** 'rat', **arqaş** 'bag', **aʰrqa** 'back', **qorçaq** 'short', **aʰrça** 'juniper', **temïrçï** 'smith', **paʰrsï ~ parsï** 'tiger', **tarmaq** 'finger', **surnïk=** 'to stumble', **tïrŋaq** 'nail', **qïrlaş** 'swallow', **qʰarɣïm** 'frost', **terwi=** 'to shake'.
cluster (*r* second member) (one instance only): **taɣras=** 'to murmur'.

In the following words (perhaps under influence of the allophone [$r^{ï}$]), alternants with and without final vowel occur: **tʰer ~ tʰerï** 'skin; sweat', **qʰar ~ qʰarï** 'old', **ewer ~ ewerï** 'ghost'.

2.4.27. The phoneme /*y*/ is realized as a voiced centro-palatal approximant [*y*]. Preceding *i* and *ü*, /*y*/ has a voiced front-prepalatal fricative [ʑ] as a free variant.

The phoneme /*y*/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial: **yaɣ** 'grease', **yol** 'road'.
final: **ay** 'moon', **tey** 'foal', **qoy** 'sheep'.
intervocalic: **ayar** 'slowly', **ayaq** 'bowl', **haya** 'palm of the hand'.
cluster (*y* first member): **tʰayta=** 'to throw', **ayka** 'grandmother', **qoyçï** 'shepherd', **qʰayçi** 'scissors', **qaysï** 'which (one)', **qayma** 'vagina (vulgar)', **qʰaynat=** 'to cook', **qayla=** 'to run', **şeylï** 'motherless'.
cluster (*y* second member) (one instance only): **uʐyaɣ** 'grease'.

2.4.28. The phoneme /*w*/ is realized as a voiced labialized dorso-velar approximant [*w*].

The phoneme /*w*/ occurs in the following positions in the word:
initial (in Chinese loanwords only): **wu** 'dance'.
intervocalic: **tʰawaq** 'robber, **şïwïra=** 'to whisper', **ewer** 'devil'.
cluster (*w* second member): **terwi=** 'to shake', **harwa** 'highland barley', **hïrwa=** 'to be worn out', **çʰolwan** 'Big Dipper'.

In the following words, an epenthetic vowel *u* ~ *ʊ* occurs preceding *w*: **terwi=** [*teruwi*] 'to shake', **tʰaɣwaş** 'mountain top' [*tʰaʁʊwaʂ*], **qïşwaş** 'face' [*qɨʂʊwaʂ*].

The falling diphtong [*iʊ*], allophone of the rising diphtong [*iʊ*], which arises when the simultaneous converb *-ʊ* is added to verbs ending in *-i* will be written *iw* here, e.g. **kïpti-ʊ ~ kïpti-w** 'fastening' (**kïpti=**), **tïli-w** 'searching' (**tïli=**), **qïti-w** 'calling' (**qïti=**) (see 2.2. and 6.2.2.).

For instances of *w* < *p*, see 2.4.1.

2.5. Secondary features: palatalization and labialization

In Western Yugur, allophonic palatalization and labialization occur as follows.

In a number of words, palatalization of the initial plosive [C^{y}] occurs when a non-high front vowel *e ö* is followed by a liquid *r l*, as in e.g. ***tʰer*** 'sweat', ***tʰer*** 'skin', ***tʰer=*** 'to gather', ***tʰeryin*** 'car', ***tʰermin*** 'mill', ***per=*** 'to give', ***pʰer=*** 'to beat', ***kʰer*** 'cup', ***akkʰer=*** 'to bring', ***tʰelk*** 'hole', ***kel=*** 'to come', ***pel*** 'waist'; ***tört*** 'four', ***törtiŋ*** 'wolf', ***törïm*** 'the year after next', ***tʰörin*** '(at) midnight'. Palatalization also occurs in ***temïr*** 'iron', ***tʰenaɣ*** 'fat', ***tös*** 'chest', ***köz*** 'eye'.

The sequence *sö* has an allophonic rendering *şo* in the following words: ***söz*** ~ ***şoz*** 'word', ***söɣïl=*** ~ ***şoɣïl=*** 'to bake' (see also 3.3.1.).

In initial position, */u/* is realized as [*wu*] by some speakers in e.g. ***uçin*** 'with', ***uɣ=*** 'to grind', ***ulɣaq*** 'kid goat', ***uli=*** 'to share', ***uş*** 'three', ***usïla=*** 'to be unhappy' (see also 2.11.).

Some speakers pronounce [*wey*] as an allophonic rendering of the sequence *oy* in the words ***oy*** 'quick', ***qoy*** 'sheep', ***soy=*** 'to peel', ***oyna=*** 'to play'[20].

2.6. Consonant clusters

Final consonant clusters are few in Western Yugur, and generally consist of a sonant followed by a stop or voiceless fricative *s*. The cluster *şt*, consisting of two obstruents, and the clusters *rn ln yn*, consisting of two sonants, are exceptional in Turkic languages. There is only one instance of an initial consonant cluster: the obsolescent evidential particle *-trv*.

rt: ***tört*** 'four', ***şart*** 'muslim', ***qurt*** 'prick', ***art*** 'west', ***art=*** 'to rub', ***şart=*** 'to cut up', ***surt=*** 'to smear', ***yuʰrt*** 'camp', ***quʰrtqa*** 'old woman', ***kisertkï*** 'lizard', ***aʰrt=*** 'to remain', ***taʰrt=*** 'to pull', and causative verbs in *-t* following *r*, e.g. ***ezert=*** 'to lead', ***sïzïrt=*** 'to cause to beat'.

rk, rq: ***peʰrk*** 'courageous', ***ïʰrktïɣ*** 'loud', ***qarq*** 'nose', ***aʰrq*** 'shit', ***ïʰrq*** 'omen', ***orq=*** 'to be impatient', ***qoʰrq=*** 'to fear', ***qïʰrq=*** 'to shave'.

rn: ***qʰarn*** 'stomach (of an animal)', ***pʰorn*** 'before; front'.

rs: ***arslan*** 'lion', ***qʰarslaŋ*** 'gun', ***paʰrs*** 'pang'.

lk, lq: ***tʰelk*** 'hole', ***palq*** 'wall'.

ln: ***kʰeln*** 'bride'.

yt: ***söyt*** 'bucket', ***ayt=*** 'to ask'.

yn: ***moyn*** 'neck', ***qoyn*** 'bosom', ***söyn=*** 'to be glad', ***eynta*** 'in summer', and the first person imperative suffix following vowels, e.g. ***mayn*** 'let me go'.

şt: ***ïşt*** 'dog', ***ïşt=*** to push', ***pïşt*** 'louse'.

[20] An older example of a Chinese triphtong */uei/* rendered *oy* is *qoydašï* ~ *qoytašï* 'rogue' (Malov 1957: 56b) ←Northwest Mandarin $k^{f}uei^{51}ta^{213}$ 'have a whole bag of tricks' (Chén, Zhōu & Wáng 1990: 215).

Below follows a tabel of intervocalic consonant clusters that occur as a result of suffixation, taking into account the assimilations that the suffix-initial consonants undergo (outlined in 2.7.). The consonants in the left column represent a stem's final consonant, the consonants in the upper row represent a suffix' initial consonant.

	p	*t*	*k*	*q*	*ɕ*	*s*	*ɣ*	*m*	*n*	*l*
p	*pp*	*pt*	*pk*	*pq*	?	*ps*	--	--	--	--
t	*tp*	*tt*	*tk*	*tq*	*tɕ*	*ts*	--	--	--	--
k	*kp*	*kt*	*kk*	--	*kɕ*	*ks*	--	--	--	--
q	*qp*	*qt*	--	*qq*	*qɕ*	*qs*	--	--	--	--
s	--	*st*	*sk*	*sq*	*sɕ*	?	--	*sm*	--	--
ʂ	--	*ʂt*	*ʂk*	*ʂq*	*ʂɕ*	*sʂ*	--	*ʂm*	--	--
z	--	*zt*	*zk*	--	?	?	*zɣ*	*zm*	--	--
ʐ	--	*ʐt*	?	--	?	?	?	?	--	--
m	--	*mt*	*mk*	*mq*	?	*ms*	--	*mm*	*mn*	--
n	--	*nt*	*nk*	*nq*	*nɕ*	*ns*	--	*nm*	*nn*	--
ŋ	--	*ŋt*	*ŋk*	*ŋq*	?	*ŋs*	--	*ŋm*	*ŋn*	--
ɣ	--	*ɣt*	--	--	?	--	--	*ɣm*	*ɣn*	*ɣl*
r	--	*rt*	--	--	*rɕ*	*rs*	*rɣ*	*rm*	*rn*	*rl*
l	--	*lt*	--	--	*lɕ*	*ls*	*lɣ*	*lm*	*ln*	*ll*
y	--	*yt*	--	--	*yɕ*	*ys*	*yɣ*	*ym*	*yn*	*yl*

Intervocalic consonant clusters arising from suffixation; the question mark indicates a probable, but not attested combination.

Apart from these, the following intervocalic consonant clusters occurrred in Western Yugur monomorphemic words (with number of instances): *rɕ* (10), *rk* (10), *rq* (7), *sl* (5), *mp* (3), *rw* (3), *ʐɣ* (2), *kɕ* (2), *ŋʂ* (2), *nʂ* (2), *nz* (2), *lq* (1), *lw* (1), *ɣr* (1), *ŋr* (1), *yk* (1), *yɕ* (1), *zn* (1), *mz* (1), *rz* (1), *rŋ* (1).

The cluster *rʐ* does not occur in monomorphemic words, only *rɕ* is found here.

Furthermore, a cluster *sl* that is not tolerated in suffixation (it is assimilated to *st*) does occur in a small number of monomorphemic stems.

The cluster *zn*, occurring only *qazna* 'mother-in-law', is not tolerated in suffixation (it is assimilated to *zt*): it results from a (recent) contraction of *qazïna*.

The cluster *ɣr* occurs only in the onomatopoeic verb *taɣras=* 'to murmer'; generally, this cluster has been metathesized (see 3.3.6).

The cluster *ŋr* occurs only in the verb *maŋras=* 'to bleat together'; generally, a presonantal *n* > *ŋq* (see 3.2.32).

2.7. Consonant assimilations

Progressive assimilation of consonants occurs in suffixes: suffixes having an initial consonant assimilate this consonant to the final consonant of the stem as follows.

When suffixes having as an initial consonant N (e.g. the genitive suffix -N*ïŋ*) are affixed to stems ending in a plosive or sibilant, N is assimilated to *t*; elsewhere N is realized as *n*.

aʰt-tïŋ	'of the horse'
qïz-tïŋ	'of the girl'
kïsï-nïŋ	'of a person'
tʰaɣ-nïŋ	'of the mountain'

When suffixes having as an initial consonant L (e.g. the verbalizer -LA) are affixed to stems ending in a plosive or sibilant, L is assimilated to *t*; when affixed to stems ending in a nasal, L is assimilated to *n*; elsewhere L is realized as *l*.

tʰuk-ti-s=	'to meet' (+ REC)
tïs-ti=	'to bite'
paŋ-na-s=	'to help' (+ REC)
kʰu-la=	'to cover with a cup'
oy-la=	'(of the sun) to set'

When suffixes having as an initial consonant M (e.g. the negative suffix -MA, or the deverbal noun suffix -MA) are affixed to stems ending in a plosive, M is assimilated to *p*, though assimilation is not often observed by younger speakers; elsewhere M is realized as *m*.

qoʰrq-pa ~ qoʰrq-ma	'don't fear!'
yiz soqpa ~ yiz soqma	'weaver'
şïɣaqta-ma	'don't get diarrhoea!'
aʰş-ma	'don't open!'

When suffixes having as an initial consonant G (e.g. the dative suffix -GA, or the converb suffix -GA) are affixed to stems ending in a plosive, voiceless sibilant or nasal, G is assimilated to a plosive *k q*; words ending in *-z* take a plosive *k* in the front-vocalic variant of the suffix and a fricative *ɣ* in the back-vocalic variant; elsewhere G is realized as *ɣ*.

ïşt-qa	'to the dog'
ïş-ki	'drinking'
kʰun-ki	'to a day'
kʰaŋ-qa	'to the kang'
qïz-ɣa	'to the girl'
mïz-ki	'to us'
uz-ki	'tearing'
kïsï-ɣi	'to a person'

A word-stem's final consonant *ɣ* followed by a suffix having as an initial consonant G is assimilated to *k q*:

tʰaq-qa	'to the mountain' (*tʰaɣ*)
yiq-qa	'collecting' (*yiɣ=*)
tek-ki	'touching' (*teɣ=*)

Regressive assimilation, due to sandhi, occurs in the following instances.

The compounding converb suffix -(*ï*)*p* (see 6.2.1.) is extremely susceptible to sandhi. It assimilates *p* to *t k q* when preceding these plosives: ***unïp par=*** 'to go out', ***unïk kel=*** (< *un-ïp kel=*) 'to come out', ***uzïq qʰal=*** (< *uzï-p qʰal=*) 'to fall asleep', ***pottï*** (< *po-p-tï*) 'became'.

Final *-n* preceding a velar or uvular plosive assimilates to *-ŋ*, e.g. ***yaŋqa*** (< *yan-qa*) 'to the side', ***arkaŋqa*** (< *arkan-qa*) 'to the box', ***sïŋqʰarttï*** (< *sï-n-qʰar-t-tï*) 'broke', ***aŋqan*** (< *an-qan*) 'took along', ***maŋqan*** (< *man-qan*) 'wore'[21].

In rapid speech, final *-m* may assimilate to a following apico-dental, e.g. ***kʰemzï*** ~ ***kʰenzï*** 'bun', ***kʰïm-nïŋ*** ~ ***kʰïn-nïŋ*** 'whose', or to a velar, e.g. ***manïŋ-kizkï*** ~ ***manïm-kizkï*** 'outfit'.

Stem final *-ɣ* is realized as a plosive before a velar or uvular, e.g. ***kïʰçik qïz*** (< *kïʰçiɣ qïz*) 'small girl', ***ïsïk kʰaŋ*** (< *ïsïɣ kʰaŋ*) 'hot kang', or before a voiceless sibilant, e.g. ***tekse*** (< *teɣ-se*) 'if touches'.

In the word ***taʰq=*** (younger speakers) ~ ***taʰp=*** (elder speakers) 'to find', the final consonant has changed *p* > *q*, apparently as a result of sandhi.

2.8. Consonant elisions

Modern elisions of intervocalic sonants *ɣ n ŋ l r w* occur in the following words[22]:

ɣ: ***kʰeɣïr=*** ~ ***kʰer=*** 'to bring', ***tʰeɣermin*** ~ ***tʰermin*** 'mill', ***qʰaɣïr=*** ~ ***qʰar=*** 'to bake', ***yiɣïʂ*** ~ ***yiʂ*** 'food', ***yüɣïʂ*** ~ ***yüʂ*** 'towel'.

n: ***anika*** ~ ***ayka*** 'grandmother', ***menik*** ~ ***mek*** 'money', ***menïŋ*** ~ ***men*** 'my', ***senïŋ*** ~ ***sen*** 'your'.

ŋ: ***yaŋaq*** ~ ***yaq*** 'jaw (of a sheep)', ***tʰeŋïlïk*** ~ ***tʰelk*** 'blind', ***maŋïttï*** ~ ***mattï*** 's/he went', ***maŋin*** ~ ***mayn*** 'let me walk', ***maŋo*** ~ ***mo*** 'walking'.

l: ***alïn=*** ~ ***an=*** 'to take along'[1], ***palïq*** ~ ***palq*** ~ ***paq*** 'wall', ***tïlïsti=*** ~ ***tïsti=*** 'to dream', ***tʰeŋïlïk*** ~ ***tʰelk*** 'deaf; blind', ***salïwat=*** ~ ***suwat=*** 'to put down'.

r: ***sarïmsaq*** ~ ***samsaq*** 'garlic', ***mïrïʂ*** ~ ***mïʂ*** 'cat'.

cluster: ***saɣlïq*** ~ ***saq*** 'ewe'.

In the sequences *-sïsï* and *-zïsï* haplology is usually applied, e.g. /*pïr kïsïsïŋki*/ 'to each one person' is realized as [*pïɹ kï̥sïŋg̊i*], /*üzisïnti*/ 'upon it' as [*üsïnd̥i*], /*quzïsïnta*/ 'below it' as [*qʊsïnd̥a*], /*qozïsïn*/ 'his/her lamb' as [*qɔsïn*], and /*sunzïsïŋqa*/ 'to his/her grandson' as [*sʊnsïŋɢ̥a*].

The verbs ***pol=*** 'to become, to be', ***kel=*** 'to come', ***qʰal=*** 'to fall; to remain', ***sal=*** 'to put, to release', ***niɣïl=*** ~ ***nil=*** ~ ***nal=*** 'to do what', and ***qʰop=*** 'to rise' usually have clipped forms when a suffix is added (see further 6.2.1.).

[21] But cf *maŋqan* (< *maŋ-qan*) 'went'.

[22] For historical elisions still recorded by the older sources, see 3.3.18. - 3.3.20.

2.9. Preaspiration

Also operating as a distinguishing feature within the Western Yugur phonemic system is preaspiration, a rather rare phenomenon in languages. It is mainly described for Gaelic and Icelandic. Preaspiration possibly occurs only in languages that have lost voice as a distinguishing feature in consonants (cf Ó Murchú 1985: 197).

Phonetically, preaspiration can be described as an *h*-like element, or as a palatal or velar fricative, occurring between a vowel and a consonant, typically a plosive, but also an affricate, or even a sibilant (cf Shuken 1979: 452, and Ó Dochartaigh 1981: 235).

In the phonological transcription here, preaspiration will be indicated by a superscript ^{h}, accounting for the following phonetic realizations.

In Western Yugur, preaspiration is realized as a short, whispered (devoiced) continuation of the vowel in careful speech [V^{h}], e.g. ***aʰt*** 'horse' [$a^{h}t^{-}$], ***eʰt=*** 'to sound' [$e^{h}t^{-}$], ***oʰt*** 'grass' [$ɔ^{h}t^{-}$], ***köʰp*** 'much' [$kɔ̈^{h}p^{-}$], ***pïʰt=*** 'to suffice' [$pï^{h}t^{-}$], ***iʰt*** 'meat' [$i^{h}t^{-}$], ***tuʰt=*** 'to hold' [$tu^{h}t^{-}$], ***soʰt=*** 'to release' [$sɔ^{h}t^{-}$], ***tʰaytuʰt=*** 'to throw away' [$t^{h}ayd̥u^{h}t^{-}$]. This is especially observable when the vowel is preceded by a sonant, e.g. ***ҫowatmaʰtï*** 'you're welcome' [$ɕɔwat^{-}ma^{h}tï$], ***araʰkï*** 'liquor' [$ara^{h}kï$], ***nüʰker*** 'friend' [$nü^{h}keɹ$].

In general however, notably in polysyllabic words, preaspiration spreads over the entire vowel, resulting in a completely whispered (devoiced) vowel [V̥], e.g. ***aʰtïs=*** to make war' [$ḁtïs$], ***eʰtïs=*** 'to overtake' [$e̥tïs$], ***pïʰtïr*** 'last year' [$pï̥tïr$], ***kuʰtkï*** 'throat' [$kʊ̥t^{-}kï$], ***üʰkpi*** 'lung' [$ʊ̥̈k^{-}pi$], ***küʰkïs*** 'loins' [$kʊ̥̈kïs$].

In the literature, these completely whispered (devoiced) vowels are inconsistently treated[23]: they are recorded as a vowel preceding a preaspirated consonant, as a vowel following an aspirated consonant, or as a vowel having aspiration on both sides[24]. Vowels following an aspirated consonant, however, are not whispered (devoiced), e.g. ***kʰip*** 'custom' [$k^{h}ip^{-}$], not [$*k^{h}i̥p^{-}$], ***tʰaqan*** 'flour' [$t^{h}aqan$], not [$*t^{h}q̥an$].

When preceding */q/* preaspiration is realized as a voiceless uvular fricative [^{x}], e.g. in ***oʰqal=*** 'to smell' [$ɔ̥^{x}qaɬ$], ***sïʰq=*** 'to squeeze' [$sï̥^{x}q^{-}$], ***toʰqtï*** 'lamb' [$tɔ̥^{x}q^{-}tï$], ***qoʰqaṣ*** 'bird' [$qɔ̥^{x}qaṣ$]. Preaspiration is also realized as [^{x}] in the following words, where it occurs between a low back vowel and /s/: ***taʰs*** 'stone' [$tq̥^{x}s$], ***oʰs=*** 'to be thirsty' [$ɔ̥^{x}s$], ***yaʰs*** 'year of age; tear' [$ya^{x}s$], ***yaʰs=*** 'to hide' [$ya^{x}s$], ***taʰsï=*** 'to spill' [$tq̥^{x}sï$]. A uvular fricative is also pronounced in ***taʰt*** 'Tibetan' [$tq̥^{x}t$], and ***aʰltïm*** 'gold' [$ḁɬ̥tïm$ ~ $ḁ^{x}ɬ̥tïm$].

[23] E.g. *qaʰt* 'side' is recorded as *qaʰtʰ*, *qʰatʰ*; *qaʰṣ* 'a few' as *qaʰṣ*, *qʰaṣ*, *qaṣ*; *qïʰrq=* 'to shave' as *qïʰrqʰ=*, *qʰïrqʰ=*, *qʰïʰrqʰ=*; *quʰrtqa* 'old woman' as *quʰrtʰqa*, *qʰurtʰqa*, *qʰuʰrtʰqa*; *qaʰҫan* 'when' as *qaʰҫan*, *qʰaҫan*, *qʰaʰҫan*; *kuʰtkï* 'throat' as *kuʰtkï*, *kʰutʰkï*; *pïʰrqan* 'deity' as *pïʰrqan*, *pʰurqan*, *pʰïʰrqan*, *pʰïʰrqʰan*; *qoʰqa* 'chest', as *qoʰqa*, *qʰoqa*, *qʰoʰqa*; *taʰrt=* 'to tear', as *taʰrtʰ=*, *tʰaʰrtʰ=*; *taʰqaɣï* 'chicken' as *taʰqaɣï*, *tʰaqaɣï*, *tʰaʰqaɣï*.

[24] In the case of *kïʰҫiɣ* 'small', *pïʰtïɣ* 'book', *pïʰҫaq* 'knife', *tiʰkin* 'thorn', *tuʰtïn* 'tobacco', the same whispered (devoiced) vowel is recorded solely as *kʰïҫiɣ*, *pʰïtïɣ*, *pʰuҫaqʰ*, *tʰikin*, *tʰutïn* in the literature.

When following a high front vowel, preaspiration may be realized as a voiceless front-prepalatal fricative [^{s}], e.g. ***iʰt*** 'meat' [$i_{̥}^{s}t^{-}$], ***yiʰp*** 'rope' [$ʑi^{s}p^{-}$], ***iʰçikï*** 'intestines' [$i_{̥}^{s}çiɡ̈$], ***piʰkʊ*** 'very' [$pi_{̥}^{s}ko$], ***iʰçinti*** 'in it' [$i_{̥}^{s}çind̥i$], ***iʰçʊtï*** 's/he drinks' [$i_{̥}^{s}çod̥ï$], ***yiʰtï*** 'I ate' [$ʑi_{̥}^{s}tï$], ***üʰçüz*** 'three hundred' [$ÿ_{̥}^{s}çüz$]. In ***töʰrçin*** 'village; chief', preaspiration is realized as [*tör*^{s}*çin*].

When following an initial */u/*, preaspiration may be realized as a voiceless bilabial fricative [^{ɸ}], e.g. ***uʰk=*** 'to fly' [$ʊ^{ɸ}k^{-}$], and ***uʰtïr*** 'frontside' [$ʊ^{ɸ}tïr$].

Preaspiration in Western Yugur only occurs preceding voiceless obstruents. However, the consonant may be preceded by a liquid, which is then devoiced; here too, preaspiration may spread over the entire vowel, e.g. ***aʰltï*** 'six' [$a_{̥}ɬ_{̥}tï \sim ą_{̥}ɬ_{̥}tï$], ***aʰltïr*** 'underside' [$a_{̥}ɬ_{̥}tïr \sim ą_{̥}ɬ_{̥}tïr$], ***aʰrqa*** 'back' [$a_{̥}ɢa \sim ą_{̥}ɢa$], ***eʰlçï*** 'shaman' [$ę_{̥}ɬ_{̥}çï$], ***qoʰltïq*** 'armpit' [$qɔ_{̥}ɬ_{̥}tïq^{-} \sim qɔ_{̥}ɬ_{̥}tïq^{-}$], ***ïʰrq*** 'omen' [$ï_{̥}ɢ^{-}$], ***eʰrti*** 'early' [$ę_{̥}ʁti$], ***eʰrkïk*** 'male' [$ę_{̥}ʁkik^{-}$], ***qoʰrq=*** 'to fear' [$qɔ_{̥}ʁq^{-} \sim qɔ_{̥}ʁq^{-}$], ***paʰrsï*** 'tiger' [$pą_{̥}^{x}ʁsï$].

High vowels preceding a voiceless sibilant ((C)V*s*, (C)V*ʂ*), or high vowels occurring between a voiceless sibilant and a plosive (*s*VC, *ʂ*VC) tend to become reduced and whispered (devoiced) (see 2.1.11.); in this position, preaspiration is neutralized, except when it manifests itself as [^{x}], e.g. as in ***sïʰq=*** 'to squeeze' [$sï_{̥}^{x}q$], preceding *q*.

The following words with a low vowel preceding a voiceless sibilant show variation in preaspiration: ***as=*** ~ ***aʰs=*** 'to cross', ***tas*** ~ ***taʰs*** 'stone', ***tas*** ~ ***taʰs*** 'outside', ***parsï*** ~ ***paʰrsï*** 'tiger'.

In the case of ***paʂ*** 'head', preaspiration occurs in oblique forms, but not in the stem: ***paʰçï*** 'his head', ***paʰçïnta*** 'at the beginning', ***paʰʂta*** 'on the head'.

In the following words, preaspiration occurs in oblique forms when a stem-initial suffix is added: ***ïʂ*** 'inside', ***ïʂki*** 'to the inside', ***iʰçinti*** 'in it'; ***ïʂ=*** 'to drink', ***ïʂki*** 'drinking', ***iʰçʊtï*** 's/he drinks', ***uʂ*** 'three', ***uʰçun*** 'thirty', ***üʰçüz*** 'three hundred'; ***küʂ=*** 'to migrate', ***küʰçïp par=*** 'to go migrating'.

Prespiration occurs predominantly in monosyllables, or in the first syllable of a polysyllabic word. In the following words, preaspiration occurs in the second syllable of the stem: ***araʰkï*** 'liquor', ***tʰamaʰqï*** 'tobacco', ***qʰuraʰqe*** 'insect', ***amïʰtan*** 'animal', ***kʰeŋkïʰrkï*** 'drum', ***ʂorɣïʰlçïn*** ~ ***sorïʰçïn*** 'ant', ***surïʰçïn*** ~ ***sereʰçï*** 'wild goose', ***kiseʰlkï*** 'lizard', ***amiʰkï*** 'immediately', ***sïraʰkïn*** 'three days from now', ***untïʰrkïn*** 'four days from now', ***oriʰkïn*** 'the day before yesterday', ***oriʰkel*** 'the year before last'.

Furthermore, preaspiration occurs in the completive suffix -*uʰt* (see 6.5.1.).

The past tense suffix -(*ʰ*)*tï* (see 6.2.5.) is realized as -*ʰtï* following vowels, liquids, and *y*, e.g. ***qaramaʰtï*** [*qaramaʰtï*] 'I did not look' (***qarama=*** 'not to look'), ***pïʰltï*** [*pï*$_{̥}$*ɬ*$_{̥}$*tï*] 'I knew' (***pïl=*** 'to know'), ***peʰrtï*** [*peʁtï*] 'I gave' (***per=*** 'to give'), ***pʰeʰrtï*** [*pʰę*$_{̥}$*ʁtï*] 'I beat' (***pʰer=*** 'to beat'), ***soyʰtï*** [*sɔy*^{ʰ}*tï*] 'I peeled' (***soy=*** 'to peel').

The third person possessive -*sï*(*n*) (see 4.2.) is occasionally realized with preaspiration, e.g. ***yüsï*** ~ ***yüʰsï*** 'his/her house'.

Phonemically, the phenomenon of preaspiration is ambiguous; it can be interpreted either as a component of the preceding vowel or of the following consonant, as a separate phoneme, or as prosodic element.

Chén (1986) analyses preaspiration as belonging to the vowel system. Apart from the eight simplex vowels, he distinguishes a series of six aspirated vowels[25]. He further assumes that the vowel and the aspiration element may undergo metathesis, with subsequent devoicing of the vowel[26]; no conditions for this phenomenon are formulated. Perhaps this metathesis may simply be interpreted as a spreading of the preaspiration over the vowel. This analysis, however, does not account for the preaspiration that originates from affixation of the past tense suffix -(ʰ)*tï*.

Tenišev (1976: 11-18) analyses preaspiration as belonging to the consonant system, in which e.g. /*t*/ is distinctive from /ʰ*t*ʰ/. Depending on its position in a word, /ʰ*t*ʰ/ is realized as [*t*ʰ] initially, as [ʰ*t*] medially, and as [ʰ*t* ~ ʰ*t*ʰ] in final position. However, this analysis does not account for the aspirated consonants in intervocalic position, even though they are rare.

Here, preaspiration will be considered prosodic, as it cannot be ascribed to one phoneme, but its occurrence depends on the coocurrence of two phonemes. Furthermore, it may take in its scope the entire vowel, to the extent that aspiration of the consonant preceding the vowel is neutralized (e.g. in *pʰeʰrtï* 'I beat' [*pe̥ɹ̥tï*]), and it renders a liquid between a vowel and consonant voiceless.

Below follow some (near) minimal pairs indicating the distinctiveness of simplex vowels versus preaspiration versus vowels preceded by aspirated consonants.

/*e*/ - /*e*ʰ/:		
et= 'to do'	***e*ʰ*t***= 'to arrive; to sound'	
/*i*/ - /*i*ʰ/:		
kip 'coming'	***ki*ʰ*p*** 'much'	***k*ʰ*ip*** 'custom'
yit= 'to lead'	***i*ʰ*t*** 'meat'	
/*ü*/ - /*ü*ʰ/:		
üsïnti 'on it'	***yü*ʰ*sïnti*** 'at home'	
/*a*/ - /*a*ʰ/:		
at 'name'	***a*ʰ*t*** 'horse', ***a*ʰ*t***= 'to shoot'	
yaqïn= 'to cover'	***ya*ʰ*qïn*** 'near'	
yaq 'side'	***ya*ʰ*q*** 'no'	
aq 'white'	***a*ʰ*q***= 'to flow'	
art= 'to rub'	***a*ʰ*rt***= 'to be left over'	***hartt ï*** 's/he was tired'
arqaş 'bag'	***a*ʰ*rqa*** 'back'	
aqa 'elder borther'	***a*ʰ*ka*** 'monk'	
pat*ʰ*ïr 'hero'	***pa*ʰ*tïr***= 'to lose'	
qaça= 'to gnaw'	***qa*ʰ*çan*** 'when'	***q*ʰ*aça*** 'too much'
qap 'bag'	***qa*ʰ*qïs***= 'to quarrel'	***q*ʰ*aq*** 'dry'
taqa 'uncle'	***ta*ʰ*qï*** 'still', ***ta*ʰ*qqan*** 'found'	***t*ʰ*aqan*** 'flour'

[25] According to Chén (1986), preaspiration does not occur following the high front vowels.

[26] According to Chén & Léi (1985: 8), V^{h}C > hV̥C, e.g. *oʰtʰ* ~ *ho̥tʰ* 'grass', *aʰtʰ* ~ *haṯʰ* 'horse', and CV^{h}C > C^{h}V̥C, e.g. *teʰpʰ*= ~ *tʰe̥pʰ*= 'to kick'.

/o/ - /o^{h}/:

ot 'fire'	***o^{h}t*** 'grass'	
os= 'to seize'	***o^{h}s=*** 'to be thirsty'	
otïŋ 'firewood'	***o^{h}tïs*** 'thirty'	
orq= 'to be impatient'	***qo^{h}rq=*** 'to fear'	***q^{h}ort=*** 'to make dry'

/ï/ - /ï^{h}/:

sïk 'door'	***sï^{h}q=*** 'to squeeze'	
pït 'leg'	***pï^{h}t=*** 'to suffice'	

/u/ - /u^{h}/:

uçin 'with'	***u^{h}çun*** 'thirty'	***p^{h}uti=*** 'to blow'
tut= 'to pluck wool'	***tu^{h}t=*** 'to hold'	***t^{h}uti=*** 'to spit'

Below follow some (near) minimal pairs indicating the distinctiveness of simplex consonants versus preaspiration versus geminates.

parʊtï 's/he goes'	***pa^{h}rtï*** 'I went'	***parttï*** 's/he went'
polʊtï 's/he becomes'	***po^{h}ltï*** 'I became'	***pottï*** 's/he became'
perʊtï 's/he gives'	***pe^{h}rtï*** 'I gave'	***perttï*** 's/he gave'
yitï 'seven'	***i^{h}tik*** 'skirt'	***i^{h}ttï*** 'meat' (ACC)
portaş 'fodder'	***o^{h}rta*** 'middle'	***ortta=*** 'to slurp'

su al-ma-tï	's/he is a water-taker' (water take-VN-EV)
su al-ma-^{h}tï	'I did not take water' (water take-NEG-PAST)
t^{h}orla-p par-tï	'I am starving' (be.hungry-CON present-EV)
men koɣa pa^{h}r-tï	'I went there' (I DEM/DAT go-PAST)

2.10. Word stress

Stress is on the final vowel of the word; if a suffix containing a vowel is added to a word, the stress shifts to this vowel.

The evidential particle *-tï* (see 7.3.2.) is usually unstressed, but the pronunciation changes to *-tʊ* when it bears emphatic stress. The same applies to the question particle ***mi*** (see 7.3.8.) which is realized ***mʊ*** when stressed.

2.11. Chinese loanwords

Most Western Yugur speakers are bilingual in Chinese and frequently employ Chinese words in their speech, both established loanwords and nonce loans. These loanwords originate not only from standard Chinese, but also from the Northwest Mandarin dialect. They are adapted to the Western Yugur phoneme system as follows. Chinese tones are not retained in Western Yugur.

The phoneme /f/ has been introduced from Chinese and occurs in Chinese loanwords only. It is realized as a voiceless labio-dental fricative [f], e.g. ***fu*** 'rich' ←Ch fù.

The phoneme /c^h/ has been introduced from Chinese, and is realized as an aspirated apico-alveolar affricate [c^h]. Usually, however, /c^h/ is rendered /s/ in Western Yugur, e.g. ***c^{h}ay*** ~ ***sey*** 'vegetables' ←Chinese cài, ***c^{h}unzï*** ~ ***sunzï*** 'village' ←Ch cūnzi.

Likewise, the Chinese phoneme /c/ is usually rendered /z/ in Western Yugur (see 2.4.9.), e.g. ***can*** ~ ***zan*** 'station' ←NwM *can*^{213}, ***luzï*** 'oven' ←Ch lúzi.

Chinese [ɛ][27] is retained in Western Yugur (see also 2.1.4.), e.g. ***içh^{h}ɛn*** 'before' ←Ch yǐqián, ***yüɛnwey*** 'an official' ←Ch yuánwài, ***çɛkuo*** 'as a result' ←Ch jiéguǒ, ***p^{h}ɛnzï*** 'tray' ←Ch pánzi.

Chinese apical [ɿ] and retroflex [ʅ], allophones of the phoneme /*i*/ following the apical and retroflex phones respectively, are generally rendered /ï/ in Western Yugur[28], e.g. ***şanzï*** 'fan' ←Ch shànzi, ***loşï*** 'teacher' ←Ch lǎoshī.

The Chinese phoneme /e/, phonetically [ə], is generally rendered /ï/ in Western Yugur, e.g. ***zïli=*** 'to harass' ←Ch rě; [ə] is retained in e.g. Western Yugur ***ər*** 'two' ←Ch èr, ***kər*** 'song' ←Ch gēr, ***p^{h}əŋyou*** 'friend' ←Ch péngyou.

The Chinese diphtong /*ai*/ is usually rendered /*ey*/ in Western Yugur (see also 2.1.4.), e.g. ***keyzï*** 'lid' ←Ch gàizi, ***seyli=*** 'to stuff in' ←Ch sāi.

Currently, Chinese vowel sequences are generally retained in Western Yugur, but in older loanwords, they tend towards monophtongization, e.g. ***kʊk^{h}e*** 'pancake' ←NWM *kuë*^{44}*k^{h}uei*, ***kuke*** 'ankle' ←NwM *ku*^{213}*kuai*^{51}, ***sü*** 'boot' ←Ch xuē, ***yünzï*** 'kitchen garden' ←NwM *üɛn*$^{51}_{44}$*cɿ*, ***çuŋna=*** 'to put into a pocket' ←Ch zhuāng, ***k^{h}uŋ*** 'basket' ←Ch kuāng, ***lotïla=*** 'to talk nonsence' ←Ch láodao, (NwM *lɔ*^{51}*tɔ*^{44})[29], ***çula=*** 'to rescue' ←Ch jiù, ***k^{h}ula=*** 'to place a cup or bowl upside down' ←Ch kòu, ***ç^{h}ili=*** '(of an animal) to hold in the mouth' ←NwM *ç^{h}ie*^{51}, ***nili=*** 'to knead' ←Ch niē.

Chinese syllable initial /*i, ü*/ have [*yi, yü*] as free allophones; this allophony is reflected in Western Yugur in e.g. ***iyaŋ*** ~ ***yiyaŋ*** 'similar' ←Ch yīyàng, ***yür*** 'fish' ←Ch yúr, and may even have [ʑ] as an allophone (see 2.4.27.), e.g. ***yimïyiyaŋ*** [ʑimïʑiyaŋ] 'exactly alike' ←Ch yīmú-yīyàng.

Chinese syllable initial /*u*/ has [ʍu] as a free allophone, reflected in e.g. Western Yugur ***wu*** 'dance' ←Ch wǔ (see also 2.5.).

The Chinese syllable initial vowel sequences /*ia, iau, iou, üe, ua, uai, uei*/, all starting with a high vowel, are rendered *y-*, *w-* in Western Yugur, e.g. ***yaŋzï*** 'form' ←Ch yàngzi, ***yola=*** 'to shake' ←Ch yáo, ***youpiŋzï*** 'oil cake' ←Ch yóubǐng, ***yüɛ*** 'month' ←Ch yuè, ***wala=*** 'to gouge out' ←Ch wā, ***yüɛnwey*** 'an official' ←Ch yuánwài, ***weyla=*** 'to heat (the kang)' ←Ch wēi.

Typical of the Northwest Mandarin dialect is the pronunciation *ŋ, x* for standard Chinese *n, s*, which is occasionally reflected in Western Yugur, e.g. ***kïŋpïŋ*** 'at all' ←NwM *kəŋ*^{21}*pəŋ*^{52}, ***ixa*** ~ ***yixa*** 'all of a sudden' ←NwM *i*$^{213}_{13}$*xa*^{213}, for standard Chinese gēnběn and yīxià.

[27] The phone [ɛ] occurs in Chinese as an allophone of /*a*/, or as a component of the diphtongs /*ie üe*/ or the thriphtong /*iüɛ*/.

[28] Chén and Léi, however, usually follow the Hànyǔ Pīnyīn convention here and spell *i*.

[29] The Northwest Mandarin dialect has /*o*/ corresponding to standard Chinese ao /*au*/.

3. Historical phonology

Before embarking on the historical phonology of the Western Yugur language, some problems concerning Turkic historical linguistics will be outlined.

The proto-system that is generally constructed for the Turkic languages starts out from the oldest Turkic language materials, the Orkhon runic inscriptions of the 8th century, carved on steles found in Mongolia, and the linguistically very similar Old Uygur manuscripts of subsequent centuries, found predominantly in Xīnjiăng. One of the most comprehensive sources of information is Mahmud Kashgari's 'Compendium of Turkic dialects', composed in the 11th century. All these older language materials have been compiled by Clauson in his 'Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish' (1972). In the 13th century, the conquests of the Mongols put an end to the writing tradition of this so called Old Turkic period. Later documents are written in Turkic languages different from Old Turkic.

Reconstructing a proto-language from these older materials is complicated by the fact that the Old Turkic documents were written in a variety of scripts which often only imperfectly render the phonemic system of the language, thus allowing for different readings. Furthermore, not much is known about other Turkic dialects and/or languages of this period, apart from a few indications by Mahmud Kashgari.

A second source of information for reconstructing the proto-system of the Turkic languages are the Turkic languages spoken today. Modern materials are being compiled in the 'Etymological Dictionary of Turkic Languages' (Sevortjan 1974-). Especially Turkmen, Yakut and Khalaj have attracted attention as they display vowel length, and, in the case of Khalaj, also *h-* which is almost not existent elsewhere.

The development of the aberrant Chuvash and its classification (whether forming a seperate, very archaic, branch of Turkic languages, or a more recent departure from a Turkic language not unlike the present day **adak* languages (Nauta 1997, personal communication) has not been satisfactorily solved yet. Thus, Chuvash is generally not taken into consideration when reconstructing Turkic proto-forms, and therefore these reconstructed forms are traditionally labeled Common Turkic (CT), not Proto-Turkic.

Many details concerning the subgrouping of the Turkic languages, especially of the peripheral languages, have not been solved yet.

The phonemic system reconstructed for Common Turkic (CT) so far consists of eight[1] vowels *i e ü ö ï a u o* and vowel length, and 18 consonants, *p b t d k g č s z š m n ň ŋ l r y h*.

Vowel length will be assumed here only if attested in Turkmen and/or Yakut, and not solely on the basis of the older Turkic sources. The distribution of the plosives remains problematic.

[1] There is no basis for reconstructing a ninth vowel **é*, as Nauta 1994 convincingly argues.

3.1. Developments of the vowels

The Common Turkic (CT) vowel system contains eight vowels, four front vowels, *e i ö ü*, and four back vowels, *a ï o u*. The development of the CT quantative feature of vowel length will be treated separately (see 3.4.).

3.1.1. In general, CT **i* > WYu *ï*:

CT **ič*	> WYu **ïṣ** 'inside'
CT **ini*	> WYu **ïnï** 'younger brother'
CT **kiši*	> WYu **kïsï** 'person'
NE **ilig*	> WYu **ïlïɣ** 'hand'
CT **ki:r=*	> WYu **kʰïr=** 'to enter'

3.1.2. CT **i* is retained as WYu *i* when preceded by **y*:

CT **yig*	> WYu **yiɣ** 'raw'
CT **yin*	> WYu **yin** 'dung'
CT **yigit*	> WYu **yiɣït** 'young man'
CT **yip*	> WYu **yiʰp** 'rope'

3.1.3. CT **i* is retained as WYu *i* when preceded by **č*:

CT **ičinte*	> WYu **iʰçinti** 'inside of it'[2]
CT **ičekü* > **ičiki*	> WYu **iʰçikï** 'intestines'[2]
CT **ičür=* > **ičir=*	> WYu **iʰçir=** 'to give to drink' (see also 3.1.16.)
CT **čikenek*	> WYu **çʰikinik** 'elbow'
CT **kičig*	> WYu **kïʰçiɣ** 'small'

3.1.4. There are a few irregular developments of CT **i* (see also 3.1.22.):

CT **kigür=*	> WYu **kʰeɣïr=** 'to bring' (not **kʰïɣïr=*)
CT **inek*	> WYu **enik** 'cow' (not **ïnik*)
CT **senler* > **seler* ~ **siler*	> WYu **selir** 'you (PL)'
CT **elči*	> WYu **eʰlçï** 'shaman' (not **eʰlçi*[3])

3.1.5. In general, CT **ï* > WYu *ï*:

CT **altï*	> WYu **aʰltï** 'six'
CT **tamïr*	> WYu **tamïr** 'vein'
CT **agïrlïg*	> WYu **aɣïrlïɣ** 'expensive'
CT **kïlïč*	> WYu **qïlïṣ** 'sword'
CT **kï:z*	> WYu **qïz** 'girl'

[2] The CT simplex stems **ič* 'inside', **ič=* 'to drink' developed regularly into WYu *ïṣ*, *ïṣ=*; the WYu declensional and derived forms, however, retained initial *i-* and developed CT **č* > *ç* when the stem is followed by a vowel.

[3] The CT agent suffix **-čï* always developed into WYu *-çï*, not **-çi*.

3.1.6. CT *ï > WYu *i* when preceded by *y*:

CT *yïg=*	> WYu ***yiɣ=*** 'to collect'
CT *yïl*	> WYu ***yil*** 'year'
CT *yïdï=*	> WYu ***yizï=*** 'to rot'
CT *yïlan*	> WYu ***yilan*** 'snake'
CT *yïlïg*	> WYu ***yilïɣ*** '(luke)warm'

CT high rounded vowels *u *ü have developed according to the same pattern as CT *i *ï, but in non-first syllables, CT rounded vowels are generally not retained.

3.1.7. In general, CT *ü > WYu *u*:

CT *üč*	> WYu ***uʂ*** 'three'[4]
NE *tül=*	> WYu ***tʰul=*** 'to cook, to boil, to braise'
CT *tütün*	> WYu ***tuʰtïn*** 'to smoke'
CT *küdegü*	> WYu ***kuziɣï*** 'bridegroom'
CT *ü:n=*	> WYu ***un=*** 'to come out'

3.1.8. CT *ü is retained as WYu *ü* when preceded by *y*:

CT *yü:z*	> WYu ***yüz*** 'hundred; face'
CT *yürek*	> WYu ***yürek*** 'heart'

3.1.9. There are a few irregular developments of CT *ü (mostly occurring near a labial consonant, see also 3.1.12):

CT *büt= > *but=*	> WYu ***pïʰt=*** 'to suffice'
CT *bük= > *bök=*	> WYu ***pʰek=*** 'to bend' (not *pʰuk=*)
CT *tü:l*	> WYu ***tïl*** 'dream' (not *tul*)

3.1.10. In general, CT *u > WYu *u*:

CT *kuš*	> WYu ***qus*** 'bird'
CT *tut=*	> WYu ***tuʰt=*** 'to hold'
CT *tulum*	> WYu ***tʰulïm*** 'bag'
CT *tuturkan*	> WYu ***tuʰtïrqan*** 'rice'
CT *bulgar*	> WYu ***pulɣar*** 'leather'
CT *bu:ka*	> WYu ***puqa*** 'bull'

3.1.11. CT *u > WYu *ü* when preceded by *y*:

CT *yu=*	> WYu ***yü=*** 'to wash'
CT *yïlgun > *yulɣun*	> WYu ***yülɣïn*** 'a kind of tree'
CT *uyat= > *yuat=*	> WYu ***yüat=*** 'to be shy'
CT *yabïz > *yus*	> WYu ***yüs*** 'bad' (see also 3.3.2.)

[4] The CT simplex stem *üč developed regularly into WYu *uʂ*, but in the derived forms *üʰçüs* 'three hundred' (a crasis of *uʂ* 'three' + *yüz* 'hundred'), and *üʰçüsï* 'the three of them', *ü* is retained.

3.1.12. CT **u* > WYu *ï* near a labial consonant:

CT **bulut*	> WYu ***pulït*** ~ ***pïlït*** 'cloud'
CT **bugra*	> WYu ***pïrγa*** 'camel stallion'
CT **bu:t*	> WYu ***pït*** 'leg'
CT **bu:z*	> WYu ***pïz*** 'ice'
CT **burkan*	> WYu ***pïʰrqan*** 'deity'
CT **tumšuk*	> WYu ***tïmsïγ*** 'mouth'
CT **turma*	> WYu ***tïrma*** 'turnip'

3.1.13. CT **u* > WYu *o*, mainly preceding **r* and **g*, or near **k*, e.g.:

CT **ur=*	> WYu ***or=*** 'to saddle'
CT **urug*	> WYu ***orïγ*** ~ ***oruγ*** 'relative'
CT **burun*	> WYu ***pʰorn*** 'before; front'
CT **kur*	> WYu ***qʰor*** 'girdle'
CT **kurït=*	> WYu ***qʰort=*** 'to make dry'
CT **tug=*	> WYu ***toγ=*** 'to be born'
CT **kum*	> WYu ***qʰom*** 'sand'
CT **kuškač*	> WYu ***qoʰqaş*** 'bird'
CT **kuzï*	> WYu ***qozï*** 'lamb'
CT **us=*	> WYu ***oʰs=*** 'to be thirsty'
CT **ubšak*	> WYu ***oʰşaq*** 'crumb'
CT **udgan=*	> WYu ***uzγan=*** ~ ***ozγan=*** 'to wake up'
CT **suktu*	> WYu ***soqtï*** 'sausage'

In non-first syllables, CT high rounded vowels generally have developed into WYu high unrounded vowels.

3.1.14. CT non-initial **u* > WYu *ï*:

CT **altun*	> WYu ***aʰltïm*** 'gold'
CT **a:zuk*	> WYu ***azïq*** 'food'
CT **yagmur*	> WYu ***yaγmïr*** 'rain'
CT **bodu=*	> WYu ***pozï=*** 'to paint, to dye'

3.1.15. CT non-initial **ü* > **u* > WYu *ï*:

CT **bi:ndür=*	> WYu ***mïntïr=*** 'to cause to mount'
CT **yetkür=*	> WYu ***eʰtkïr=*** 'to cause to arrive'
CT **bedü=*	> WYu ***pezï=*** 'to be large'
CT **köküz*	> WYu ***küʰkïs*** 'loins'
CT **kö:kerčkün*	> WYu ***kükişkïn*** 'pigeon'

3.1.16. CT non-initial **ü* > WYu *i* when preceded by **č* (see also 3.1.3.):

CT **üčün*	> WYu ***uçin*** 'with; using'
CT **ičür=*	> WYu ***iʰçir=*** 'to give to drink'

3.1.17. Only rarely is a rounded vowel in the non-first syllable retained; usually there is a rounded vowel in the first syllable.

CT **uzun* > WYu ***uzïn ~ uzun*** 'long'
CT **ečkü* > **öškü* > **üškü* > WYu ***şuku*** 'goat' (see also 3.1.18., 3.1.25., 3.3.14.)
CT **öŋgüč* > **oŋguč* > WYu ***oŋkuş*** 'Adam's Apple'

3.1.18. In the following words, unrounding of the vowel in the second syllable took place after causing rounding of the vowel of the first syllable:

CT **yïlgun* > **yulγun* > WYu ***yülγïn*** 'kind of tree'
CT **sïgun* > **sugun* > WYu ***suγïn*** 'deer'
CT **tilkü* > **tülkü* > WYu ***tʰulkï*** 'fox'
CT **ečkü* > **öškü* > **üškü* > WYu ***şuku*** 'goat' (see also 3.1.25., 3.1.17., 3.3.14.)

3.1.19. The development of CT high vowels is complicated by the fact that in several words a prosthetic **y* arose, or aphaeresis of **y* took place (after the development CT **yï* > *yi* and **yu* > *yü*) (see further 3.2.34.). It seems not possible to establish conditions for these developments[5].

	prosthesis	vowel fronting	aphaeresis	
CT **yi:nčke*			> **iške*	> WYu ***siki*** 'slender'[6]
CT **yïmšak*		> **yimšak*	> **imšak*	> WYu ***imsaq*** 'soft'
CT **yïmša=*		> **yimša=*	> **imša=*	> WYu ***imsa=*** 'to use'[7]
CT **ü:ze*	> **yüze*		> **üze*	> WYu ***üzi*** 'upside'
CT **ïgač*	> **yïgač*	> **yigač*		> WYu ***yiγaş*** 'wood'
CT **ï:gla=*	> **yïgla=*	> **yigla=*		> WYu ***yilγa=*** 'to cry'
CT **ïŋïr*	> **yïŋïr*	> **yiŋïr*		> WYu ***yiŋïr*** 'evening'
CT **ïr*	> **yïr*	> **yir*		> WYu ***yer*** 'song'
CT **iriŋ*	> **yiriŋ*	> **yirïŋ*		> WYu ***yirïŋ*** 'snot'
CT **igne*	> **yigne*			> WYu ***yiŋni*** 'needle'
CT **üm*	> **yüm*			> WYu ***yüm*** 'trousers'

3.1.20. In the following two words, aphaeresis of CT **y* took place prior to the development of **yï* > **yi* and **yu* > **yü*.

CT **yïtïg* > **ïtïg* > WYu ***ïştïγ*** 'sharp'
CT **yu(m)duruk* > **udïrïk* > WYu ***uzïrïq*** 'fist'

[5] No prosthetic **y* occurred in WYu *iʰçikï* 'intestines', *iʰçir=* 'to give to drink', *ïnï* 'younger brother', *ïsïγ* 'warm', *ïʰrq* 'omen', *ïs* 'smoke; work', *ïş* 'inside', *ïş=* 'to drink', *ïşt* 'dog', *ïşt=* 'to push', *enik* 'cow'; CT words with an initial rounded high vowel *ü* usually do not show prosthetic **y* in WYu, and CT **y* preceding a rounded high vowel *ü* is not very susceptible to aphaeresis in WYu.

[6] See also 3.3.14.

[7] A WYu variant *yimsa=* exists as well.

3.1.21. In general, CT *e > WYu *i*:

CT *et	> WYu **iʰt** 'meat'
CT *ye:=	> WYu **yi=** 'to eat'
CT *kem	> WYu **kim** 'disease'
CT *yel	> WYu **yil** ~ **yel** 'wind'
CT *etek	> WYu **iʰtik** 'skirt'

3.1.22. CT *e* is often retained as WYu *e* when preceding *r *l *g* or *ŋ* in the first syllable:

CT *eren	> WYu **erin** 'man'
CT *yer	> WYu **yer** 'place'
CT *kel=	> WYu **kel=** 'to come'
CT *teg=	> WYu **teɣ=** 'to touch'
CT *ke:ŋ	> WYu **kʰeŋ** 'wide'

3.1.23. CT *e* is irregularly retained as WYu *e* when preceding *n* or *m* in the first syllable:

CT *e:nlig	> WYu **enniɣ** 'broad'
CT *ermez > *emez	> WYu **emis** 'is not'
CT *temir	> WYu **temïr** 'iron'

3.1.24. Other exceptions in which CT *e* is retained as WYu *e* are:

CT *eder=	> WYu **ezer=** 'to follow'
NE *ezeŋgi	> WYu **ezeŋkï** 'stirrup'
CT *teke	> WYu **tʰeke** 'male goat'
CT *bedük	> WYu **pezïk** 'big'

3.1.25. Irregular developments of CT *e* are:

CT *beŋi	> WYu **muŋe** 'brain' (not *meŋï)
CT *bek > *pik	> WYu **pʰïk** 'force' (not *pik ~ *pʰik)
CT *ečkü > *öškü > *üškü	> WYu **şuku** 'goat' (see also 3.1.17., 3.1.18., 3.3.14.)
CT *ezük > *özük > *üzük	> WYu **uzïk** 'lie'

3.1.26. In general, CT *ö > WYu *ü*:

CT *öpke	> WYu **ükʰkpi** 'lung'
CT *kö:k	> WYu **kük** 'blue'
CT *čömken	> WYu **çʰünkʰin** 'meadow'

3.1.27. CT *ö* is retained as WYu *ö* when preceding *r *l* or *ŋ* in the first syllable:

CT *kör=	> WYu **kör=** 'to see'
CT *kö:l	> WYu **kʰöl** 'lake'
CT *köŋül	> WYu **köŋül** 'heart, emotion'

3.1.28. Other exceptions in which CT *ö* is retained as WYu *ö* are:

CT *köz	> WYu **köz** 'eye' (probably by analogy with **kör=** 'to see')
CT *köp	> WYu **köʰp** 'much, many'
CT *köm=	> WYu **kʰöm=** 'to bury'.

3.1.29. In the following words, delabialization CT *ö > WYu *e* occurred (most often, but not exclusively, near a labial consonant):

CT *köp	> WYu	**kö^{h}p ~ ke^{h}p ~ ki^{h}p** 'much, many'
CT *börk	> WYu	**p^{h}erïk** 'hat'
CT *bögür	> WYu	**p^{h}eɣïr** 'kidney'
CT *köleke	> WYu	**k^{h}eleke** 'shade'
CT *töŋü	> WYu	**t^{h}eŋï** 'deaf'

3.1.30. Irregular developments of CT *ö > WYu *o* occur in:

CT *ögür	> WYu	**oɣïr** 'herd' (not *öɣïr ~ *üɣïr)
CT *öŋgüč	> WYu	**oŋkuş** 'Adam's apple' (not *öŋkïş ~ *üŋkïş)

3.1.31. In the following words (mainly preceding *z*), CT *ö > *ü > WYu *u*:

CT *ö:z	> WYu	**uzï** 'self' (+ a POS3 *ï)
CT *özge	> WYu	**uzki** 'otherwise'
CT *özüt	> WYu	**uzït** 'devil'
CT *öŋdün	> WYu	**untïn** 'east'
CT *ö:rük=	> WYu	**u^{h}k=** 'to fly'

3.1.32. The development of CT low front vowels is complicated by the fact that in several words a prosthetic *y arose, or aphaeresis of *y took place (see further 3.2.34.). It seems not possible to establish conditions for these developments[8].

	prosthesis	vowel raising	
CT *öl=	> *yöl=	> *yül=	> WYu **yül=** 'to die'
CT *ö:t	> *yöt	> *yüt	> WYu **yüt** 'bile'
CT *eb[9]	> *yö	> *yü	> WYu **yü** 'house'
CT *örü	> *yörü	> *yürï	> WYu **yürï** 'upwards'
CT *ögren=	> *yögren=		> WYu **yöɣïn=** 'to learn'
CT *ör=	> *yör=		> WYu **yör=** 'to plait'
CT *ebiril=[9]	> *yöril=		> WYu **yörlï=** 'to turn'
NE *egeš	> *yegeš	> *yigiš	> WYu **yiɣiş** 'female dog'
CT *egin	> *yegin	> *yigïn	> WYu **yiɣïn** 'shoulder'
CT *egir=	> *yegir=	> *yigïr=	> WYu **yiɣïr=** 'to twist'
CT *em	> *yem	> *yim	> WYu **yim** 'medicin'
CT *em=	> *yem=	> *yim=	> WYu **yim=** 'to suck'
CT *eŋ	> *yeŋ	> *yiŋ	> WYu **yiŋ** 'SUP'
CT *erür	> *yerür		> WYu **yer** 'right'

[8] No prostethic *y occurred in WYu *enik* 'cow', *e^{h}lçï* 'shaman', *emis* 'is not', *ene^{h}t=* 'to sound', *ennïɣ* 'broad', *e^{h}rkiş* 'wether', *e^{h}rkik* 'male', *e^{h}rkï* 'old', *e^{h}rkïs* 'twin', *e^{h}rti* 'early', *et=* 'to make', *ezeŋkï* 'stirrup', *ezer* 'saddle', *ezer=* 'to follow', *içi* 'aunt', *i^{h}ki* 'elder sister', *isin* 'peace', *isï* 'self', *isïr=* 'to be drunk', *iskinni=* 'to scrape the hoof', *i^{h}tik* 'skirt', *ü^{h}kpi* 'lung'.

[9] CT *ebi* > WYu *ö* (see 3.3.3.).

	vowel raising	aphaeresis	
CT *yene	> *yeni	> *eni	> WYu **eni** 'again'
CT *yet=	> *yit=	> *it=	> WYu **eʰt=** ~ **iʰt=** 'to arrive'
CT *yegen	> *yigin	> *igin	> WYu **iɣin** 'nephew'
CT *yelïm	> *yilïm	> *ilïm	> WYu **ilïm** 'glue'

3.1.33. The following two WYu words have a variant with and without initial *y*, though in the case of **iʰt** 'meat', the form with *y* occurs only very rarely.

CT *et	> *yet	> *yit	> WYu (**y**)**iʰt** 'meat'
CT *eren	> *yeren	> *yerin	> WYu (**y**)**erin** 'man'

3.1.34. In general, CT *a > WYu *a*:

CT *a:t	> WYu **at** 'name'.
CT *a:čï=	> WYu **aɋï=** 'to be or become worried'
CT *ana	> WYu **ana** 'mother'
CT *ya:g	> WYu **yaɣ** 'oil'
CT *uzak	> WYu **uzaq** 'far'

3.1.35. CT *ay > WYu *ey* ~ *e*, or, in the non-first syllable, *i*:

CT *tay	> WYu **tey** 'two-year-old foal'
CT *yay	> WYu **e** 'summer'
CT *atay	> WYu **aʰti** 'small'
CT *kïtañ > *kïtay	> WYu **qʰïti** 'Chinese'

3.1.36. In general, CT *o > WYu *o*:

CT *kol	> WYu **qol** 'arm'
CT *kop=	> WYu **qoʰp=** 'to get up'
CT *oglan	> WYu **oly an** 'boy'
CT *bog=	> WYu **pʰoɣ=** 'to tie with a rope'

3.1.37. CT *o > WYu *u* in the following instances only:

CT *oglak	> WYu **olɣaq** ~ **ulɣaq** 'kid goat'
CT *kodï	> WYu **quzï** 'downwards'
CT *toprak > torwak	> WYu **turaq** 'soil' (see also 3.2.4.)
CT *čomak	> WYu **ɋumaq** 'stick'

Irregular vowel developments are the following:

3.1.38. Loss of an initial vowel[10]:

CT *ökü z	> WYu **kus** 'bovine'
CT *id(d)iš	> WYu **tïs** 'cauldron'
CT *ešik	> WYu **sïk** 'door'
CT *eyekü	> WYu **yikʰï** 'rib'

[10] The older sources still record *uʰkus* and *ïʰtïs* with initial vowel as well.

3.1.39. Loss of a final high vowel, often following *r*, maybe motivated by suffix reanalysis:

CT *tarï=*	> WYu ***tar=*** 'to sow'
CT *karï*	> WYu ***qʰar*** 'old'
CT *yakšï*	> WYu ***yaʰṣ*** 'good'
CT *teri*	> WYu ***tʰerï*** ~ ***tʰer*** 'skin'
CT *ügi=*	> WYu ***uɣï=*** ~ ***uɣ=*** 'to grind'
CT *taŋkaru*	> WYu ***taŋqar*** 'morning'
CT *taškaru*	> WYu ***tasqar*** 'outside'

3.1.40. Addition of a final vowel *ï* maybe motivated by suffix reanalysis as well:

CT *öz*	> WYu ***uzï*** 'self' (+ a POS3 **ï*)
CT *taš=*	> WYu ***taʰsï=*** 'to overflow'
CT *sanč=*	> WYu ***sançï=*** 'to pierce' (see also 3.3.5.)
CT *bars*	> WYu ***paʰrsï*** 'tiger'
CT *ter*	> WYu ***tʰer*** ~ ***tʰerï*** 'sweat'

3.1.41. Examples of irregular rounding of CT **i* and **e* (perhaps induced by a retroflex *r*[11]) are:

CT **ilersük* > **irelsük*	> WYu ***örlisïk*** 'belt' (not **ïrlisïk*) (see also 3.3.9.).
CT **ters*	> WYu ***töʰrsaq*** 'reverse' (? + ***yaq*** 'side')

3.1.42. Other irregular vowel developments are:

CT **yonak*	> WYu ***inaq*** 'blanket'
CT **yuntak*	> WYu ***intaq*** ~ ***imtaq*** 'equine dung'
CT **ča:nak*	> WYu ***çinaq*** 'cup'
CT **inken*	> WYu ***unkin*** 'female camel'
CT **sekiz*	> WYu ***saqïs*** 'eight'[12]

3.1.43. Vowel sequences in Western Yugur are few, and usually arose through ellipsis:

CT **baya*	> WYu ***piaɣïr*** 'a few days ago' (? + ***kʰun*** 'day')[13]

3.1.44. WYu developed a number of final consonant clusters through ellipsis of a high vowel:

CT **karïn*	> WYu ***qʰarn*** 'belly'
CT **kelin*	> WYu ***kʰeln*** 'bride'
CT **arït=*	> WYu ***art=*** 'to whipe'
CT **kurït=*	> WYu ***qʰort=*** 'to dry'
CT **ayït=*	> WYu ***ayt=*** 'to ask'[14]

[11] Cf also the loanword *örçii* 'stuff' ←LT rgyu, with epenthetic vowel *ö*, not *ï*.

[12] Elsewhere front vocalic, except for Yakut.

[13] A similar example from the literature is *pia* 'wormwood' (Léi 1992: 60b) <**biya* <**buya* <CT **buda* 'liquorice' (cf EDPT 299a), with an irregular development of CT **d* here.

[14] In this word, the high vowel was apparently elided early, as the form **ayt=* occurs in several Turkic languages.

3.2. Developments of the consonants

The phonemic system generally reconstructed for CT consists of the consonants *p b t d k g č s š z m n ň ŋ l r y h*. The WYu plosive and affricate system cannot directly be connected with the CT opposition of a voiced versus a voiceless series, due to its distributional peculiarities. Apparently the CT plosives **b *t *k*, and affricate **č* in initial position split into a voiceless series *p t k q ҷ ҫ* and an aspirated series *pʰ tʰ kʰ qʰ ҷʰ ҫʰ*, without any apparent conditions, and the CT plosives **p *d *g*, which only occurred non-initially, became fricatives *w z ɣ*; following sonants, however, **d* is retained as a plosive.

The vowel harmonic opposition between front and back vowels (which is much reduced in WYu as a result of the vowel shifts) is partly replaced by a consonant opposition, *k kʰ ҫ ҫʰ* occurring in originally front vocalic words, and *q qʰ ҷ ҷʰ* in originally back vocalic words, as a result of a phonemic split of CT **k* into WYu *k* and *q*, and **č* into WYu *ҫ* and *ҷ*.

Furthermore, CT **š *z *l *r *m *ň *ŋ* did not occur initially, and **n* only in a limited class of words, all related to the interrogative pronoun **ne:* 'what'. CT **h* was almost completely lost at an early date.

3.2.1. In initial position, CT **b* > WYu *p* or, less frequently, *pʰ*:

CT **bagïr*	> WYu	***payïr*** 'liver'
CT **bar*	> WYu	***par*** 'present'
CT **ba:gla=*	> WYu	***pʰalɣa=*** 'to bind'
CT **bog=*	> WYu	***pʰoɣ=*** 'to tie with a rope'

3.2.2. CT initial **b* > WYu *m* in words that contain a nasal:

CT **ben*	> WYu	***men*** 'I'
CT **ba:n=*	> WYu	***man=*** 'to wear'
CT **boyun*	> WYu	***moyn*** 'neck'

A plosive **b* in this initial position is only preserved in WYu ***pʰorn*** 'before; front' < CT **burun* 'nose'.

WYu ***mïz*** 'we' < CT **biz* most likely developed an *m-* under influence of the first person of the personal pronoun paradigm ***men*** 'I'. WYu is the only Turkic language having initial *m-* in this word.

3.2.3. In intervocalic position and following liquids, CT **b*, **p* merged into WYu *w*:

CT **tabar*	> WYu	***tawar*** 'silk'
CT **či:pïn*	> WYu	***ҷïwïn*** 'mosquito, fly'
CT **čolpan*	> WYu	***ҷʰolwan*** 'Big Dipper'
CT **harpa*	> WYu	***harwa*** 'barley' (see also 3.2.37.)

WYu ***kïrmïk*** 'eyelash' (not **kïrwïk*) <CT **kirpik* shows an irregular development **p* > *m* here.

The exceptional intervocalic plosive in WYu ***qʰapaq*** 'lid' arises from a cluster CT **kapkak* > **kappak* (see also 3.3.10.).

3.2.3a. In final position, CT **p* is preserved as such, and CT **b* has disappeared:

CT **tiːp*	> WYu ***tïp*** 'base'
CT **köp*	> WYu ***köʰp*** 'many, much'
CT **suːb*	> WYu ***su*** 'water'
CT **ubšak*	> WYu ***oʰşaq*** 'crumbs'

3.2.4. CT **p* irregularly developed **w* > ø:

CT **tapuzmaq*	> WYu ***tʰazmaq*** 'riddle'
CT **toprak* > **torwak*	> WYu ***turaq*** 'soil'[15] (see also 3.3.5., 3.1.37.)

3.2.5. In initial position, CT **t* > WYu *t* or, less frequently, *tʰ*:

CT **tarï=*	> WYu ***tar=*** 'to sow'
CT **temir*	> WYu ***temïr*** 'iron'
CT **taːr*	> WYu ***tʰar*** 'narrow'
CT **töŋü*	> WYu ***tʰeŋï*** 'deaf'

WYu ***çʰi*** 'camel' < CT **tebe* is exceptional.

3.2.6. In intervocalic position, or when following a liquid, CT **t* > WYu *t*:

CT **oːtuŋ*	> WYu ***otïŋ*** 'firewood'
CT **kaːtun*	> WYu ***qatïn*** 'wife'
CT **katïr*	> WYu ***qʰatïr*** 'mule'
CT **kötür=*	> WYu ***küʰtïr=*** 'to carry'
CT **tütün*	> WYu ***tuʰtïn*** 'tobacco'
CT **altun*	> WYu ***aʰltïm*** 'gold'

3.2.7. CT intervocalic, final, or preconsonantal **d* > WYu *z*.

CT **adak*	> WYu ***azaq*** 'foot'
CT **udï=*	> WYu ***uzï=*** 'to sleep'
CT **kuduruk*	> WYu ***quzïrïq*** 'tail'
CT **ked=*	> WYu ***kiz=*** 'to dress'
CT **tod=*	> WYu ***toz=*** 'to eat one's fill'
CT **udgan=*	> WYu ***uzɣan=*** 'to wake up'
CT **udgar=*	> WYu ***uzɣar=*** 'to cause to wake up'
CT **adgïr*	> WYu ***azɣïr*** 'stallion'

3.2.8. Following a sonant or liquid, CT **d* > WYu *t*:

CT **kündüz*	> WYu ***kʰuntus*** 'daily'
CT **yïldïz*	> WYu ***yiltïs*** 'star'
CT **biːldür=*	> WYu ***pïltïr=*** 'to notify'

The development of **d* in CT **idiš* ~ **iddiš* > WYu ***tïs*** 'cauldron', and CT **sidük* ~ **siddük* > WYu ***sïtïk*** 'urine' is irregular, as in many Turkic languages.

[15] Apparently a very recent development, as the older literature still records *turwaqʰ* (Léi 1992: 116b).

3.2.9. The CT phoneme **k* comprised two conditioned allophones: velar **k* in front vocalic words and uvular **q* in back vocalic words. As a result of the shifts of the high vowels (see 3.1.), these allophones became phonemic in WYu:

CT **kü:z* > WYu ***kuz*** 'autumn'
CT **kud=* > WYu ***quz=*** 'to pour'
CT **ki:r=* > WYu ***kʰïr=*** 'to enter'
CT **kïr=* > WYu ***qʰïr=*** 'to scrape'

3.2.10. In initial position, CT velar **k* > WYu *k* or, less frequently, *kʰ*:

CT **kem* > WYu ***kim*** 'disease'
CT **kel=* > WYu ***kil=*** 'to come'
CT **kim* > WYu ***kʰïm*** 'who'
CT **kelin* > WYu ***kʰeln*** 'bride'

3.2.11. In initial position, CT uvular **q* > WYu *q* or, less frequently, *qʰ*:

CT **kara* > WYu ***qara*** 'black'
CT **kol* > WYu ***qol*** 'arm'
CT **kar* > WYu ***qʰar*** 'snow'
CT **kol=* > WYu ***qʰol=*** 'to ask for'

3.2.12. In intervocalic position and following liquids, CT velar **k* is preserved in WYu as *k*, and not, as elsewhere in NE, > *ɣ* (or *ø* beyond the first syllable).

CT **ičekü* > WYu ***iʰçikï*** 'intestines'
CT **eke + *siŋil* > WYu ***iʰki-sïŋnï*** 'elder and younger sisters'
CT **erkeč* > WYu ***eʰrkiş*** 'wether'

The non-initial aspirated plosives in WYu ***yikʰï*** 'rib' < CT **eyekü*, and (following a nasal) WYu ***çʰünkʰin*** 'meadow' < CT **čömken* are exceptional.

3.2.13. Likewise, CT uvular **q* is preserved in WYu as *q*, and not, as elsewhere in NE, > *ɣ* (or *ø* beyond the first syllable).

CT **sakal* > WYu ***saqal*** 'beard'
CT **takagu* > WYu ***taʰqaɣï*** 'chicken'
CT **yakïn* > WYu ***yaʰqïn*** 'near'
CT **arka* > WYu ***aʰrqa*** 'back'

3.2.14. CT **g* is preserved in WYu as *ɣ*, and is not elided in intervocalic position as elsewhere in NE.

CT **ta:g* > WYu ***tʰaɣ*** 'mountain'
CT **yalga=* > WYu ***yalɣa=*** 'to lick'
CT **ogul* > WYu ***oɣïl*** 'son'
CT **bagïr* > WYu ***paɣïr*** 'liver'
CT **yigit* > WYu ***yiɣït*** 'young man'

The only exceptions are WYu ***aʰs*** 'opening' <CT **agïz*, WYu ***qïrlaş*** 'swallow' <CT **kïrlaguč*, and (very recently only), WYu ***kʰeti*** 'paper' <CT **kegde*.

3.2.15. The following WYu words have an unexpected fricative instead of a plosive:
CT **tumšuk* > WYu ***tïmsïɣ*** 'mouth'
CT **tok* > WYu ***tʰoɣ*** 'blunt'

3.2.16. The following WYu words have an unexpected plosive instead of a fricative:
CT **ta:ga* > WYu ***taqa*** 'maternal uncle'
CT **tüge* > WYu ***tuki*** 'heifer'
CT **sagïzgan* > WYu ***saqïsqan*** 'magpie'
CT **kolgučï* > WYu ***qʰolqïcʮï*** 'beggar'

3.2.16a. The CT phoneme **č* split into WYu *ʮ* preceding back vowels, and *ɕ* preceding front vowels.
CT **a:čï=* > WYu ***acʮï=*** 'to be worried'
CT **ke:če* > WYu ***kiɕi*** 'yesterday evening'
CT **be:čin* > WYu ***piɕin*** 'monkey'

3.2.17. Exceptions are:
CT **čanak* > WYu ***ɕinaq*** 'bowl' (not **ʮanaq*).
CT **purčak* > WYu ***pïʰrɕaq*** 'bean' (not **pïʰrʮaq*)[16]

3.2.18. In initial position, CT **č* > WYu *ʮ* and *ɕ* or, less frequently, *ʮʰ* and *ɕʰ*.
CT **čog* > WYu ***ʮoɣ*** 'glowing piece of dung'
CT **čolpan* > WYu ***ʮʰolwan*** 'Big Dipper'
CT **čömken* > WYu ***ɕünkʰin*** 'meadow'
CT **čök=* > WYu ***ɕʰük=*** 'to kneel'

3.2.19. In final position, CT **č* > WYu *ʂ*:
CT **ič=* > WYu ***ïʂ=*** 'to drink'
CT **ač=* > WYu ***aʰʂ=*** 'to open'
CT **ke:č* > WYu ***kiʂ*** 'late'

3.2.20. In the following words, CT final **č* developed irregularly into WYu *ʐ*.
CT **kočkar ~ *kočŋar* > WYu ***qoʐɣar*** 'ram' (not **qoʂqar*) (see also 3.3.15.)
CT **u:č* > WYu ***uʐ*** 'tip' (not **uʂ*)

3.2.21. In the following words, this same irregular development is probably motivated by the inital sibilant:
CT **sač* > WYu ***ʂaʐ*** 'hair'
CT **sač=* > WYu ***ʂaʐ=*** 'to sprinkle'

3.2.22. In the following words, the CT final affricate *č* was lost altogether (probably over a voiced cluster):
CT **sïčkan* > **šïžgan* > WYu ***ʂïɣan*** 'mouse' (see also 3.3.16.)
CT **sïčkak* > **šïžgak* > WYu ***ʂïɣaq*** 'diarrhoea' (see also 3.3.16.)

[16] In the present material, a cluster *ʐʮ* does not occur in monomorphemic words, only *ʐɕ* is found here; unless *pïʰrɕaq* is perhaps a borrowing from EYu *pʰėrčʰaq*, and *ʐč* is rendered *ʐɕ* in WYu.

3.2.23. In general, CT *š > WYu *s*:

CT **ta:š*	> WYu ***tas*** 'stone'
CT **be:š*	> WYu ***pis*** 'five'
CT **kiši*	> WYu ***kïsï*** 'person'
CT **a:šur=*	> WYu ***aʰsïr=*** 'to overturn'

3.2.24. In the following words, CT *š is irregularly retained in WYu as *ş*[17]:

CT **baš*	> WYu ***paş*** 'head'
CT **bašla=*	> WYu ***paʰşta=*** 'to begin'
CT **kamïš*	> WYu ***qamïş*** 'reed'
CT **yakšï*	> WYu ***yaʰş*** 'good'
CT **ubšak*	> WYu ***oʰşaq*** 'crumbs'
CT **yubaš ~ *yabaš*	> WYu ***yüwaş*** 'calm'

3.2.25. Irregular developments of CT final *š are:

CT **si:š=*	> WYu ***sïz=*** 'to swell' (not **sïs=*)
CT **toškur= > *tožgïr=*	> WYu ***tʰozɣïr=*** 'to fill' (not **tʰosqïr=*) (see also 3.3.15.)

3.2.26. CT **z* is preserved in WYu as *z*.

CT **ka:z*	> WYu ***qaz*** 'goose'
CT **kïzar=*	> WYu ***qïzar=*** 'to become red'

3.2.27. Beyond the first syllable, CT **z* > WYu *s*:

CT **ekiz*	> WYu ***eʰrkïs*** 'twin'
CT **otuz*	> WYu ***oʰtïs*** 'thirty'

3.2.28. The CT nasals **m *n *ŋ* are generally retained as such.

CT **yama=*	> WYu ***yama=*** 'to repair (clothes)'
CT **kum*	> WYu ***qʰom*** 'sand'
CT **kün*	> WYu ***kʰun*** 'day; sun'
CT **ne:*	> WYu ***ni*** 'what'
CT **a:ŋla=*	> WYu ***aŋna=*** 'to hear'
CT **ke:ŋ*	> WYu ***kʰeŋ*** 'broad'

WYu ***sïmïk*** 'bone' < CT **süŋük* is irregular in many languages.

3.2.29. CT final **n* > WYu *m* in the following words:

CT **altïn*	> WYu ***aʰltïm*** 'gold'
CT **alïn*	> WYu ***alïm*** ~ ***alïn*** 'forehead'
CT **kulun*	> WYu ***qulïm*** ~ ***qulïn*** 'foal'
CT **yuntak*	> WYu ***imtaq*** ~ ***intaq*** 'equine dung'

3.2.30. In the following two words, the original nasal cannot be decided:

NE **čalïm ~ *čalïn*	> WYu ***çalïm*** ~ ***çalïn*** 'dew; frost'
CT **kalïm ~ *kalïŋ*	> WYu ***qʰalïm*** 'dowry'

[17] Cf also *eşekʰ* 'donkey' (Léi 1992: 29a) < **ešek* <CT **ešgek* (cf EDPT 260a).

3.2.31. CT *ň > WYu *y*:

CT *koň*	> WYu ***qoy*** 'sheep'
CT *kaňak*	> WYu ***qayaq*** 'cream'
CT *tuňug ~ *tuňag*	> WYu ***tuyïy*** 'hoof'
CT *kïtaň > *kïtay*	> WYu ***qʰïti*** 'Chinese'

3.2.32. In the following words, a CT intervocalic or presonantal *ŋ > WYu *ŋk ~ ŋq*:

WYu *kʰun(nïŋ) + yiŋïr*	> WYu ***kʰuniŋkïr*** 'evening'
CT *siŋek*	> WYu ***sïŋkik*** 'horsefly'
CT *maŋra=*	> WYu ***maŋqïra=*** 'to talk'[18]
CT *koŋragu*	> WYu ***qʰoŋqïra*** 'bell'[19]

3.2.33. CT liquids are retained as such.

CT *a:la*	> WYu ***ala*** 'multicoloured'
CT *a:ra*	> WYu ***ara*** 'the space between'

3.2.34. CT initial *y > WYu *y*, and did not develop into an affricate as elsewhere in NE[20]. For instances of prosthesis and aphaeresis of CT *y, see 3.1.19. and 3.1.32.

CT *yo:l*	> WYu ***yol*** 'road'
CT *yagmur*	> WYu ***yaɣmïr*** 'rain'
CT *yaŋï*	> WYu ***yaŋï*** 'new'

3.2.35. CT *y > WYu *ş* in the following three instances:

CT *yükle=*	> WYu ***şukti=*** 'to load' (see also 3.3.17.)
CT *yuk=*	> WYu ***şuq=*** 'to stick' (see also 3.3.17.)
CT *kuykala=*	> WYu ***quşqala=*** 'to singe'

3.2.36. CT **h* is preserved in the following word:

CT *ha:r=*	> WYu ***har=*** 'to become tired'

3.2.37. In the following two words, **h* is only attested in WYu and not elsewhere:

CT *harpa*	> WYu ***harwa*** 'highland barley' (see also 3.2.3.)
CT *ha:ya*	> WYu ***haya*** 'palm of the hand'

3.3. Developments of phoneme sequences

3.3.1. CT *sö > WYu *sö ~ so* (see also 2.2.1.)[21]:

CT *söz*	> WYu ***söz ~ soz*** 'word, language'
CT *sögül=*	> WYu ***söɣïl= ~ soɣïl=*** 'to bake'
NE *södür=*	> WYu ***sozïr=*** 'to drag'

[18] However, in *maŋras=* '(of sheep) to bleat together' < CT **muŋra=* (+ RFL), no *q* developed.

[19] Apparently a clipped form of *qʰoŋqïraɣï* (Léi 1992: 214a).

[20] In the literature a few instances of CT *y > WYu *ç* are recorded, e.g. *çüɣïr=* 'to run' (Léi 1992: 234a) <CT **yügür=* (cf EDPT 914b).

[21] Examples from the literature are *söɣïl ~ soɣïl* 'wart', and *söɣït ~ soɣït* 'willow' (Léi 1992: 336b, 243b).

3.3.2. CT *abï* and *abu* > *aw(ï) > WYu *o* ~ *u*[22]:
CT *abïčka > WYu **oʰṣqa** 'old man'
CT *aburtla= > WYu **ortta=** 'to slurp'
CT *tabïškan > WYu **tusqan** 'hare'
CT *yabïz > *yus > WYu **yüs** 'bad' (see also 3.1.11.)

3.3.3. CT *ebi* and *eb* > *ew(i) > WYu *ö* > *ü*:
CT *sebin= > WYu **söyn=** 'to be glad'
CT *ebiril= > *yöril= > WYu **yörlï=** 'to walk around' (see also 3.1.32.)
CT *eb > *ö > *yö > WYu **yü** 'house' (see also 3.1.32.)
CT *ke:bše= > *köše= > WYu **küsi=** 'to chew'

3.3.4. CT final *nč* > WYu sibilant[23]:
CT *yi:nčke > *yiške > *iške > WYu **ṣiki** 'slender' (see also 3.3.14.)
CT *kïlïnč > WYu **qïlïṣ** 'poor'

Western Yugur shows a number of metatheses in CT consonant clusters involving liquids:

3.3.5. Metathesis of CT *pr* > *rp* > WYu *rw*:
CT *tepre= > WYu **terwi=** 'to shake'
CT *toprak > *torwak > WYu **turaq** 'earth' (see also 3.2.4.)

3.3.6. Metathesis of CT *gr* > WYu *rɣ*:
CT *bugra > WYu **pïrɣa** 'camel stallion'
CT *ögren= > WYu **yörɣin=** 'to learn'
CT *ögret= > WYu **yörɣit=** 'to teach'

3.3.7. Metathesis of CT *gl* > WYu *lɣ*[24]:
CT *yï:gla= > WYu **yilɣa=** 'to cry'
CT *ba:gla= > WYu **pʰalɣa=** 'to tie'
CT *oglan > WYu **oɣlan ~ olɣan** 'boy'
CT *oglak > WYu **olɣaq** 'kid goat'

3.3.8. Metathesis of CT *lŋ* > *ŋl* > *ŋn* > WYu *ŋq*:
CT *yalŋïs > WYu **yaŋqïs** 'alone'
*salŋula= > WYu **saŋqïla=** 'to hang down' (see also 3.2.31.)

[22] An example from the literature is *oṣ* 'handful' (Léi 1992: 37a) *abuč* <CT *abuč* < *aduč* (cf EDPT 44b).

[23] In *sanɕï=* 'to pierce', the final cluster *nč* (see 3.1.40.), has been dissolved by an epenthetic vowel. Likewise, the development of the CT cluster *nt* > WYu *t*, as examples from the literature show: *atʰ* 'oath' (Léi 1992: 2b) < CT *ant* (cf EDPT 176a), *yüt* 'horse' (Léi 1992: 278a) < CT *yunt* (cf EDPT 946a).

[24] On the other hand, *iŋnek* 'sieve' < *eglek* < CT *elgek*.

3.3.9. Other methatheses involving liquids are[25]:
CT **ilersük* > **irelsük* > WYu ***örlisïk*** 'belt' (see also 3.1.41.)
CT **kargülač* > **kürlagač* > WYu ***qïrlaṣ*** 'sparrow'
NE **keleski* > WYu ***kiseʰlkï*** 'lizard'

3.3.10. Metathesis of CT **-ül* and **-il* > WYu *-lï*:
CT **adïrïl=* > WYu ***azïrlï=*** 'to divide'
CT **a:šïrul=* > WYu ***aʰsïrlï=*** 'to trip'
CT **ebiril=* > **öril=* > WYu ***yörlï=*** 'to turn'
CT **ti:ril=* > WYu ***tïrlï=*** 'to be revived'
CT **ačïl=* > WYu ***aʰṣtï=*** 'to clear' (+ assimilation *l* > *t*)
CT **siŋil* > WYu ***sïŋnï*** 'younger sister' (+ assimilation *l* > *n*)[26]

3.3.11. Metathesis of CT **pk* > WYu *pk*[27]:
CT **öpke* > WYu ***üʰkpi*** 'lung'

3.3.12. Metathesis of CT **uy* > **yu* > WYu *yü* ~ *yo*:
CT **uyat=* > **yuat=* > WYu ***yüat=*** 'to be shy'
CT **uygur* > **yugur* > WYu ***yoɣïr*** 'Yugur'

In an older stage of Western Yugur, the sequence **šk* apparently was unstable, and several ways of dissolving this cluster have occurred. In modern Western Yugur, the clusters *ṣk* and *ṣq* are tolerated; the uvular plosive *q* occurs in free variation with a uvular fricative (see 2.4.8.).

3.3.13. Elision of the sibilant from the cluster **šk* occurred in:
CT **kuškač* > WYu ***qoʰqaṣ*** 'bird'
CT **kïčkïr=* > **kïškïr=* > WYu ***qïʰqïr=*** 'to invite'

3.3.14. Metathesis of **Všk* > WYu *ṣVk* ~ *sVk* occurred in the following words:
CT **ečkü* > **öškü* > **üškü* > WYu ***ṣuku*** 'goat' (see also 3.1.17., 3.1.18., 3.1.25.)
CT **yi:nčke* > **yiške* > **iške* > WYu ***siki*** 'slender' (see also 3.1.19., 3.3.4.)

3.3.15. Voicing of **šk* > **žg* occurred in:
CT **toškur=* > **tožgïr=* > WYu ***tʰoẓɣïr=*** 'to fill' (see also 3.2.25.)
CT **kočkar* ~ **kočŋar* > WYu ***qoẓɣar*** 'ram' (see also 3.2.20.)

3.3.16. Voicing of **šk* > **žg* and subsequent elision of the sibilant occurred in:
CT **sïčkan* > **sïškan* > **šïžgan* > WYu ***ṣïɣan*** 'mouse' (see also 3.2.22.)
CT **sïčkak* > **sïškak* > **šïžgak* > WYu ***ṣïɣaq*** 'diarrhoea' (see also 3.2.22.)

[25] An example from the literature is *qałtar* 'bird of prey' (Tenišev 1976: 199b, Malov 1957: 51b) <CT **kartal* (cf EDPT 648b). The loanword *halɣar* ~ *harɣa* 'bovine dung' ←EYu *harʁal* also underwent metathesis.

[26] Unless perhaps a reanalysis of a third person possessive form **siŋli* < **siŋili*.

[27] Another example is *qʰapaq* 'lid' < **kappak* < **kakpak* <CT **kapkak* (see also 3.2.3.).

3.3.17. In the following words, the WYu sibilant *ş* perhaps developed as a reflex of preaspiration (see 3.4.)[28], and was subsequently metathesized.

CT **yükle=* > **yüʰkte=* > WYu ***şukti=*** 'to load' (see also 3.2.35.)
CT **yuk=* > **yuʰk=* > WYu ***şuq=*** 'to stick' (see also 3.3.35.)
NE **iki* > **iʰki* > WYu ***ïşkï*** ~ ***şïkï*** 'two'

Historical elisions of consonants that were still recorded by the older Western Yugur sources are the following[29].

3.3.18. Attested historical elision of intervocalic sonants *ŋ n l r w* and fricative *ɣ*:

ŋ: ***oy*** (< *oŋey*) 'quick', ***mus*** ~ ***mos*** (< *moŋïs*) 'horn', ***qarq*** (< *qaŋïrïq*) 'nose', ***sosïkïn*** (< *soŋïskïn*) 'the next day, the other day'.

n: ***kʰortï*** (< *kʰunoʰrtï*) 'noon, midday'.

l: ***as=*** (< *alïs=*) 'to exchange'.

r: ***naqï*** (< *narïqï*) 'yonder'; ***uʰk=*** (< *uruq=*) 'to fly'.

w: ***çʰük*** (< *çʰüwük*ʰ) 'braid'.

ɣ: ***aʰs*** ~ ***as*** (< *aɣïs*) 'opening'.

3.3.19. Attested historical elision of pre-consonantal sonants *l r*:

l: ***tʰaqan*** (< *tʰalqan*) 'flour', ***şopaq*** (< *şolpaq*) 'mud', ***qʰaçça*** (< *qʰalça*) 'too much'.

r[30]: ***uʰk=*** (< *uʰrk=*) 'to be frightened', ***köʰkït=*** (< *köʰrkït=*) 'to show', ***qusan=*** (< *qursan=*) 'to put on a girdle', ***quʰqïra=*** 'to snore' (< *quʰrqïra=*).

3.3.20. Other elisions:

t: ***oʰqar=*** (< *oʰtqar=*) 'to pasture'.
y: ***qʰantïr=*** (< *qʰayintïr=*) 'to cook'.
w: ***turaq*** (< *turwaq*) 'earth'.
clusters: ***çiɣin*** (< *elçiɣen*) 'donkey' (a loanword from Mongolic)
final *l*: ***o*** (< *ol*) 'that'

3.3.21. Secondarily insertions of *r* occur in[31]:

CT **ekiz* > WYu ***eʰrkïş*** 'twin'

3.3.22. In the following two words, WYu sibilant + affricate > affricate:

WYu *yaŋqïş* + ADV *-ça* > WYu ***yaŋqïça*** 'alone'
WYu *eʰrkiş* + DIM *çik* > WYu ***eʰrkiçik*** 'young ram-goat'

[28] The sibilant is tolerated in the cluster *şt*: *ïşt* 'dog', *pïşt* 'louse', *ïşt=* 'to push', *ïştïɣ* 'sharp'.

[29] For modern elisions, see 2.2.4.

[30] In an older stage, elision of *r* also occurred in *kükişkïn* 'pigeon' <CT **kö:kerčkün*.

[31] In the loanword *amïʰtan* ~ *amïrtan* 'animal', a secondary insertion of *r* occurs as well.

3.4. Preaspiration

The phenomenon of preaspiration in Western Yugur corresponds to Tuva and Tofa pharyngealization, and Yakut short vowels; absence of preaspiration and pharyngealization corresponds to Yakut long vowels.

The first to observe preaspiration in Western Yugur was Malov[32]; he also pointed to a correspondence between Western Yugur preaspiration and Yakut short vowels on the one hand, and absence of preaspiration in Western Yugur and Yakut long vowels on the other (Malov 1957: 163).

Janhunen (1980) established a relationship between Tuva and Tofa pharyngealized (or glottalized, as he denotes it)[33] vowels and Yakut short vowels on the one hand, and between the absence of pharyngealization and Yakut long vowels on the other. Tuva and Tofa pharyngealization only occur before a consonant, as is the case with preaspiration in Western Yugur.

All three phenomena, preaspiration, pharyngealization and vowel length are distinctive.

Preaspiration may have developed as follows. It is generally assumed that CT had vowel length as a distinguishing feature, and that vowel length was of influence on the development of a following voiceless obstruent (see the table below).

In the Oghuz subgroup of Turkic languages, voiceless plosives and affricates in intervocalic position became voiced when following a long vowel, as. After vowel length was lost (except in Turkmen), these voiced consonants maintained the former distinction (e.g. in Turkish).

In the Kypchak and Chaghatay subgroup of Turkic languages, no such sonorization of consonants took place, and the former distinction of vowel length was lost entirely.

Yakut retained vowel length in monosyllables only. The other NE Turkic languages all lost vowel length; instead, voiceless obstruents following short vowels became preaspirated (Western Yugur) or pharyngealized (Tuva and Tofa), thus maintaining the former distinction.

Subsequently, simple obstruents in intervocalic position became voiced (as in Tofa), and eventually all obstruents, also the one following pharyngealized vowels (as in Tuva), were pharyngealization carries the full load of the distinction.

In Khakas, the former distinction of vowel length is preserved imperfectively as an opposition between voiced plosives (following a former long vowel) and voiceless ones (following a former short vowel) in some polysyllabic stems[34]. Otherwise, all intervocalic plosives are voiced.

Thus, preaspiration and pharyngealization apparently developed in a system that lost vowel length, to uphold a former distinction.

[32] Apart from some incidental notations in Mannerheim, e.g. *aχltõ* 'six' (Mannerheim 1911: 62).

[33] Janhunen 1980: 24.

[34] Compare e.g. Khakas *odïŋ* 'firewood' <CT **o:tuŋ*, but *otïs* 'thirty' <CT **otuz*, or *alda=* 'to comfort' <CT **a:lta=*, but *altï* 'six' <CT **altï*.

	Oghuz	Turkmen	Turkish
	**at*, **atï*	*at*, *atï*	*at*, *atï*
	**a:t*, **a:dï*	*aat*, *aadï*	*at*, *adï*
	Kypcak, Chagatay	Kazak, New Uygur	
	**at*, **atï*	*at*, *atï*	
	**at*, **atï*	*at*, *atï*	
CT		Yakut	
**at*, **atï*		*at*, *atï*	
**a:t*, **a:tï*		*aat*, *aatï*	
		Western Yugur	
		$a^{h}t$, $a^{h}tï$	
		at, *atï*	
		Tofa	Tuva
		$a^{h}t$, $a^{h}tï$	$a^{h}t$, $a^{h}dï$
		at, *adï*	*at*, *adï*
		Khakas	
		at, *adï*	
		at, *adï*	

Development of preaspiration and pharyngealization, illustrated with CT **at* 'horse' and **at* 'name', followed by the third person possessive.

Regular correspondences between the languages are demonstrated in the tables below (table 1 and 2). However, this historical correspondence is less consistent for Western Yugur words having an initial or final voiceless sibilant (table 3 and 4). Also synchronically, irregular manifestations of preaspiration occur in this environment (see 2.9.).

Another group of exceptions is formed by words having an initial aspirated consonant, instead of expected preaspiration (see table 5). It is uncertain whether the initial aspirated consonant here may be considered as a reflex of preaspiration.

In the case of **ïṣt** 'dog', **ïṣt=** 'to push', **pïṣt** 'louse', **ïṣkï** 'two', and **ïṣtïɣ** 'sharp', the phoneme /ṣ/ reflects a CT short vowel instead of the expected preaspiration.

A small number of Western Yugur words developed preaspiration after a consonant was elided: **a^{h}s** 'opening' (<CT **a:gïz*), **ya^{h}ṣ** 'good' (<CT **yakšï*), **u^{h}k=** 'to fly' (<CT **ö:rük=*), **o^{h}ṣaq** 'crumbs' (<CT **ubšak*).

Finally, there are a number of words in which preaspiration and pharyngealization developed irregularly in the different languages (see table 6).

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
aʰlt-ïr	*aʰld-ï*	*aʰlt-ï*	*alïn*	**alt*	underside
aʰʂ=, aʰɕ-	*aʰš=*	*aʰš=*	*as=*	**ač=*	to open
aʰq=	*aʰk=*	*aʰq=*	---	**ak=*	to flow
aʰrq	---	---	---	**ark*	shit
aʰrt=	*aʰrt=*	*aʰrt=*	*ort=*	**art=*	to remain
aʰt	*aʰt*	*aʰt*	*at*	**at*	horse
aʰt=	*aʰt=*	*aʰt=*	*ït=*	**at=*	to shoot
eʰt=	*eʰt=*	*eʰt=*	*et=*	**et= ~ *öt=*	to sound
eʰt=	*čeʰt=*	*čeʰt=*	*sit=*	**yet=*	to arrive
ïʂ, iʰɕ-	*iž-in*	*iʰš-ti*	*is*	**ič*	inside
ïʂ=, iʰɕ-	*iš=*	*iʰš=*	*is=*	**ič=*	to drink
iʰt	*eʰt*	*eʰt*	*et*	**et*	meat
ïʰrk-tïɣ	---	---	---	**erk*	power
ïʰrq	---	*ïʰr̥t*	---	**ïrk*	omen
ïʂt	*ïʰt*	*ïʰt*	*üt*	**ït ~ *it*	dog
ïʂt=	*iʰt=*	*iʰt=*	*üt=*	**ït= ~ *it=*	to push
köʰp	*köʰp*	*köʰp*	---	**köp*	much, many
küʂ=, küʰɕ-	*köʰš=*	*köʰš=*	*kös=*	**köč=*	to migrate
oʰt	*oʰt*	*oʰt*	*ot*	**ot*	grass
oʰq	*oʰk*	*oʰq*	*ox*	**ok*	arrow
paʂ, paʰɕ-	*baʰš*	*baʰš*	*bas*	**baš*	head
paʰt=	*baʰt=*	*baʰt=*	---	**bat=*	to go down
peʰk=	*pök=*	*pök=*	---	**bök=*	to eat fat food
peʰrk	*bert*	*beʰrt*	*bert*	**berk*	power
pïʂt	*bït*	*bïʰt*	*büt*	**bït*	louse
pïʰt=	*büʰt=*	*büʰt=*	*büt=*	**bit= ~ *büt=*	to suffice
qaʰt	*kaʰt*	*qaʰt*	*xat*	**kat*	layer
qïʰrq=	---	---	*kïrt=*	**kïrk=*	to shave
qoʰp=	---	---	---	**kop=*	to get up
qoʰrq=	*koʰrt=*	*qoʰrt=*	*xort=*	**kork=*	to fear
sïʰq=	*sïʰk=*	*sïʰq=*	*ïk=*	**sïk=*	to squeeze
ʂuq=	---	*čoʰq=*	---	**yuk=*	to stick (see 3.3.13.)
ʂuk-ti=	*čük-te=*	*čüʰk-te=*	---	**yük-le=*	to load (see 3.3.13.)
taʰp=	*tïʰp=*	*tïʰp=*	*tap=*	**tap=*	to find
taʰrt=	*tïʰrt=*	*tïʰrt=*	*tart=*	**tart=*	to pull
taʰt	---	---	---	**tat*	stranger
tïʰk=	---	---	*tik=*	**tik=*	to sew
tïʰk=	*tik=*	---	*tik=*	**tik=*	to erect
tïʰq=	*tik=*	---	---	**tïk=*	to thrust into
tuʰt=	*tuʰt=*	*tuʰt=*	*tut=*	**tut=*	to hold
tüʰk=	*töʰk=*	*töʰk=*	*tox=*	**tök=*	to pour
uʰk=	---	---	*ürt=*	**ürk=*	to be frightened
uʂ, üʰɕ-	*üš*	*üš*	*üs*	**üč*	three
yaʰt=	*čïʰt=*	*čïʰt=*	*sït=*	**yat=*	to lie down
yiʰp	*čeʰp*	*čeʰp*	*sap*	**yip ~ *yep*	thread
yoʰrt	*čuʰrt*	*čuʰrt*	*su(u)rt*	**yurt ~ *yu:rt*	camp

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
aʰltï	*aʰldï*	*aʰltï*	*alta*	**altï*	six
aʰltïm	*aʰldïn*	---	---	**altun*	gold
aʰrqa	*aʰrɣa*	*aʰrha*	*arʁaa*	**arka*	back
aʰti	---	---	---	**atay*	small
yaʰqa-l=	*čayɣa=*	*čaʰyha=*	---	**yayka-l=*	to shake
eʰlɕï	*elči*	---	---	**elči*	ambassador
eʰrkik	*irɣek*	*iʰrhek*	*irɣex*	**irkek ~ *erkek*	male
eʰrkiş	---	---	---	**erkeč*	wether
eʰrkï	*erɣi*	*eʰrhi*	*erɣe*	**erki*	old
eʰrkïs	*iyis*	*iʰhis*	---	**ikiz ~ *ekiz*	twin
eʰrti	*erte*	*eʰrte*	*erde*	**erte*	early
iʰki	*iye*	*iʰhe*	---	**eke*	elder sister
iʰtik	*eʰdek*	*eʰtek*	---	**etek*	skirt
ïşkï	*iʰyi*	*iʰhi*	*ikki*	**iki < *ikki*	two
ïştïɣ	*čidiɣ*	*čiʰti*	*sïtïï*	**yitig ~ *yïtïg*	sharp
kïʰɕiɣ	---	---	---	**kičig*	small
küʰkïs	---	---	*köɣüs*	**köküz*	breast
küʰtïr=	*ködür=*	*köʰtür=*	---	**kötür=*	to carry
oʰsïrïq	*ozuruk*	---	*uturuk*	**osuruk*	fart
oʰrta	*oʰrta*	*oʰrta*	*orto*	**orta*	middle
oʰtïs	---	---	*otut*	**otuz < *ottuz*	thirty
pïʰɕaq	---	---	*bïhax*	**bïčak*	knife
pïʰrɕaq	---	---	---	**burčak*	bean
pïʰrqan	*buryan*	---	---	**burkan*	Buddha
pïʰtïɣ	---	---	---	**bitig*	book
pïʰtïr	---	---	---	**pïltïr*	last year
qaʰɕan	*kaʰyan*	*qaʰhan*	---	**kačan*	when
qaʰqïs=	---	---	---	**kakïš=*	to quarrel
qaʰtïɣ	*kaʰdïɣ*	*qaʰtïɣ*	---	**katïg*	hard
qïʰqïr=	*kïškïr=*	*qïʰšqïr=*	---	**kïčkïr=*	to shout
qoʰltïq	*kolduk*	*qoʰltuq*	---	**koltuk*	armpit
quʰrtqa	*kuruyak*	*qoʰrhïňaq*	---	**kurtka*	old woman
taʰqaɣï	---	*taqqïňaq*	---	**takagu*	chicken
taʰqï	---	---	---	**takï*	still
tiʰkin	*ten*	*teʰhen*	---	**teken ~ *tiken*	thorn
toʰqï=	---	---	---	**tokï=*	to beat
toʰqïs	*tos*	*toʰhos*	*toʁus*	**tokuz < *tokkuz*	nine
toʰqtï	*toɣdu*	---	---	**toklï*	lamb
tuʰki=	---	---	---	**tüke=*	to end
tuʰtïn	---	---	---	**tütün*	smoke
tuʰtïrqan	---	---	---	**tutïrkan*	rice
uʰtïr	*udur*	*uʰturu*	*utarï*	**uturu*	opposite
üʰkpi	*ökpe*	*öʰkpe*	---	**öpke*	lung
yaʰqa	*čaɣa*	*čaʰha*	*saʁa*	**yaka*	collar
yaʰqïn	---	---	---	**yakïn*	near

Table 1: Correspondence preaspiration - pharyngealization - short vowels.

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
aq	*ak*	*aq*	---	**a:k*	white
art	*art-ï*	*aʰrt-ï*	---	**a:rt*	back, west
at	*at*	*at*	*aat*	**a:t*	name
et=	*et=*	---	---	**e:t=*	to do
kük	*kök*	*kök*	*küöx*	**kö:k*	blue
ot	*ot*	*ot*	*uot*	**o:t*	fire
pït	*but*	*but*	*buut*	**bu:t*	leg
qap	*xap*	*qap*	---	**ka:p*	bag
tïp	*düp*	*düp*	---	**ti:p ~ *tü:p*	base
tört	*dört*	*dört*	*tüört*	**tö:rt*	four
tut=	*dït=*	*tït=*	*tïït=*	**tü:t= ~ *tï:t=*	to pluck wool
uɀ, uɕ-	*uš*	*uš*	*uh-uk*	**u:č*	tip
yaq	---	---	---	**ya:k*	side
yit=	*čet=*	*čet=*	*siet=*	**ye:t=*	to lead along
yoq	*čok*	*čoq*	*suox*	**yo:k*	not present
yüt	*öt*	*öt*	---	**ö:t*	gall, bile
aɕï=	*ažï=*	*aǯï=*	*ahïy=*	**a:čï=*	to be worried
aqa	*akï*	*aʰha ~ aɦa*	*aʁa*	**a:ka*	elder brother
kiɕi	*kežee*	*keǯe*	*kiehe*	**ke:če*	(yesterday) evening
kikïrt=	---	---	*keɣert=*	**ke:kir=*	to burp
kükiɕkïn	---	---	---	**kö:kerčkün*	pigeon
otïŋ	---	---	---	**o:tuŋ*	firewood
paqa	*paɣa*	*baɣa*	*baʁa*	**ba:ka*	frog
piɕin	---	---	---	**be:čin*	monkey
puqa	*buɣa*	*buʰha*	*buʁa*	**bu:ka*	bull
qatïn	*kadïn*	---	---	**ka:tun*	queen
quɕaqta=	*kužakta=*	*quǯaqta=*	---	**ku:čakla=*	to embrace
tatï=	---	---	---	**ta:t=*	to taste
taqa	*daay*	*daay*	*taay*	**ta:gay*	uncle

Table 2: Correspondence lack of preaspiration and pharyngealization - long vowels.

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
as= ~ aʰs=	*aš=*	*aš=*	*aas=*	**a:š=*	to pass
aʰʂ-ta=	*aš-ta=*	*aš-ta=*	---	**a:č-la=*	to be hungry
ïs	*iš*	*iš*	*iis*	**i:š*	matter, work
ïs	*ïš*	*ïš*	---	**iš ~ *ïš*	smoke
kis=	*keʰs=*	*keʰš=*	---	**kes=*	to cut
kiʂ	---	---	---	**ke:č*	late
kuʂ-tïɣ	*küš-tüɣ*	*küš-tüɣ*	---	**kü:č-lüg*	strong
oʰs=	---	---	---	**us=*	to be thirsty
paʰs=	*baʰs=*	*baʰs=*	---	**bas=*	to press
pis	*beš*	*beš*	*bies*	**be:š*	five
pïs=	*bïʰš=*	*bïʰš=*	*bus=*	**bïš= ~ *biš=*	to boil
pos-a-t= ~ poʰs-a-t=	*bož-u-t=*	*boʰh-u-t=*	---	**boš-a-t= ~ *boš-u-t=*	to untie
qaʰʂ	*kaʰš*	*qaʰš*	*xas*	**kač*	how much
qïs	*kïʰš*	*qïʰš*	*kïh-ïn*	**kïš*	winter
qïs=	*kïʰs=*	*qïʰs=*	---	**kïs=*	to pinch
qus	*kuʰš*	*quʰš*	*kus*	**kuš*	bird
qus=	*kus=*	*quʰs=*	---	**kus=*	to vomit
tas ~ taʰs-	*daš-tï*	*taʰš-tï*	*tas*	**taš*	outside
tas ~ taʰs	*daš*	*taš ~ daš*	*taas*	**ta:š*	stone
tïs	*diš*	*diš*	*tiis*	**ti:š*	tooth
tös	*töš*	*döš*	*tüös*	**tö:š*	chest
tus=	*düʰš=*	*tüʰš=*	*tüs=*	**tüš=*	to descend
yas ~ yaʰs	---	---	*saas*	**ya:š*	age
yas ~ yaʰs	*čaš*	*češ*	---	**ya:š*	tear; soft; young
yaʰs=	*čaž-ïr=*	*çaʰh-ir=*	*sas=*	**yaš=*	to hide
isin	---	---	---	**esen*	healthy
isïr=	*eziri=*	*eʰsiri=*	*itir=*	**esür=*	to be drunk
ïsïɣ	*iziɣ*	*iʰsiɣ*	*itii*	**isig ~ *ïsïg*	warm
kïsï	*kiʰži*	*kiši*	*kihi*	**kiši*	person
küsi=	*keɣže-n=*	*keɣže=*	---	**ke:bše=*	to chew
oʰʂaq	---	---	---	**ubšak*	crumbs
paʰrsï ~ parsï	*par*	---	---	**bars*	tiger
taʰsï=	*dažï=*	*taʰš=*	---	**ta:š=*	to overflow

Table 3: Irregular preaspiration patterns preceding voiceless sibilants.

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
sat=	*sat=*	*saʰt=*	---	**sat=*	to sell
sart	---	---	---	**sart*	merchant
sïp	---	---	---	**sïp*	foal
sïz=	*ïš=*	*ïš=*	*is=*	**siːš= ~ *sïːš=*	to swell
soq=	*sok=*	*soʰq=*	*oʁ-us=*	**sok=*	to knock
sut	*süt*	*süt*	*üüt*	**süːt*	milk
surt=	---	*sürt=*	---	**sürt=*	to smear
ʂaʐ	*čaʰš*	*čeʰš*	*as*	**sač*	hair
ʂaʐ=, ʂaɕ-	*čaš=*	*čeʰš=*	*ïs=*	**sač=*	to sprinkle
saqal	*sal*	*saʰhal*	---	**sakal*	beard
saqïn=	*saɣïn=*	*saʁïn=*	*aʁïn=*	**sakïn=*	to think
saqïs	*ses*	*seʰhes*	*aʁïs*	**sekiz < *sekkiz*	eight
soqtï	---	---	---	**suktu*	sausage
ʂuku	*öʰškü*	*eʰškĭ*	---	**ečkü*	goat (see 3.3.12.)

Table 4: Lack of preaspiration following voiceless sibilants.

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
ɕʰïqan	---	---	*sïɣan*	**čïkan*	cousin
ɕʰikinik	*šenek*	*čeʰhenek*	---	**čikenek*	elbow
ɕʰük=	---	---	---	**čök=*	to kneel
pʰek=	---	*böʰk=* ~ *b̥üʰk̟=*	---	**bük= ~ *bök=*	to bend
pʰïk	*bek*	*beʰk*	---	**bek*	strong
qʰap=	*kap=*	*qaʰp=*	*xap=*	**kap=*	to bite
qʰaq	---	---	---	**kak*	dry
qʰapaq	*kakpak*	*qaʰqpaq*	*xappax*	**kapkak*	lid, cover
qʰatïr	---	---	---	**katïr*	mule
qʰïti	---	---	---	**kitaň*	Chinese
tʰuki	---	---	---	**tüge*	calf
tʰaqan	*taʰlɣan*	*taʰlhan*	---	**talkan*	flour
tʰeke	*deɣe*	*teʰhe*	---	**teke*	male goat
tʰulkï	*dilɣi*	*dĭlɣi*	---	**tilkü*	fox
tʰutuqus	---	---	---	**tutukuš*	peacock

Table 5: Western Yugur initial aspirated consonant instead of expected preaspiration.

WYu	Tuva	Tofa	Yakut	CT	CT Meaning
aʰsïrt=	*azïr=*	*azïr=*	*ïtïrt=*	**asurt=*	to sneeze
iɕi	---	---	---	**eče*	aunt
uɕin	*užun*	---	*isin*	**üčün*	with
qort	*kurt*	*quʰrt*	---	**ku:rt*	worm
qozɣar	*qoʰšqar*	---	---	**kočkar ~ *kočŋar*	ram
yitï	*čedi*	*čedi*	*sette*	**yeti ~ *yetti*	seven
yiltïs	---	*sïltïs*	*silis*	**yildiz ~ *yïldïz*	root
yiltïs	*dïʰldïs ~ sïldïs*	*sïltïs*	*sulus*	**yïlduz*	star
yüqa	*čuɣa*	*čuʁa*	---	**yuka < *yubka*	thin
yütïr=	*čödür=*	*čödür=*	---	**yötür=*	to cough

Table 6: Other irregular patterns.

Prespiration does not occur beyond the first syllable, apart from a small number of words which apparently are compounds, e.g. ***amiʰkï*** 'immediately', ***sïraʰkïn*** 'three days from now', ***untïʰrkïn*** 'four days from now', ***oriʰkïn*** 'the day before yesterday', ***oriʰkel*** 'the year before last'. The completive suffix *-uʰt* probably derives from a lexical verb which contained preaspiration. Preaspiration of the past tense suffix *-(ʰ)tï* is only noted in Western Yugur, and has no correspondence in Tuva and Tofa.

In loanwords from Eastern Yugur[35] and Tibetan, aspirated consonants in medial position gave rise to preaspirated consonants in Western Yugur.

aʰrça 'juniper'	←EYu *arčʰa ~ hrčʰa*
aʰçïɣïr 'scarf'	←EYu *alčʰu:r*
amïʰtan 'animal'	←EYu *amtʰan*
araʰkï 'liquor'	←EYu *araʰkė ~ arakʰė*
tʰamaʰqï 'tobacco'	←EYu *tʰamaʰkė ~ tʰamakʰė*
kʰeŋkïʰrkï 'drum'	←EYu *kʰeŋkerkʰi:*
nüʰker 'friend'	←EYu *nökʰör*
poʰqça 'bag'	←EYu *pɔkčʰɔ*
qʰuraʰqe 'insect'	←EYu *χoroˣqui ~ χɔrɔqʰɔi*
quʰqïra= 'to snort'	←EYu *qʰurqʰura=*
şorɣïʰlçïn ~ sɔrïʰçïn 'ant'	←EYu *šɔrʁɔlčėn*[36]
aʰka 'uncle'	←Arïk *a-kʰė* (→EYu *akʰė*)
qɔʰqa 'chest'	←LT khog-pa

In a number of other languages of the Qīnghǎi-Gānsù area, phenomena reminiscent of preaspiration occur[37], e.g. Salar *χalqašur* 'honour', *eʰt=* 'to do', *köʰp* 'much', Bao'an of Tóngrén *ȯχkȯr ~ ȯkʰȯr* 'bull', Dongxiang *tʰi̯χqa ~ tʰi̯qa* 'chicken'.

Especially the following, Salar and Modern Uygur instances are noteworthy, as they led to the classification of Western Yugur and Salar as dialects of Modern Uygur. However, in Modern Uygur and Salar, preaspiration phenomena are not distinctive.

Western Yugur	Salar[38]	Modern Uygur[39]	meaning
ïşt	*išt*	*išt*	dog
ïşt=	*išt=*	*išt=*	to push
pïşt	*pišt*	*pišt*	louse
ïşkï	*iški*	*iškɛ*	two
ïştïɣ	--	*ištik*	sharp

[35] Preaspiration in Eastern Yugur is limited to the velar and uvular consonants, and occurs in free variation with aspirated consonants.

[36] According to J̌uunast (1981: 7), *l* preceding a plosive or affricate may be realized as [ɬ]. Chén & Léi (1985: 12) describe a similar realization [ɬ] for /ʰl/.

[37] For Salar, cf Tenišev 1976b: 546, 328, 393; for Bao'an of Tóngrén, cf Chén Nǎixióng 1985: 16; for Dongxiang, cf Bökh 1983: 139.

[38] Cf Tenišev 1976b: 341, 450, 340.

[39] Cf Nadžip 1968: 169c, 170a, 266a, 172a (dialect form), 170c.

3.5. Western Yugur as a Northeastern Turkic language

The traditional classification of the Turkic languages was formulated by Samoĭlovič (Poppe 1965: 34) in 1922. Though most of the criteria proposed are still valid, this classification does not elaborate on the relations between the subgroups.

Apparently the *ayak* or central Turkic languages split off as a group, after which the **adak* or periferal languages, that retained a reflex of *d*, developed into separate ways[40]. Although Western Yugur and Khakas both developed **d* > *z*, the languages differ in many respects and cannot be grouped together in one subgroup.

Western Yugur shares a small number of probably archaic characteristics with the other Northeastern Turkic languages, Khakas, Tuva, Tofa, and Yakut, but it also has characteristics that are typical of the central Turkic languages.

Western Yugur characteristics that are typical of the NE Turkic languages are the following:

Lexicon that is typical of NE: ***eʰrkï*** 'old (of things)', ***yiɣiş*** 'female dog', ***yizï=*** 'to go bad, to rot', ***ɕalïm*** '(hoar)frost', ***aʰştaa=*** 'to be hungry', ***tül=*** 'to cook'.

Of the following words, the form is typical of NE: ***kiseʰlkï*** 'lizard' (NE **keleske*, elsewhere **keslinčü*, **kesertki*, the latter also occurring in Western Yugur), ***sozïr=*** 'to haul' (NE **södür=*, elsewhere **söyre=*), ***yimïɣ*** 'female breast' (NE **emig*, elsewhere **emček*), ***olïr=*** 'to stay' (NE **olur=*, elsewhere **o(l)tur=*), ***yülïr=*** 'to kill' (NE **ölür=*, elsewhere **öldür=*), ***ïlïɣ*** 'hand' (NE **ilig*, elsewhere **elig* prevails).

Typical of NE are the unrounded vowels in ***eʰt=*** 'to sound' and ***ezeŋkï*** 'stirrup' (elsewhere **öt=*, **üzeŋgü*), and the back vowel in ***am*** 'now' (elsewhere front-vocalic **imdi*).

A number of words occuring in the Turkic languages have a rounded and an unrounded form near a labial: *ïm um*; in the NE languages the unrounded variants prevail (though they are not exclusive for NE), as in Western Yugur ***imsa=*** 'to use', ***imsaq*** 'soft', ***imsart=*** 'to make soft', ***yim=*** 'to close the eyes'.

The privative suffix **-siz* 'without' was lost in Western Yugur and replaced by ***yoq*** 'not present' (see 5.7.), as elsewhere in NE. A petrified form of the privative suffix, however, occurs in ***ennïs*** 'narrow' <CT **e:nsiz*, and probably also in ***sanïs*** 'cheap' (perhaps <CT **sa:nsïz*).

Also typical of NE is the analytic structure of the lower decads (unit + 'ten'), e.g. ***törtun*** 'forty' (***tört*** 'four', ***on*** 'ten'). Western Yugur and Tofa have the full array of analytic decads, Tuva from 'thirty' onwards, Yakut from 'forty', and Khakas from 'sixty'; the more western Turkic languages lack the lower analytic decads.

However, Western Yugur also shows characteristics which are not shared by the other NE languages.

Western Yugur has a number of words or forms that are typical of the central Turkic languages, e.g. ***tïrlït=*** 'to revive' (NE **tirgüz=*), and ***tusqan*** 'hare' (NE **kodan*).

[40] For the most recent discussions on the classification of the Turkic languages, see Schönig 1997.

Western Yugur retained *rm* <CT **rm*, whereas Siberian NE developed **rb* here.

CT **yegirmi*	> WYu ***yiɣïrmï*** 'twenty'	NE **čegirbi*
CT **tarmak*	> WYu ***tarmaq*** 'finger; claw'	NE **tarbak*
CT **tegirmen*	> WYu ***tʰeɣïrmen*** 'mill'	NE **te:rben*

In the following words, CT has variants with a non-high vowel *a* and a high vowel *u*[41] in the second syllable, following an **o* in the first syllable; together with the central Turkic languages and the periferal languages Chuvash and Khalaǰ, Western Yugur has *a*, whereas the Siberian NE languages have *u*:

CT **odgan= ~ *odgun=*	> WYu ***uzɣan=*** 'to wake up'	NE **odgun=*
CT **odgar= ~ *odgur=*	> WYu ***uzɣar=*** 'to let wake up'	NE **odgur=*
CT **orta ~ *ortu*	> WYu ***oʰrta*** 'middle'[44]	NE **ortu*
CT **bošat= ~ *bošut=*	> WYu ***posat=*** 'to untie'	NE **pošut=*
CT **kopar= ~ *kopur=*	> WYu ***qowar=*** 'to erect'	NE *ø*

In the following words, however, Western Yugur has *u*, not *a*.

CT **boda= ~ *bodu=*	> WYu ***pozï=*** 'to paint' (not **poza=*)	NE *ø*
CT **yogan ~ *yogun*	> WYu ***yoɣïn*** 'thick' (not **yoɣan*)	NE **čo:n*

[41] These variants may have developed from an older form with **o* in the second syllable.

[42] But cf Western Yugur *kʰortï* 'noon' <CT **kün ortu*.

4. Morphology of the noun

The morphology of the noun consists of derivational and inflectional suffixion. The inflectional suffixes consist of plural, possessive and case suffixes, which are attached to the noun in this order. The spatial clitics may be regarded as newly developing case suffixes. The clitic -K*ï* follows some of the case suffixes as well as the spatial clitics to form an attributive noun. The derivational suffixes include denominal noun and denominal verb suffixes. Reduplication is dealt with here. Special noun classes (pronouns, numerals, existentials, and postpositions) are treated separately in chapter 5. Thus, the following suffix scheme can be presented:

stem + derivation + plural + possessive + case or (spatial) clitic + -K*ï*

Nouns do not show a sharp distinction between substantives and adjectives, e.g.:

aʰti	young, small; the young of an animal
yaʰqïn	near, nearby, close; friend
yiɣaş	wood; wooden
şaz-tïɣ	(married) woman (hair-ADJ)

Nor do nouns show a sharp distinction between adjective and adverb, e.g.:

oy	quick; quickly
miça	little, small; a little, a bit
qʰurïɣ	empty; in vain

4.1. The plural (PL)

The plural suffix is -LA*r*. Younger speakers often do not observe vowel harmony in this suffix, and in their speech, -L*ir* is the predominant form[1]. The plural suffix is used mainly with nouns denoting humans.

qïztar-lir	girls (girl-PL)
qʰarmaŋqï-lir	ancestors (ancestor-PL)
kʰeln-nir	wives (wife-PL)
ïs tuʰt-pa-lar	workers (work hold-VN-PL)

When the plural suffix is attached to other nouns, it indicates a collective.

kʰïr-lir	refuse, garbage (dirt-PL)
mal-lir	livestock (livestock-PL)
yer-lir	places; fields (place-PL)
iʰt-tir	meat, all kinds of meat (meat-PL)
yim-nir	medicines (medicine-PL)
qïzïɣ-lir-ti	around, in the surroundings (side-PL-LOC)
iʰç-in-ti-kï-lir	contents, everything that is inside (inside-POS3-LOC-KI-PL)

[1] This tendency was already noted by Tenišev (1976: 50).

yaɣmïr yaɣ-ma kʰun-nir-ti yaɣmïr yaq-qïştï
rain rain-VN day-PL-LOC rain rain-FUTev
during the rainy days (season), it will rain

The plural is always used in connection with the indefinite pronoun ***xosï*** 'all, every, everybody, everything, all of it, all of them'.

kïsï-lir xosï	all of the people, everybody (person-PL all)
selir xosï	all of you (you/PL all)

No plural suffix is used after numerals.

uş qïz	three girls (three girl)
ïşkï yörin xosï	both of the two men (two man all)

When a noun indicates a general category, or when plurality is understood from the context, the plural suffix is not obligatory.
sart (~ ***sart-lar*** ~ ***sart-tir***) ***qʰawan iʰt yi-ɣïmistï***
muslim (~ muslim-PL) pig meat eat-FUTNev
a muslim does not eat pork, muslims do not eat pork
kʰempiştïɣ yerin (~ ***kʰempiştïɣ-lir yerin-nir***) ***uçin pïr ïs tuʰt-vtï-m?***
woman man (~ woman-PL man-PL) with one work hold-PROGev-Q
are a woman and a man (~ women and men) doing the same work?

4.2. The possessive suffixes (POS1/2, POS3, POS3ACC)

The possessive suffixes are -(*ï*)*ŋ* for the first and second person[2], and -(*s*)*ï*(*n*) for the third person.

The occurrence of the possessive suffix of the first and second person -(*ï*)*ŋ* is limited to the following kinship terms: ***ana-ŋ*** 'mother', ***aça-ŋ*** 'father', ***awa-ŋ*** 'father', ***papa-ŋ*** 'uncle (father's younger brother)', ***kuɣi-ŋ*** 'aunt (mother's sister)', ***kuna-ŋ*** 'aunt (father's sister)', ***tayïni-ŋ*** 'aunt (mother's brother's wife)', ***içi-ŋ*** 'aunt (father's brother's wife)', ***vka-ŋ*** 'grandfather', ***anïka-ŋ*** ~ ***ayka-ŋ*** 'grandmother'[3], ***qazna-ŋ*** 'mother-in-law', ***qazta-ŋ*** 'father-in-law', ***kuziɣï-ŋ*** 'husband', and ***küy-iŋ*** 'uncle (mother's sister's husband)'. Irregular forms are ***aqïŋ*** 'elder brother' (***aqa***), ***qïzaqïŋ*** 'elder sister' (***qïzaqa***), ***taqïŋ*** 'uncle (mother's brother)' (***taqa***), and ***aʰkïŋ*** 'uncle (father's elder brother)' (***aʰka***)[4].

In folk tales, there are still a few instances where -(*ï*)*ŋ* is attached to other nouns.

uzï-ŋ-ki	to myself/yourself/ourselves/yourselves (self-POS1/2-DAT)
aʰt-ïŋ	my/our/your horse (horse-POS1/2)
kʰama-ŋ	my/our/your power (power-POS1/2)

[2] In Malov (1957: 177), Tenišev (1976: 52) and Chén & Léi (1985: 61), a separate first person suffix -(*ï*)*m* is still noted, but considered obsolete.

[3] In Chén & Léi (1985: 61) the form is *anikïŋ*.

[4] In the present material, the suffix -(*ï*)*ŋ* does not occur with e.g. *sïŋnï* 'younger sister', *ïnï* 'younger brother', *mïla* 'child', *kʰeln* 'wife', *şazţïɣ* 'married woman, wife', *erin* 'man, husband'.

The possessive suffix -(ï)ŋ is often added automatically when eliciting kinship terms. In the following examples, the suffix seems to function as a term of endearment, as it does not refer to a first or second person.

taqïŋ-ma ki-ttï	and Uncle came (uncle/POS1/2-PCL3 come-PASTev)
ana-ŋ yoq mïla	a motherless child (mother-POS1/2 not.present child)
ana-ŋ mïla sut imïs-vtï	the mother is suckling the child

mother-POS1/2 child milk suckle-PROGev

The difference between the first and second person possessive is expressed analytically by means of the genitive of the pronoun[5]. There may be no pronoun when the possessor is understood from the context.

menïŋ aqa-ŋ	my father (me/GEN father-POS1/2)
senïŋ aqa-ŋ	your father (you/GEN father-POS1/2)
mïz-tïŋ ana-ŋ-nar	our mothers (we-GEN mother-POS1/2-PL)
meŋ aqïŋ	my elder brother (me/GEN elder.brother/POS1/2)
aqa-ŋ-ana-ŋ	our father and mother (father-POS1/2 mother-POS1/2)

Apart from the abovementioned kinship terms, nouns express possession of the first and second person analytically by means of a pronoun. Sometimes the possessive is dropped from kinship terms, though usually not from parental kinship terms.

menïŋ yü	my house (me/GEN house)
senïŋ yü	your house (you/GEN house)
mïz-tïŋ yü	our house (we-GEN house)
selir-nïŋ pïʰtïɣ	your book (you/PL-GEN book)
meŋ aqa	my elder brother (me/GEN elder.brother)

The possessive suffix of the third person is -(*s*)ï(*n*). A buffer consonant *s* is required if the noun ends in a vowel; the *s* may be preaspirated when following words ending in a high front vowel. The so-called nominal *n* (realized as *ŋ* before a velar or uvular plosive) is required when a case suffix (except for the genitive) is added. The third person possessive followed by the accusative combines into a portmanteau suffix -(*s*)ï*n*. The pronouns ***qaysï*** 'which one', ***xosï*** 'all, every', ***pïrsï*** 'one of them', and ***ïşkïsï*** 'the two of them, both', contain a third person possessive suffix, and consequently form the accusative in -(*s*)ï*n* (see further 5.4., 5.5. and 5.6.).

aqa-sï	his/her/their father (father-POS3)
aqa-sïŋ-qa	to his/her/their father (father-POS3-DAT)
yü-ʰsïŋ-ki	to his/her/their house, home (house-POS3-DAT)
mïla-sïn	his/her/their child (child-POS3ACC)

In the case of kinship terms, the third person possessor is often expressed by both a possessive suffix and a genitive pronoun, though the pronoun may be omitted.

kunïŋ aqa-sï	his/her father (DEM/GEN father-POS3)
kunïŋ ïnï-sï	his/her younger brother (DEM/GEN younger.brother-POS3)
kunïŋ ïşkï mïla-sïn	his/her two children (DEM/GEN two child-POS3ACC)

[5] In the present material, no examples of kinship terms possessed by the second person plural occur: a group of people is often addressed with the second person singular.

In the case of other nouns, the possessive suffix of the third person may occur, though it is generally omitted when a genitive pronoun is present.

kunïŋ yü ~ kunïŋ yü-ʰsï	his/her house (DEM/GEN house ~ DEM/GEN house-POS3)
anïŋ kʰeln ~ anïŋ kʰeln-ï	his wife (that/GEN wife ~ that/GEN wife-POS3)
anïŋ qol ~ anïŋ qol-ï	his/her arm (that/GEN arm ~ that/GEN arm-POS3)
anïŋ ïʂt-tï ~ anïŋ ïʂt-ïn	his/her dog (that/GEN dog-ACC ~ that/GEN dog-POS3ACC)

The possessive relation between two nouns is expressed by attaching a possessive suffix to the head noun and a genitive case suffix to the modifying noun (see further 7.1.). The head noun's possessive suffix, however, is not obligatory, and actually is often omitted.

mïla-nïŋ poz ~ poz-ï	a child's body (child-GEN body ~ body-POS3)
çʰi-nïŋ moyn ~ moyn-ï	a camel's neck (camel-GEN neck ~ neck-POS3)

The third person possessive usually occurs attached to the spatial noun in spatial noun constructions (see further 7.1.2.).

taʰs-ïŋ-qa	out of it, outside (outside-POS3-DAT)
üzi-sïn-ti	on top of it (upside-POS3-LOC)

The third person possessive refers to a member of a category or group.

kïʰçiq qïztar-ï	the youngest daughter (small girl-POS3)
ïʂkï-nçï qïz-ï	the second daughter (two-ORD girl-POS3)
pezïk-ï	the eldest child (big-POS3)
sen ni-sïn ti-ʊtï?!	you are saying what?! (you what-POS3ACC say-PROGev)

The third person possessive refers to a mutual relationship between two people.

kʊ kuziɣï-sï kʰeln-ïŋ-ki antaɣ ti-ɣintï

DEM husband-POS3 wife-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev

this husband of hers said thus to his wife

4.3. The cases

4.3.1. The unmarked case

The unmarked case is used as the subject, the predicate and the indefinite object.

mïz yoɣïr	we are Yugur (we Yugur)
mïz yoɣïr kïsï-lir	we are Yugur people (we Yugur person-PL)
kʊ mïʂ-tï	it is a cat (DEM cat-EV)

tʰoɣïn men miça tarïɣ aʰl-tï, tarïɣ-nï akkʰer-ɣi meŋ kʰelŋ-ki peʰr-tï

yesterday I little grain take-PAST grain-ACC bring-CCO my/GEN wife-DAT give-PAST

yesterday I bought some grain, brought the grain home and gave it to my wife

Compounds are formed by juxtaposing nouns in the unmarked case (see 7.1.)

yil tʰerɣin	car (wind cart)
taʰqaɣï oʰsïrïq	egg (chicken fart)
çʰi yü	tent (camel house)
pïra tïmsïɣ çïwïn	mosquito (conch mouth mosquito)
qoy yüŋ	sheep wool (sheep wool)

Adverbs indicating a point in time (see 5.8.) and measure nouns (see 7.1.) also take the unmarked case.

yil tʰerɣin <u>tʰoɣïn</u> mïntan hanï-ttï — the car left from here yesterday
wind cart yesterday this/ABL go-PASTev

men senï pïr <u>tun</u> pʰer-in saqïn-atï — I want to give you a beating
I you/ACC one beating beat-IMP1sg think-DUB

The following verbs often take an indefinite object by default:

kizkï kiz=	to get dressed (clothes dress)
san sana=	to count (number count)
yer yerla=	to sing (song sing)
u pʰoqïr=	to dance (dance dance)
semen ïş=	to eat (food eat)
semen qʰaynat=	to cook (food cook)
poz yü=	to wash oneself (body wash)
ïs tuʰt=	to work (work hold)
pïʰtïɣ tïz=	to write (writing write)
sut imïs=	to suckle (milk suckle)

The following collocations consist of a verb and a noun in the unmarked case.

şopaq paʰs=	to be or become stained with mud (mud press)
iʰçikï tʰorla=	to be or become hungry (belly be.hungry)
qara tus=	to be or become dark; of bad luck to occur (black descend)

4.3.2. The accusative case (ACC)

The accusative case suffix is -Nï; the accusative denotes the definite direct object.

ïşt <u>menï</u> tïsti-ɣi yazïr-it-ïttï
dog me/ACC bite-CCO run-QUI-PASTev
the dog bit me and dashed off

men semen qʰantïr-ïppar; pu <u>semen-nï</u> appar
I food cook-PROG this food-ACC take.to
I am cooking food; take this food away

tʰoɣïn men miça tarïɣ aʰl-tï, <u>tarïɣ-nï</u> akkʰer-ɣi meŋ kʰelŋ-ki peʰr-tï
yesterday I little grain take-PAST grain-ACC bring-CCO my/GEN wife-DAT give-PAST
yesterday I bought some grain, brought the grain home and gave it to my wife

kʰïm sen cʰunzï-ɣa <u>par-ɣan-nï</u> köʰr-tï?
who you village-DAT go-PP-ACC see-PAST
who saw that you went to the village?

The verb *ïsta=* 'to resemble' requires the accusative case; *ɕor=* 'to point at' may take either the accusative or the dative case; the verbs *mïn=* 'to mount'[6] and *ayt=* 'to greet, to send one's greetings; to ask about' take a (definite or indefinite) direct object, not an indirect object.

men menï ïsta-ɣaq	I resemble myself (I me/ACC resemble-HAB)
pïr kïsï-nï ɕor-ma!	do not point at people! (one person-ACC point-NEG)
aʰt-ïn mïn-ki	after mounting his/her horse (horse-POS3ACC mount-CCO)
kv senï ayt-vtï	s/he sends you his/her greetings (DEM you/ACC greet-PROGev)

4.3.3. The genitive case (GEN)

The genitive case suffix is -N*ïŋ*; the genitive expresses a possessive or qualifying relation between two nouns. A third person possessive suffix may be attached to the qualified head noun, but the possessive suffix is usually omitted (see 7.1.).

qol-nïŋ su	the water of the river (river-GEN water)
ɕorɣawaş-tïŋ lomaq	the story of Chorghawash (Chorghawash-GEN story)
ïşkï ɣaʰs-tïŋ şat	a two-year-old calf (two year.of.age-GEN calf)
mïz-tïŋ tõʰrçin-nïŋ kïsï-lir	the people of our village (we-GEN village-GEN person-PL)
mal-lir-nïŋ halɣar	the dung of livestock (livestock-PL-GEN bovine.dung)

Spatial nouns in spatial noun constructions are also qualified by a noun in the genitive case; the third person possessive is generally attached to the spatial noun (see 7.1.2.).

luzï-nïŋ üsïn-ti	on top of the stove (stove-GEN upside/POS3-LOC)
tïs-tïŋ aʰltïr-ïŋ-qa	under the cauldron (cauldron-GEN underside-POS3-DAT)
sïk-tïŋ uʰtïr-ïn-ta	in front of the door (door-GEN frontside-POS3-LOC)
terik-tïŋ iʰç-in-ti	in the forest (tree-GEN inside-POS3-LOC)
su-nïŋ iʰç-in-tin	from within of the water (water-GEN inside-POS3-ABL)
qʰor-nïŋ oʰrta-sïn-ta	at the middle of the girdle (girdle-GEN middle-POS3-LOC)

The genitive case of the demonstrative and interrogative pronoun preceding an adjective functions as an equative.

mïnïŋ pezïk	this big, so big (this/GEN big)
ni-nïŋ uzun	how long (what-GEN long)

4.3.4. The dative case (DAT)

The dative case suffix is -GA; the dative indicates a motion or direction towards.

tʰeryin tʰoyïn mïntan hanï-ɣa tayïn lɛnçou-ɣa eʰt-kïştï

car yesterday this/ABL leave-CCO tomorrow Lánzhōu-DAT arrive-FUTev

the car left from here yesterday and will arive in Lánzhōu tomorrow

[6] The verb *mïn=* requires a dative case in e.g. Khakas.

The dative case expresses the indirect object.
aʰti mïla yilɣa-sa sen aɣa miça sut per if the baby cries, give him/her some milk
small child cry-COND you that/DAT little milk give
men mïla-lar-ɣa miça su iʰçiʰr-tï I let the children drink some water
I child-PL-DAT little water give.to.drink-PAST
kʊ uzï-nïŋ kizkï-nï kïsï-ɣi pozï-t-ïttï s/he had his/her clothes dyed by someone
DEM self-GEN clothes-ACC person-DAT die-CAUS-PASTev

The dative case expresses a benefactive.
meŋ nüʰker maɣa yü qʰala-ʰtï my friend built a house for me
me/GEN friend me/DAT house build-PAST
men taɣïn aɣa ïs tuʰt-qïş I will work for him/her tomorrow
I tomorrow that/DAT work hold-FUT
araʰkï ïş-si mïla-ɣa ẓïq-tï it is bad for a child if s/he drinks liquor
liquor drink-COND child-DAT bad-EV
maɣa kʰerik par I need it (me/DAT need present)

The dative expresses an instrumental.
pu tʰuŋzï-nï ni-ɣi ims-ʊtï? su al-ir-ɣa ims-ʊtï
this bucket-ACC what-DAT use-PROGev water take-PFUT-DAT use-PROGev
what is s/he using this bucket for? s/he is using it for fetching water
sen naqï yotal-ɣa eʰlçï-nï qara-ɣïla par-ɣïmis mi?
you yonder matter-DAT shaman-ACC look-CPUR go-FUT Q
will you not go and see the shaman because of (~ about) that matter?
saqal-ta-qï semeŋ-ki toz-mas
beard-LOC-KI food-DAT eat.one's.fill-HABN
one does not eat one's fill by the food in one's beard
kʊ lap kim-ki aɣïr-ttï s/he was really ill because of a disease
DEM really disease-DAT be.ill-PASTev
kʊ kunïŋ kizkï-sïn qara-ɣa pozï-ttï s/he dyed his/her clothes black
DEM DEM/GEN clothes-POS3ACC black-DAT die-PASTev
kʊ eni kunïŋ yü-sïn aq-qa surt-ïttï s/he repainted his/her house white
DEM again DEM/GEN house-POS3ACC white-DAT coat-PASTev

The dative case indicates a period of time.
pu qaʰş yil-ɣa tiŋïr ïsïɣ muli-tï
this few year-DAT sky warm very-EV
during these past few years the weather has been very warm

In possessive constructions ('to have'), formed with the existentials ***par*** 'present' and ***yoq*** 'not present' (see 5.7.), the possessor can be expressed by the dative or by the locative (see 4.3.5.), though the dative is more generally used.
saɣa niçi mïla par-i? maɣa yoq how many children do you have? I have none
you/DAT how.many child present-COP me/DAT not.present

The verbs *ɕowat=* 'to oblige, to thank', *yalwar=* 'to beg, to request', *ɕʰïla=*, *ɕʰï kel=* 'to be or become angry with', *aɕïs=* 'to worry (about)', *miɣïl=* 'to give a kiss, to kiss', *paŋnas=* 'to help', *tʰuktis=*, *tʰuk pol=* 'to meet with', *os=* 'to grab' all require a dative case; *ɕor=* 'to point at' may take either the accusative or the dative case.

sen <u>maɣa</u> ɕowat-tï	I thank you (you me/DAT oblige-PAST)
mïz <u>saɣa</u> yalwar-in	let us beg of you, please (we you/DAT beg-IMP1pl)
men <u>saɣa</u> ɕʰïla-ʰtï	I am angry with you (I you/DAT be.angry-PAST)
men <u>saɣa</u> aɕïs-qan	I was worried about you (I you/DAT worry-PNAR)
<u>maɣa</u> pïr miɣïl!	give me a kiss! (me/DAT one give.kiss)
men <u>saɣa</u> paŋnas-qo	I will help you (I you/DAT help-FUT)
pïr <u>kïsï-ɣi</u> tʰuktis=	to meet with a person (one person-DAT meet)
<u>azaq-ïŋ-qa</u> os=	to grab his/her feet (foot-POS3-DAT grab)
pïr <u>kïsï-ɣi</u> ɕor-ma!	do not point at people! (one person-DAT point-NEG)

The collocations *atqa ti=* 'to be called', *pozɣa mïla pol=* 'to be or become with child, pregnant', *közïŋki yara=* 'to like, to be or become pleased about' contain a dative case.

menïŋ <u>at-qa</u> yakʰïr ti-ɣik[7]	my name is Yakhır (me/GEN name-DAT Yakhır say-HAB)
mïla po-ttï, <u>poz-ɣa</u>	she was pregnant (child become-PASTev body-DAT)
<u>köz-ïŋ-ki</u> yara-ma-sa	if s/he does not like (eye-POS3-DAT be.pleased-NEG-COND)

4.3.5. The locative case (LOC)

The locative case suffix is *-t*A; the locative indicates a location in space or time.

sen <u>aɣïl-ta</u> kʰïm-nï köʰr-tï?	whom did you see in the village?
you village-LOC who-ACC see-PAST	
puɣïn menïŋ <u>yü-ti</u> yüɣal-ɣïş	today I will rest at home
today me/GEN house-LOC rest-FUT	
ko terik-tïŋ <u>ïʰç-in-ti</u> anïŋ ïşt-tï paʰtïr-ïwat-ïttï	s/he lost his/her dog in the forest
DEM tree-GEN inside-POS3-LOC that/GEN dog-ACC lose-FIN-PASTev	
ko puɣïn <u>yiŋïr-ta</u> ki-şti	s/he will come tonight
DEM today evening-LOC come-FUTev	
sen ni <u>sat-ta</u> ki-ş-i?	at what time will you come?
you what time-LOC come-FUT-COP	

In possessive constructions ('to have'), formed with the existentials *par* 'present' and *yoq* 'not present' (see 5.7.), the possessor can be expressed by the locative, though the dative is more generally used (see 4.3.4.)[8].

<u>men-ti</u> uş qïztar par	I have three daughters (I-LOC three girl present)

[7] A similar construction exists in Eastern Yugur: *munė nere-tė tʊya kė-tek pe* my name-DAT Tuya say-HAB AUX 'my name is Tuya' (cf Bolčuluu & Ǐalcan 1988: 4).

[8] This seems to be an areal feature, as the possessor is not commonly expressed by the dative in Turkic languages. The possessor is also expressed by the dative in Salar (Lín 1985: 83) and by the dative/locative case in e.g. Eastern Yugur (Bolčuluu & Ǐalcan 1990: 159), Monguor (Slater 1998: 210), Dongxiang (Field 1997: 333-334) and Tibetan (Jäschke 1958: 539b).

When the locative case is attached to a present/past participle, a temporal converb is formed (see 6.4.1.).

pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti (< ***eʰt-kin-ti***)
one day-DAT arrive-CTMP (< arrive-PP-LOC)
one day, on a certain day

xuei'i tʰuki-ɣinti (< ***tʰuki-ɣin-ti***) ***suncaŋ mïz-tï maŋ-tïr-ïştï-m?***
meeting end-CTMP (< end-PP-LOC) chief we-ACC go-CAUS-FUTev-Q
will the chief let us go when the meeting is over?

A number of adverbs historically contain a locative case suffix (see 5.8.).

kv halta ki-ptï	s/he came just now (DEM just.now come-PASTev)
sen narsïnta uzkit-ïttï	you actually lied (you actually lie-PASTev)
pʰornta ki-ştï	s/he will come first (before come-FUTev)

4.3.6. The ablative case (ABL)

The ablative case suffix is *-tAn*; the ablative indicates a motion away from, or through a place.

anïŋ ïlïɣ-tin qol-ɣa içʰi qara nimi pol-xar-ttï
that/GEN hand-ABL arm-DAT altogether black thing become-RES-PASTev
from his hand to his arm, it had become black all over

tʰerɣin tʰoɣïn çouçʰüɛn-tan hanï-ɣa puɣïn puɣa eʰt-kïştï
car yesterday Jiŭquán-ABL go-CCO today this/DAT arrive-FUTev
the car left from Jiŭquán yesterday and will arrive here today

pu yiɣaş-tï men-tin sozïr-ïp par	drag this log away from me!
this wood-ACC I-ABL drag-CON go	
terik-tin tus-ïk kel!	come down from the tree!
tree-ABL descend-CON come	
sïk-tin kʰïr-ɣintï	s/he entered through the door
door-ABL enter-NARev	
o mïntan yoz-ïp par-ɒtï	s/he is passing through here
that this/ABL pass-CON go-PROGev	

The ablative case functions as a comparative.

kv men-tin örliɣ-tï	s/he is taller than me (DEM I-ABL tall-EV)
men-tin toɣïr kïsï	another person than me (I-ABL other person)

The ablative case followed by the numeral ***pïr*** 'a, one', or by a noun indicating a measure, functions as a partitive.

maɣa ker-tin pïr per, tan-nï sal-in	give me a bowl to put the eggs in
me/DAT bowl-ABL one give egg-ACC put-IMP1sg	
mïz-tir su-tan miça al-ɒ iʰç-inï	let us take some water to drink
we-PL water-ABL little take-CSIM drink-IMP1pl	
ïşt-qa iʰt-tin antïraq yitïr-ɣi aɣïr-ïştï	
dog-DAT meat-ABL that.much feed-CCO be.ill-FUTev	
because s/he fed the dog that much meat, it may become ill	

The verb *qoʰrq=* 'to fear' requires the ablative case.

mïz-tin qoʰrq-pa! do not fear us! (we-ABL fear-NEG)

The ablative case is used in the adverbial expressions *miça miçatan* 'little by little, by and by', *pïr pïrtin* 'one by one, one after the other', *pïr kʰun pïr kʰuntin* 'day by day, from day to day'[9], *pïr cʰï pïr cʰïtan* 'from time to time, more and more', and *pïrtin pïr* 'more and more'.

men am miça miça-tan selir-nïŋ pïʰtïɣ-nï qara-ppar
I now little little-ABL you/PL-GEN book-ACC look-PROG
I am now reading your book little by little

antaqanta-ya pu saqïs-yiɣïrmï çozï pïr pïr-tin un-ïk kel-ɣintï
then-PCL1 this eight-twenty sedan one one-ABL come.out-CON come-NARev
then these eighteen sedans came out one after the other

qol su pïr kʰun pïr kʰun-tin yüraq-qa un-ʊtï
river water one day one day-ABL upside-DAT come.out-PROGev
from day to day, the river's water is rising higher

anïŋ ïnï-sï pïr-tin pïr-ya semïr-ʊtï
that/GEN younger.brother-POS3 one-ABL one-PCL1 be.fat-PROGev
his/her younger brother is getting fatter and fatter

4.3.7. The equative case (EQU)

The equative case suffix is *-tAɣ*; the occurrence of the equative is limited to the personal and demonstrative pronouns.

men-tiɣ kïlap kïsï yoq there is no person as strong as I
I-EQU strong person not.present

mïntaɣ tukiçer such a calf, a calf like this (this/EQU calf)
antaɣ tukiçer such a calf, a calf like that (that/EQU calf)
antaɣ po-q qʰa-ttï it has become thus (that/EQU become-CON fall-PASTev)
antak kʊyok-tï it is not done thus (that/EQU not.done-EV)

The equative *antaɣ* 'like that, such, thus' may also be used adverbially, indicating reported speech.

antaɣ ti-ɣin s/he said thus (that/EQU say-NPAR)

4.3.8. The vocative case (VOC)

The vocative case occurs in the following four kinship terms only[10], and is used when calling out loudly: *aqʊ* 'elder brother!' (*aqa*), *qïzaqʊ* 'elder sister!' (*qïzaqa*), *açʊ* 'father!' (*aça*), *anʊ* 'mother!' (*ana*).

[9] Occurs as *pïr kʰuntin pïr kʰun* 'day after day' in Tenišev (1976: 65, 234); cf further *pïr yil pïr yilten* 'from year to year' in Léi (1992: 161b).

[10] But cf *aniko* in Tenišev (1976: 234). Usually the final vowel is lengthened.

4.4. Clitics

4.4.1. The spatial clitics (IN-DAT, IN-LOC, IN-ABL)

The spatial clitics -(ï)ʂki 'into', -(ï)ʂti 'in' and -(ï)ʂtin 'out of (the inside)' actually consist of the dative, locative and ablative case of the spatial noun **ïʂ** 'inside'. These clitics may be regarded as newly developing case suffixes, as the spatial noun **ïʂ** takes no third person possessive, and connects closely to the preceding noun by eliding its initial vowel.

su-ʂ-ki	into the water (water-IN-DAT)
yü-ʂ-ti	in the house (house-IN-LOC)
qarq-ïʂ-tin	from within the nose (nose-IN-ABL)

The spatial clitics apparently are in the process of replacing the construction in which a spatial noun takes a third person possessive and is preceded by a qualifying noun in the genitive (see 7.1.2.).

ɕiŋ-ïʂ-tin un-ïk ki come out of the well!
well-IN-ABL come.out-CON come
ɕiŋ-nïŋ iʰɕ-in-tin un-ïk ki come out of the well!
well-GEN inside-POS3-ABL come.out-CON come
kʊ anïŋ ïʂt-ïn terik-ïʂ-ti paʰtïr-ïwat-ïttï
DEM that/GEN dog-POS3ACC forest-IN-LOC lose-FIN-PASTev
s/he lost his/her dog in the forest
kʊ terik-tïŋ iʰɕ-in-ti anïŋ ïʂt-tï paʰtïr-ïwat-ïttï
DEM forest-GEN inside-POS3-LOC that/GEN dog-ACC lose-FIN-PASTev
s/he lost his/her dog in the forest

4.4.2. The attributive noun clitic (KI)

The clitic -Kï is attached to nouns in the unmarked case, to adverbs, or to nouns that already have a case suffix, and allows the attributive use of such a noun. Such an attributive noun can be used independently as well. Several case suffixes may follow the clitic -Kï.

There is actually no term that covers all the functions of the clitic -Kï; traditionally it is called an attributive noun suffix, or adjectivizer[11].

The clitic -Kï turns a noun in the unmarked case into an adjective.

puɣïn-kï	today's (today-KI)
yaz-kï	of the spring, spring- (spring-KI)
qïs-qï	of the winter, winter- (winter-KI)

[11] It is called 'correlational suffix' by Schönig (1997: 124).

The clitic -K*ï* turns an adverb into an adjective. It is lexicalized in ***naqï*** 'yonder', and ***pïʰtïrkï*** 'once upon a time'.

eʰrti-kï yil-ta	in earlier years (early-KI year-LOC)
tʰurti-kï yil	next year's year (next.year-KI year)

When the clitic -K*ï* is attached to a noun or pronoun in the genitive case, a substantive 'the one of' is formed. This construction can be followed by the accusative case suffix; when a dative or locative case suffix is attached, it denotes a place of dwelling.

uzï-nïŋ-kï-nï	the one of him/herself, his/her own (self-GEN-KI-ACC)
menïŋ-kï-ɣi	to mine, to my house (me/GEN-KI-DAT)
senïŋ-kï-ti	at yours, at your house (you/GEN-KI-LOC)
anika-nïŋ-kï-ɣi	to an old woman's (house) (old.woman-GEN-KI-DAT)

When the clitic -K*ï* is attached to a noun to which a locative case suffix or a spatial clitic is attached, it turns this noun into a substantive or adjective 'the one in, at, belonging to'.

iʰç-in-ti-kï-lir	contents, everything that is inside (inside-POS3-LOC-KI-PL)
iʰç-in-ti-kï örçi	the thing that is inside (inside-POS3-LOC-KI thing)
menïŋ yü-ti-kï	my spouse (lit. the one in my house) (me/GEN house-LOC-KI)
yü-ti-kï kïsï-lir	family (lit. the people in the house) (house-LOC-KI person-PL)
seŋ yü-ti-kï ïşt	the dog in your house (you/GEN house-LOC-KI dog)
tiŋïr-ti-kï kʰun	the sun in the sky (sky-LOC-KI sun)
qʰora-ş-ti-kï intaq	the equine dung in the pen (pen-IN-LOC-KI equine.dung)

4.4.3. The coordinative clitic (AND)

The coordinative clitic *-nï* is used to connect two nouns; in the present material it only occurs in folk tales. The nouns thus connected may be followed by an additional ***ïşkïsï*** 'the two of them, both; together with, and'. In ordinary speech, the postposition ***uçin*** 'together with, and' (see 5.9.) is commonly used instead of this clitic.

aça-ŋ-nï ana-ŋ	our father and our mother (father-POS1/2-AND mother-POS1/2)
kumpinso-nï aʰltïmso	Kumpinso and Ahltımso (Kumpinso-AND Ahltımso)
törtiŋ-nï tʰulki ïşkï-sï	both the wolf and the fox (wolf-AND fox two-POS3)

4.4.4. The clitic 'every'

The clitic *-sin* indicates 'every', and occurs in the present material only in combination with the noun ***kʰun*** 'day' as ***kʰunsin*** 'every day'[12].

[12] In Léi (1992: 325a) also occurring in *ey sen* 'every month', and *yil sen* 'every year'.

4.5. Derivational noun suffixes

Except for the verbalizer -LA, most derivational noun suffixes do not seem to be productive; the agent suffix -*ɕï* and the adjective suffix -L*ïɣ* occur with some frequency.

4.5.1. Diminutive and affective suffixes

The diminutives -ɕA*r* and -*ɕik* are attached to animal nouns to indicate a young animal: ***tukiçer*** 'small three-year-old calf' (***tuki*** 'three-year-old calf'), ***puqaçar*** 'a bull calf' (***puqa*** 'bull')[13], ***eʰrkiçik*** 'small castrated ram or male goat' (***eʰrkiş*** 'wether'). The suffix -ɕA*r* also occurs in ***oşqaçar*** 'old man' (***oşqa***).

The affective suffix -*ka* occurs in two words only: ***anika*** 'old woman, grandmother' (***ana*** 'mother'), ***awaka*** ~ ***vka*** 'old man, grandfather' (***awa*** 'father')[14].

The affective suffix -*tar* occurs only in ***qïztar*** '(little) girl'. The suffix should not be confused with the plural, cf ***qïztarlir*** '(little) girls', ***ïşkï qïztar*** 'two (little) girls'.

The affective suffix -*qaş* occurs in ***mïlaqaş*** 'boy' (***mïla*** 'boy; child'), and ***qïztarqaş*** 'girl' (***qïztar*** '(little) girl')[15].

4.5.2. The agent suffix

The agent suffix -*ɕï* typically forms professions, e.g. ***qoyɕï*** 'shepherd' (***qoy*** 'sheep'), ***malɕï*** 'herdsman' (***mal*** 'livestock'), ***kusɕï*** 'cowherd' (***kus*** 'bovine'), ***ɕʰiɕï*** 'camelherd' (***ɕʰi*** 'camel'), ***aʰtɕï*** 'horseherd' (***aʰt*** 'horse'), ***pʰoɕï*** 'hunter' (***pʰo*** 'gun'), ***temïrɕï*** 'smith' (***temïr*** 'iron'), ***lomaqɕï*** 'story-teller' (***lomaq*** 'story'), ***uzïkɕï*** 'liar' (***uzïk*** 'lie; false'), ***arɣaɕï*** 'lazybones' (***arɣa*** 'laziness').

It also occurs in the following formations: ***toyɕï*** 'wedding guest', ***yörïnɕï*** 'spider', ***ɕʰïmïkɕï*** 'thief', ***yarɣïɕï*** 'chief, official'. Currently, agent nouns are generally derived from verbs by the verbal noun suffix -MA (see 6.6.).

4.5.3. Adjective suffixes (ADJ, COMP)

The adjective suffix -L*ïɣ* is attached to substantives to form an adjective expressing a possessive quality of the head noun, e.g. ***taʰstïɣ*** 'stony' (***taʰs*** 'stone'), ***kïsïlïɣ*** 'inhabited' (***kïsï*** 'person'), ***attïɣ*** 'famous' (***at*** 'name'), ***parlïɣ*** 'having' (***par*** 'present').

Some of these adjective formations also function as substantives, e.g. ***uzţïɣ*** 'sharp; the sharp of a knife' (***uz*** 'point, tip'), ***aʰttïɣ*** 'horseman' (***aʰt*** 'horse'), ***şazţïɣ*** '(married) woman' (***şaz*** 'hair'), ***kʰempiştïɣ*** 'woman' (***kʰempiş*** 'type of headgear').

The suffix -L*ïɣ* also occurs in the following formations: ***aɣïrlïɣ*** 'expensive', ***ennïɣ*** 'broad, wide'.

[13] Another example is *tʰekeçer* 'young male goat' (Léi 1992: 124); cf perhaps also Eastern Yugur *nasča:r* 'getting on in years', *kʰokšėčer* 'in the prime of one's life' (Bolčuluu 1985: 24, 69).

[14] In the speech of Dàhé the form *sunzɿka* 'grandchild' (Wú 1992: 318) occurs.

[15] In Léi (1992: 16a) (speech of Dàhé) also occurring in *aɕïqaş* 'daughter-in-law'.

The comparative suffix -(ï)*r*AK, expresses a relative comparison 'more, rather', e.g. ***azïraq*** 'a little bit' (***az*** 'few, little'), ***naqïraq*** 'more to yonder side, further' (***naqï*** 'yonder'), ***sotiŋraq*** 'slower' (***sotiŋ*** 'slow'), ***oyraq*** 'quicker' (***oy*** 'quick'), ***pezïkïrik*** 'louder' (***pezïk*** 'big'), ***ïsïɣraq*** 'warmer' (***ïsïɣ*** 'hot').

In general, comparison is expressed analytically by means of ***miça*** 'a bit, a little', e.g. ***miça pezïk*** 'a bit larger, rather large'.

4.5.4. Adverb suffixes (ADV)

The adverb suffix -K*v*[16] is attached to adjectives to form adverbs of manner: ***yaʰsqv*** 'well' (***yaʰs*** 'good'), ***tançiŋqv*** 'seriously, very' (***tançin*** 'serious, awesome, extreme'), ***piʰkv*** 'very, extremely' (***peʰrk*** 'courageous'), ***pezïkïrikkv*** 'in a bigger, louder way' (***pezïkïrik*** 'bigger, louder'). It also occurs in ***oʰqtaʰrqv*** 'suddenly'.

The suffix -*ça* is attested in ***yaŋqïça*** 'alone, on one's own' (***yaŋqïs*** 'alone'), and ***yaʰsça*** 'complete' (***yaʰs*** 'good'). When -*ça* is attached to the present/past participle, a converb expressing 'by means of, by way of' is formed (see 6.4.1.1.).

4.5.5. Reduplications, jingles and hendiadyoin

In Western Yugur, reduplication occurs in adjectives to denote intensification. The first consonant and vowel of a stem are copied to the left, followed by a -*p* (that in its turn may assimilate to the following consonant). The reduplicants thus formed are the only morphemes in Western Yugur (and in other Turkic languages) that are prefixed instead of suffixed, e.g. ***sap-sarïɣ*** 'very yellow' (***sarïɣ*** 'yellow'), ***tʰop-tʰolï*** 'very full' (***tʰolï*** 'full'), ***qïq-qïzïl*** 'very red (***qïzïl*** 'red'), and ***qaq-qara*** 'pitch black' (***qara*** 'black').

aq-paq 'very white' (***aq*** 'white') is the only example in the present material of a reduplication by means of the indefinite/concessive particle -*ma*[17] (see 7.3.9.).

The intensive reduplications ***taŋnaɣan taŋ*** 'very striped' (***taŋ*** 'striped'), ***kisïlɣan kisïl*** 'of very light belly colour' (***kisïl*** 'of light belly colour') and ***ʐïqtïʐuq*** 'very bad' (***ʐïq*** 'bad') are idiolectical formations.

The following reduplications and jingles typically express a generalized noun 'and so on, and the like'.

Western Yugur *m*-reduplications copy the stem to the right: the initial consonant is substituted by an *m*-, e.g. ***mal-mïl*** 'livestock and so on' (***mal*** 'livestock'), ***sut-mït*** 'milk and so on' (***sut*** 'milk').

Jingles copy the stem to the right as well; jingles usually take the vowel *a*, e.g. ***su-sa*** 'water and so on' (***su*** 'water'), ***eʰrkï-aʰrkï*** 'old and shabby' (***eʰrkï*** 'old (of things)'), ***mentiɣ-mantaɣ*** 'busy, being up and at it' (***menti=*** 'to be busy'), ***çürs-çars*** 'wrinkled and crinkled (of dried leather, the wrinkles around the eye)', ***çimtïr-çamtïr*** 'aching all over', ***qïlçïq-qalçïq*** 'crooked and bent'.

[16] Historically a contraction of *qïlv* 'doing', consisting of the verb *qïl=* 'to do' + the converb -*v*.

[17] < *aq pa aq* < *aq ma aq*; for further examples, cf Chén & Léi 1985: 72. The particle -*ma* also occurs in other idiomatic expressions (see 6.2.1.).

If the stem contains an *a*, the vowel in the jingle is *u*, e.g. ***qʰar-qʰur*** 'old and so on' (***qʰar*** 'old (of people)').

Purely onomatopoeic jingles are ***qʰars-qʰars*** 'knock-knock', ***tïrïŋ-tïrïŋ*** 'tap-tap', ***qoruŋ-qoruŋ*** 'korung-korung (the croaking of a raven)', ***qʰur-qʰur-qʰur*** 'flap-flap-flap (the fluttering sound of wings)'.

Hendiadyoin include ***amïr-şïmïr*** ~ ***amïr-şu*** 'quietly', ***orïɣ-tarïɣ*** 'relatives', ***aça-ana*** 'father and mother, parents', ***qïz-oɣïl*** 'daughter(s) and son(s), children', ***iʰki-sïŋnï*** 'elder and younger sisters', ***aqïnï*** (< ***aqa-ïnï***) 'elder and younger brothers', ***manïŋ-kizkï*** 'headgear and dress, outfit', ***aʰltïm-kumïs*** 'gold and silver, treasures', ***çis-marçan*** 'malachite and coral, jewelry', ***uzaq-yaʰqïn*** 'far and near'.

4.5.6. Verbalizers

The most commonly used denominal verb suffix is the verbalizer -LA, which is attached to nouns, e.g. ***qïzïɣla=*** 'to walk past' (***qïzïɣ*** 'border'), ***yerla=*** 'to sing' (***yer*** 'song'), ***oyla=*** 'to approach the end of, to be almost there' (***oy*** 'quick'), ***tïsti=*** 'to bite' (***tïs*** 'tooth'), ***paʰşta=*** 'to begin' (***paş*** 'head'), ***ilïmni=*** 'to glue' (***ilïm*** 'glue').

The suffix -LA is also attached to verbs borrowed from Chinese and Tibetan. In this function, the suffix is extremely productive. Vowel harmony is not observed here regularly, and the form -L*a* predominates, e.g. ***lila=*** 'to plough' <Ch lí, ***çola=*** 'to reflect' <Ch zhào, ***lotïla=*** 'to talk nonsense' <Ch láodao, ***ʐïli=*** 'to harass' <Ch rě, ***seyli=*** 'to stuff in' <Ch sāi, ***çɛçüɛla=*** 'to solve a problem' <Ch jiějué, ***niŋna=*** 'to pinch' <Ch níng, ***paŋna=*** 'to bandage' <Ch bǎng, ***tuanna=*** 'to hold in both hands' <Ch duān, ***çuŋna=*** 'to pocket' <Ch zhuāng, ***tʰuktis=*** 'to meet' (+ REC) <Tibetan Arïk dialect *tʰuk=*.

No verbalizer is attached to verbs borrowed from Eastern Yugur.

Petrified verbalizers include:

-A, forming intransitive verbs: ***aza=*** 'to decrease, to lessen' (***az*** 'few'), ***kiwi=*** 'to increase, to be or become more' (***kiʰp*** 'much, many'), ***uzïnat=*** 'to make longer (+ CAUS)' (***uzun*** 'long'), ***yaʰsa=*** 'to be or become a year of age' (***yaʰs*** 'year of age').

-(A)*r*, forming intransitive verbs: ***aqar=*** 'to be or become white, light' (***aq*** 'white'), ***qarar=*** 'to be or become black' (***qara*** 'black').

-G*ar*, forming transitive verbs: ***oʰqar=*** 'to pasture' (***oʰt*** 'grass'), ***suɣar=*** 'to water (animals)' (***su*** 'water').

-(ï)*k*, forming intransitive verbs: ***pïrïk=*** 'to agree with one another' (***pïr*** 'one').

5. Special noun classes

5.1. Personal pronouns

Western Yugur personal pronouns distinguish between first and second person, and between singular and plural. For the third person a demonstrative pronoun is used.

The personal pronouns can be declined for all cases, like other nouns. A few historical irregularities occur, such as the formation of the accusative and genitive of the first and second person singular with a single instead of a double *-n-*, the plural of the second person, and the back-vocalic dative form in the first and second person singular, which are all well attested in several other Turkic languages.

The first person plural ***mïz*** may take the plural suffix, ***mïztir***, apparently without a difference in meaning; speakers prefer either one or the other. Some speakers use the abraded form ***mïzir***.

When preceding a numeral, the plural pronoun of the the second and third person is replaced by a singular pronoun; the plural pronoun is maintained for the first person. Compare:

mïz yol maŋ-ïppar we are walking (we road walk-PROG)
mïz ïşkï-sï yol maŋ-ïppar the two of us are walking (we two-POS3 road walk-PROG)

selir yol maŋ-vtï you are walking (you/PL road walk-PROGev)
sen ïşkï-sï yol maŋ-vtï the two of you are walking
you two-POS3 road walk-PROG ev

kolar yol maŋ-vtï they are walking (DEM/PL road walk-PROGev)
kv ïşkï-sï yol maŋ-vtï the two of them are walking
DEM two-POS3 road walk-PROGev

	I	you	we	you (PL)
unmarked	***men***	***sen***	***mïz***	***selir***
accusative	***menï***	***senï***	***mïztï***	***selirnï***
genitive	***menïŋ***	***senïŋ***	***mïztïŋ***	***selirnïŋ***
	~ ***meŋ***	~ ***seŋ***		
dative	***maɣa***	***saɣa***	***mïzki***	***seliryi***
locative	***menti***	***senti***	***mïzti***	***selirti***
ablative	***mentin***	***sentin***	***mïztin***	***selirtin***
equative	***mentiɣ***	***sentiɣ***	***mïztiɣ***	***selirtiɣ***

Case paradigm of the personal pronouns.

5.2. Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are *uzï* and *iʰsï* 'self'. There seems to be no difference in meaning between these two words; speakers prefer either one or the other. The reflexive pronouns can be declined for case, number and possession; in the present material, however, not all declensional forms occur.

	self	self	selves
unmarked	*uzï*	*iʰsï*	*uzïlir*
accusative	*uzïnï*	*iʰsïnï*	*uzïlirnï*
genitive ('own')	*uzïnïŋ*		
dative	*uzïɣi*		*uzïliryi*
locative			
ablative			*uzïlirtin*
possessive 1/2	*uzïŋ*		
possessive 3	*uzïsï*	*iʰsïsï*	

Case, number and possessive paradigm of the reflexive pronouns.

kʊ uzï-nïŋ mïla-sïn pʰer-ɣi mïla-sï yoqqʰa-ttï
DEM self-GEN son-POS3ACC hit-CCO son-POS3 die-PASTev
because s/he beat his/her own son, his/her son died
mïla-lar pïʰʂaq uʂin uzï-lir-nï qïtïr-ʊtï
child-PL knife with self-PL-ACC cut-PROG
the children are cutting themselves with a knife
mïz iʰsï-nï yülïr-ïʂtï we would kill ourselves (we self-ACC kill-FUTev)

The reflexive pronouns may take a third person possessive or occur in a doublet to express a distributive.
ïʂkï yerin uzï-sïn (~ *iʰsï-sïn*) *yülïr-ïwat-ïttï*
two man self-POS3ACC (~ self-POS3ACC) kill-FIN-PASTev
the two men each killed themselves
mïla-lar uzï uzï-nï (~ *iʰsï iʰsï-nï*) *pʰer-ʊtï*
child-PL self self-ACC (~ self self-ACC) beat-PROGev
the children are each beating themselves

The possessive of the first/second person occurs only once in a tale.
uzï-ŋ-ki tʰaŋʂa par I myself have an idea (self-POS1/2-DAT idea present)

In reported speech, *uzï* refers to the speaker (see further 7.4.).
pu qʰar kïsï antaɣ ti-ɣintï sen uzï-nï yülïr-mi ti-ɣintï
this old person that/EQU say-NARev you self-ACC kill-NEG say-NARev
this old man said thus: 'Don't you kill me!'

5.3. Demonstrative pronouns

Western Yugur has four demonstrative pronouns, ***pu*** 'this', ***o*** 'that', ***naqï*** 'yonder', and ***kʊ*** 'this, that', which can be declined for number and case.

The demonstrative pronouns take the so-called pronominal *-n-* in the oblique cases (except for the dative), and when followed by the postposition ***uçin***.

A few historical irregularities occur, such as the formation of the dative, and of the accusative and genitive singular with a single instead of a double *-n-*. The paradigm of the demonstrative pronoun ***pu*** 'this' contains the irregular variants ***punï***, ***punïŋ*** and ***muɣa*** for the more frequently used forms ***mïnï***, ***mïnïŋ*** and ***puɣa***.

The demonstrative pronouns also function as demonstrative adjectives, and as personal pronouns. The dative, locative and ablative case of the demonstrative pronouns usually function as demonstrative adverbs.

	this	that	this/that	yonder
unmarked	***pu***	***o*** ~ ***ol***	***kʊ***	***naqï***
accusative	***mïnï*** ~ ***punï***	***anï***	***kunï***	***naqïnï***
genitive	***mïnïŋ*** ~ ***punïŋ***	***anïŋ***	***kunïŋ***	
dative '(t)hither'	***puɣa*** ~ ***muɣa***	***aɣa***	***koɣa***	***naqïɣa***
locative '(t)here'	***mïnta***	***anta***	***kunta***	
ablative '(t)hence'	***mïntan***	***antan***	***kuntan***	
equative 'such, thus'	***mïntaɣ***	***antaɣ***	***kuntaɣ***	
vçin 'with'	***mïnuçin***	***anuçin***	***kunuçin***	
-(ï)ʂki 'into'	***mïʂki*** ~ ***puʂki***	***anïʂki***	***kuʂki***	
-(ï)ʂti 'in'	***mïʂti***			

	these	those	these/those	yonder
unmarked	***pular***	***alar*** ~ ***alir*** ~ ***olar***	***kolar***	
accusative	***pularnï***	***alarnï***	***kolarnï***	***naqïlarnï***
genitive	***pularnïŋ***	***alarnïŋ***	***kolarnïŋ***	
dative	***pularɣa***	***alarɣa***	***kolarɣa***	
locative	***pularta***	***alarta***	***kolarta***	
ablative	***pulartan***	***alartan***	***kolartan***	
equative			***kolartaɣ***	

Case and number paradigm of the demonstrative pronouns.

The demonstrative pronoun *pu* 'this' refers to people and objects near the speaker.

pu ni-tï? what is this? (this what-EV)

mïnï-ma tʰer-ïwal-ɣïla-yn let me go and pick this up too
this/ACC-PCL3 gather-INC-PUR-IMP1sg

pu pʰoqïrt-in saqïn-ïptï s/he intended to jump
this jump-IMP1sg think-PASTev

pu su-nï iʰç-ʊ çïta-ʂtï-m? can one drink this water?
this water-ACC drink-CSIM can-FUTev-Q

pu qaʰʂ yil-ɣa tiŋïr teylï ïsïɣ muli-tï
this few year-DAT sky certainly warm very-EV
during these few years the weather has certainly been very warm

sen ni-ɣi pu qïmtan-nï imsa-ppe? men mïnuçin yiɣaʂ ʂart-ïppar
you what-DAT this axe-ACC use-PROG/COP I this/with wood chop-PROG
what are you using this axe for? I am chopping wood with it

The demonstrative *o* 'that' refers to people and objects away from the speaker. It is often used anaphorically.

ïʂt qayta-tïr? o yoqqʰa-ttï where is the dog? it died
dog where-PLOC that die-PASTev

sen tʰoɣïn meŋ mïla-nï köʰr-tï-m? men anï köʰr-tï
you yesterday me/GEN child-ACC see-PAST-Q I that/ACC see-PAST
did you see my child yesterday? I saw him/her

aʰti mïla yilɣa-sa sen aɣa miça sut per if the baby cries, give him/her some milk
small child cry-COND you that/DAT little milk give

sen nati o yer-ɣi paʰr-tï? why did you go to that place?
you why that place-DAT go-PAST

sen o yotal-ɣa eʰlçï-nï qara-ɣïmis mi?
you that matter-DAT shaman-ACC look-FUTN Q
will you not see the shaman because of (~ about) that matter?

The demonstrative *kʊ* 'this, that' is mostly used as a personal pronoun.

kʊ iʰt yi-ʊtï s/he is eating meat (DEM meat eat-PROGev)

yiŋ pʰornta maɣa ti-ɣin-la kʊ-tï it is s/he who told me first
SUP before me/DAT say-PP-PCL2 DEM-EV

kʊ ki-ɣi kunï kör-ttï s/he came and saw him/her
DEM come-CCO DEM/ACC see-PASTev

koɣa yerla ti tell him/her to sing (DEM/DAT sing say)

kʊ tïs-tï mïla suʰt-ïptï a child broke this cauldron
DEM cauldron-ACC child break/COM-PASTev

sen kʊ yiɣaʂ-tï men-tin sozïr-ïp par drag this log away from me
you DEM wood-ACC I-ABL drag-CON go

The demonstrative *naqï* 'yonder' refers to people and objects away from the speaker; *naqï* may occur with a third person possessive suffix.

kʊ naqï-nï lap kör-ttï s/he certainly saw him/her
DEM yonder-ACC certainly see-PASTev

antaqanta naqï-sï-ma kançiŋ çʰük-ki çal-ïk kʰïr-ɣintï
then yonder-POS3-PCL3 at.once kneel-CCO pray-CON enter-NARev
then yonder one of them at once knelt down and started praying
sen naqï yotal-ɣa eʰlçï-nï qara-ɣïla par-ɣïmis mi?
you yonder matter-DAT shaman-ACC look-CPUR go-FUTN Q
will you not go and see the shaman because of (~ about) that matter?
anï naqï yerin-nïŋ yaŋ-qa sozïr-ïp par drag that toward yonder man
that/ACC yonder man-GEN side-DAT drag-CON go

When a genitive demonstrative refers to a demonstrative pronoun, cross reference is usually within the same paradigm.
kv kunïŋ nüʰker ïşkï-sï ki-ptï s/he came with his/her friend
DEM DEM/GEN friend two-POS3 come-PASTev
o anïŋ nüʰker ïşkï-sï ki-ptï s/he came with his/her friend
that that/GEN friend two-POS3 come-PASTev

The dative, locative and ablative case of the demonstrative pronouns usually function as demonstrative adverbs of place. The ablative case *antan* 'from that, thence' also functions as an adverb of time 'thereupon'.
kv puɣa ki-ɣïmistï s/he will not come hither
DEM this/DAT come-FUTNev
sen qaʰçan mïnta qʰal-ɣïş-i? until when will you stay here?
you when this/LOC stay-FUT-COP
tʰerɣin tʰoɣïn mïntan hanï-ɣa taɣïn lençou-ɣa eʰt-kïştï
car yesterday this/ABL go-CCO tomorrow Lánzhōu-DAT arrive-FUTev
the car left from here yesterday and will arrive in Lánzhōu tomorrow
sen par-ɣa kunta pïr tʰelk qaz! you go and dig a hole there!
you go-CCO DEM/LOC one hole dig

The clitic -K*ï* is suffixed to the locative case to form an attributive demonstrative.
soyt-tï mïz-tïŋ mïnta-qï kʰempiştïɣ-lir su tʰila-ma-tï
bucket-ACC we-GEN this/LOC-KI woman-PL water carry-VN-EV
buckets are used by our women here to fetch water
kunta-qï su-nï maɣa akkʰer bring me that water there!
DEM/LOC-KI water-ACC me/DAT bring

The genitive case *mïnïŋ* 'of this' preceding an adjective functions as an equative.
sen nati mïnïŋ kiş ki-ɣin-i? why have you come so late?
you why this/GEN late come-NAR-COP

Below follows a list of demonstrative nouns, adjectives and adverbs, most of which historically are compound forms. Several of these derive from the demonstrative verbs *mïntaq=* 'to do like this, thus' and *antaq=* 'to do like that, thus' (crases of *mïntaɣ* and *antaɣ* with the verb *qïl=* 'to do'); the present material yields only few finite forms. The forms *mïrkïti*, *kurkïti* are the Mínghǎi equivalents of *mïnta* 'here', and *kunta* 'here, there'.

	this	that	this/that	yonder
this/that/such kind of thing	*mïntarmi*	*antarmi*	*kuntarmi*	
this/that/so much/many	*mïntur*	*antur*	*kuntur*	
this/that much	*mïntïraq*	*antïraq*		
like this/that, such	*mïntaqʊɣan*	*antaqʊɣan*		
in this/that way, thus	*mïntaqʊ*	*antaqʊ*		
after this/that, then	*mïntaqaş*	*antaqaş*		
then, so, thus		*antaqanta*		
in this/that case		*antasa*		
look at this/that!			*kuni*	
(t)here	*mïrkïti*		*kurkïti*	
about (t)here	*murata*			*narata*
(t)hither	*perï*			*narï*
over (t)here (DAT)	*peraqïŋqa*	*araqïŋqa*	*koraqïŋqa*	*neraqïŋqa*
over (t)here (LOC)		*araqïnta*	*koraqïnta*	*neraqïnta*
over (t)here (ABL)	*peraqïntan*			

Demonstrative nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

kʊ ïşt iʰt-tin kuntur yi-ɣi kʊ kim po-ştï
DEM dog meat-ABL so.much eat-CCO DEM disease become-FUTev
because that dog ate so much of the meat, it may become ill
kʊ maɣa antïraq yüs sal-ɣa men koɣa yül ti-ppar
DEM me/DAT that.much bad put-CCO I DEM/DAT die say-PROG
for all the evil s/he has done to me, I hope s/he dies (lit. telling him/her: die!)
şaẓtïɣ-lar mïntaqʊ semen qʰaynat-qaq-i
woman-PL in.this.way food cook-HAB-COP
the women are used to cook food in this way
narï mʊ perï mʊ walking hither and thither
thither walk/CSIM hither walk/CSIM
narï saqïn-ʊ perï saqïn-ʊ stretching one's mind
thither think-CSIM hither think-CSIM
koraqïnta-qï terik-ki un-ïp par! climb up that tree over there!
over.there/LOC-KI tree-DAT climb-CON go
men araqïŋqa par-sa men araqïnta soq-tïr-ïştï
I over.there/DAT go-COND I over.there/LOC beat-CAUS-FUTev
if I go over there, I will be beaten over there
men neraqïŋqa par-ɣan po-sa men pʰer-tïr-ïwat-qïştï
I over.there/DAT go-PP become-COND I beat-CAUS-FIN-FUTev
if I had gone over there, I would have been beaten
kʰunsin mïntaq-ʊ-ɣaq-i-tï every day s/he used to do thus
every.day thus.do-AUX-HAB-COP-EV
teylï-ya antaq-ïştï s/he will certainly do thus
certainly-PCL1 thus.do-FUTev

5.4. Interrogative pronouns

Western Yugur has three bases for the interrogative pronouns, ***kʰïm*** 'who', ***ni*** 'what', and ***qaysï*** 'which one'.

The interrogative pronoun ***ni*** 'what' is the base of several interrogative adjectives and adverbs: ***niçi*** 'how many', ***niçor*** 'how much, to what extent', ***niçik*** 'what kind of', ***niyor*** 'how, in what state or quality', ***nayv*** 'how, in what way', and ***nati*** 'why'. When followed by the postposition ***uçin***, the interrogative pronoun ***ni*** may optionally take the pronominal *-n-*, analogous to the demonstrative pronouns.

Interrogatives derived from the same base as the interrogative pronoun ***qaysï*** 'which one' (containing a third person possessive) are the interrogative adverbs ***qaɣa*** 'whither', ***qayta*** ~ ***qanta*** 'where', ***qaytan*** ~ ***qantan*** 'whence', and ***qaynin*** 'whereby'; the forms in *-n-* have probably developed by analogy with the pronominal *-n-* of the demonstrative pronouns. There is no difference in meaning between ***qayta, qaytan*** on the one hand and ***qanta, qantan*** on the other; individual speakers prefer either one set or the other. The temporal interrogative adverb ***qaʰçan*** 'when', and the interrogative particle ***qʰan*** 'where is' are also historically related to this base.

When occurring in doublets, the interrogative pronouns function as indefinite demonstratives 'such and such'. In combination with the particle *-ma* and a negated verb, the interrogative pronouns function as negative pronouns 'nobody, nothing' (see below), and in combination with a conditional verb, the interrogative pronouns function as indefinite pronouns 'whoever, whatever' (see 7.3.9.).

	who	what	which one
unmarked	***kʰïm***	***ni***	***qaysï***
accusative	***kʰïmnï***	***ninï***	***qaysïn***
genitive	***kʰïmnïŋ***	***ninïŋ***	
dative	***kʰïmki***	***niɣi***	***qaɣa***
locative			***qayta*** ~ ***qanta***
ablative	***kʰïmtin***		***qaytan*** ~ ***qantan***
whereby			***qaynin***
vçin 'with'		***ni(n)uçin***	
how many		***niçi***	
how much		***niçor***	
what kind of		***niçik***	
how, in what quality		***niyor***	
how, in what way		***nayv***	
why		***nati***	
when, until when			***qaʰçan***
where is			***qʰan***

Table of the interrogatives.

The interrogative pronoun ***kʰĭm*** 'who' inquires about persons.

kʰĭm saɣa kʊ kizkĭ-nĭ per-ttĭ? — who gave you those clothes?
who you/DAT DEM clothes-ACC give-PASTev

sen aɣĭl-ta kʰĭm-nĭ kʰʊr-tĭ? — whom did you see in the village?
you village-LOC who-ACC see-PAST

sen kʰĭm-ki semen qʰantĭr-ĭppe? — for whom are you cooking food?
you who-DAT food cook-PROG/COP

The interrogative pronoun ***ni*** 'what' inquires about objects.

pu ni-tĭ? — what is this? (this what-EV)
puɣa ni ti-ɣik-i? — what is this called? (this/DAT what say-HAB-COP)
o ni iʰç-ʊtĭ? — what is s/he eating? (that what eat-PROGev)
sen ni kanna-ppe? — what are you doing? (you what do-PROG/COP)

The interrogative pronoun ***ni*** is also used as an adjective.

ni yer — what place? (what place)
ni sat — what time? (what time)
sen ni ĭs tuʰt-ĭppar-i? — what are you doing? (you what work hold-PROG-COP)

The third person possessive is attached to the interrogative pronoun ***ni*** to refer to a member of a category (see 4.2.).

pu ni-sĭn ti-ʊtĭ?! — s/he is saying what?! (this what-POS3ACC say-PROGev)
ni-sĭn mĭn-kĭş-i?! — I will mount a what?! (what-POS3ACC mount-FUT-COP)

The genitive case ***ninĭŋ*** preceding an adjective functions as an equative (see 4.3.3.).

ni-nĭŋ uzun — how long (what-GEN long)

The dative case ***niɣi*** 'what for' developed the meaning 'why', and is in this meaning exchangeable with ***nati*** 'why'.

pu tʰuŋzĭ-nĭ ni-ɣi yims-ʊtĭ? su al-ir-ɣa yims-ʊtĭ
this bucket-ACC what-DAT use-PROGev water take-PFUT-DAT use-PROGev
what is s/he using this bucket for? s/he is using it for fetching water

sen ni-ɣi (~ ***nati***) ***cʰunzĭ-ɣa paʰr-tĭ?*** — why did you go to the village?
you what-DAT (~ why) village-DAT go-PAST

The interrogative ***niçi*** 'how many' is used as a substantive as well as an adjective.

sen niçi yasa-ʰtĭ? — how old are you?
you how.many be.a.year.of.age-PAST

sen kolar-tan niçi tuʰt-tĭ? — how many of them did you catch?
you DEM/PL-ABL how.many hold-PAST

saɣa niçi mĭla par-i? — how many children do you have?
you/DAT how.many child present-COP

The interrogative ***niçor*** 'to what degree or extent, how much' qualifies an adjective; it is exchangeable here with the genitive case ***ninĭŋ***.

niçor uzun — how long (how.much long)
niçor yaʰş — how good (how.much good)

However, some speakers use ***niçor*** in the function of ***niçi***.

niçor örçi how many things (how.much thing)
niçor sat how much time (how.much time)
sen mïnta olïr-v niçor kʰun poʰl-tï?
you this/LOC stay-CSIM how.much day become-PAST
how many days passed while you were staying here?

The present material yields only few examples of the interrogative ***niyor*** 'how, in what state or quality'. In the second example ***niyor*** is used in the function of ***niçor***.

niyor mi po-ɣan-i pïl-mistï how she is, I would not know
how Q become-NAR-COP know-DUBN
tas niyor pezïk pu-sa-ma su-nï aɣït-ïwal-mas
stone how big become-COND-PCL3 water-ACC stop-INC-HABN
however big the stone may be, it cannot block the water

The present material yields only one example of the interrogative ***niçik*** 'what kind of':

niçik yer-ɣi eʰt-ïptï? what kind of place have we arrived at?
what.kind.of place-DAT arrive-PASTev

The interrogative ***qaysï*** is used as a substantive 'which one'.

sen maɣa pïr ti, qaysï paʰç-ï-tï, qaysï qoŋqïr-ï-tï
you me/DAT one say which head-POS3-EV which bottom-POS3-EV
just you tell me which is its top, which is its bottom
pu ïşkï-nïŋ sen qaysïn al-ïş-i? which one of these two will you take?
this two-GEN you which/POS3ACC take-FUT-COP

The clitic -K*ï* is added to the locative case ***qayta*** ~ ***qanta*** to form an attributive noun ***qaytaqï*** ~ ***qantaqï*** 'of where', mostly used in the meaning 'where from, what kind of'. It often occurs in collocation with the demonstrative equative ***mïntaɣ*** 'like this, such'.

qayta-qe? where does this come from? (where-KI/COP)
qayta-qï kïsï par-i? where is everybody? (where-KI person present-COP)
şïçɛ-ta qayta-qï mïntaɣ kïsï par-i?
world-LOC where-KI this/EQU person present-COP
where in the world is there anybody like this?
pu qayta-qï mïntaɣ kuei'u ki-ɣin-i?
this where-KI this/EQU monster come-PAST-COP
where has this kind of monster come from?

The present material yields only two examples of the interrogative ***qaynin*** 'whereby'.

sen qaynin yoz-ɣa par-ïş-i? where will you go by?
you whereby pass-CCO go-FUT-COP
sen qaynin yoz-v o yer-ɣi paʰr-tï?
you whereby pass-CSIM that place-DAT go-PAST
by which way did you go to that place?

The interrogative adverb *qaʰçan* 'when; until when' inquires about a point of time.
sen qaʰçan keʰl-tï? when did you come? (you when come-PAST)
sen qaʰçan mïnta qʰal-ɣïş-i? until when will you stay here?
you when this/LOC stay-FUT-COP

The particle *qʰan* 'where is' occurs only once in a folk tale. The common construction to ask for whereabouts consists of *qayta* 'where' plus the existential particle *tïr* 'there is' (see 7.3.3.) or the existential noun *par* 'present' (see 5.7.):
seŋ aʰt qʰan? where is your horse? (you/GEN horse where.is)

Doublets of interrogatives function as indefinite demonstratives. There is one example of a doublet consisting of an interrogative plus demonstrative.
ni ni kïsï such and such person (what what person)
kv ni-nï ni-nï ïsta-ɣaq s/he resembles such and such
DEM what-ACC what-ACC resemble-HAB
ni kïsï-ɣi ni mal par as man, so his livestock
what person-DAT what livestock present
qaysï qaysï tʰaɣ-nïŋ tïp-ti at the foot of such and such mountain
which which mounain-GEN base-LOC
qaytan qaytan ki-ɣin kïsï people who came from such and such place
whence whence come-PP person
qaʰçan qaʰçan at such and such time (when when)
qantan mïntan from somewhere (whence hence)

The interrogative pronoun *ni* combines with the verb *pol=* 'to become, to be' into the interrogative verb *niol=* ~ *nol=* 'what to happen, what about, to be the matter with'. This verb shows a number of irregular contractions and idiomatic meanings. In the present material, the following conjugations occur: the progressive *noppe*, *nolvtï*, past *noʰltï*, *nottï*, narrative *noɣan-i*, conditional *nosa* ~ *niosa*, imperative *noɣe* , and the converbs *nop* and *nolv*.
e, no-ppe! eh, what about it? (EXCL what.be-PROG/COP)
sen noʰl-tï? what is the matter with you? (you what.be-PAST)
no-sa no-ɣe whatever happens, let it be (what.be-COND what.be-IMP3)
no-ɣan-i pïl-mistï I would not know what has become of it
what.be-NAR-COP know-DUBN

The interrogative pronoun *ni* combines with the verb *qïl=* 'to do' into the interrogative verb *niɣïl=* ~ *nil=* ~ *nal=* 'to do what'. This verb shows a number of irregular contractions and idiomatic meanings. In the present material, the following conjugations occur: the habitual *nalɣaq-e*, *nalmas*, present/future *naɣïlïş-e* ~ *niɣïş-e* ~ *naɣş-e*, *naɣïştï*, progressive *nappe*, *naɣvtï*, *niɣvyoq*, *niɣvyoqtï*, past *naɣïʰltï* ~ *naʰltï*, *niɣïttï*, narrative *niɣïlɣan*, conditional *naɣïlsa* ~ *naɣïsa*, imperative *niɣïl*, *niɣïlin*, *niɣïnï*, the converbs *nap* ~ *nip*, *naɣv*, *nalɣa*, *nalɣïla*, and the future verbal noun *nalɣï* ~ *niɣï*.
sen na-ppe? what are you doing? (you what.do-PROG/COP)
kv naɣvtï? what is s/he doing? (DEM what.do-PROGev)
men ni-ma ni-ɣvyoq I am not doing anything (I what-PCL3 what.do-PROGN)
am naɣş-e? now what to do? (now what.do-FUT-COP)

pu tʰuŋzï-nï nal-ɣaq-e? what does one do with this bucket?
this bucket-ACC what.do-HAB-COP
o nal-ɣa yoqqʰa-ttï? by doing what did s/he die?
that what.do-CCO die-PASTev
sen sunaŋ-qa nal-ɣïla-ʰtï? for what purpose did you go to Sùnán?
you Sùnán-DAT what.do-PUR-PAST
sen nal-ɣï ti-v pu qʰïmtan-nï kʰeʰr-tï?
you what.do-VNFUT say-CSIM this axe-ACC bring-PAST
what did you bring this axe for?
mïla-lar naɣïl-sa-ma paʰtïr-ïwat-qan qoy-nï taʰp-pastï
child-PL what.do-COND-PCL3 lose-FIN-PP sheep-ACC find-DUBN
whatever the children do, they could not find the lost sheep

The verb ***niɣïl=*** ~ ***nil=*** ~ ***nal=*** 'to do what?' is often used as a dummy verb 'to whatsit, to whatchacallit' when a speaker cannot recall a certain verb for the moment. The dummy verb takes the same suffixes as the verb it substitutes for.
sen taɣïn niɣïl, vka-ŋ-qa mïş-tan pïr qʰayçila!
you tomorrow what.do grandfather-POS1/2-DAT cat-ABL one clip
tomorrow you whatsit, you clip a cat for my grandfather!

The interrogative adverb ***qaɣa*** combines with the verb ***par=*** into the interrogative verb ***qar=*** 'to go whither'. In the present material, the following conjugations of ***qar=*** occur: present/future ***qarş-e***, narrative ***qarɣan-i***.
am qarş-e? now where to go? (whither.go/FUT-COP)
qar-ɣan-i? whither has s/he gone? what about it? (whither.go-NAR-COP)

Western Yugur has no separate set of negative pronouns. Instead, a construction consisting of the interrogative pronouns ***kʰïm*** and ***ni*** plus the indefinite/concessive particle *-ma* and a negated verb is used.
men kʰïm-nï-ma kör-mi-ʰtï I did not see anybody
I who-ACC-PCL3 see-NEG- PAST
ni-ma yoq-tï there isn't anything, there is nothing
what-PCL3 not.present-EV
men ni-ma tuʰt-qïmis I shall not do anything, I shall do nothing
I what-PCL3 hold-FUTN
ni-ma sey oʰqa-l-ma-ɣantï it was not smelling like vegetables at all
what-PCL3 vegetable smell-RFL-NEG-NARev

5.5. Indefinite pronouns

Western Yugur indefinite pronouns are: ***nimi*** 'thing, something', ***pïrmi*** 'something, somebody', ***pïrsï*** 'one of them, the one, the other', ***pïrmisï*** 'some, some of them', and ***xosï*** 'all, every, everybody, everything, all of it, all of them'[1]. ***xosï*** may take a plural suffix ***xosïlir*** 'everybody, all'.

[1] The indefinite pronouns *pïrsï*, *pïrmisï* and *xosï* historically contain a third person possessive.

o semen ĭş-kin-tin toɣĭr nimi tuʰt-pas pĭrmi-tĭ
that food eat-PP-ABL other thing hold-HABN somebody-EV
s/he is somebody who does nothing but eating (lit. no other thing than eating)
mĭla-lar araʰkĭ ĭş-mis, mĭla-lar su ĭş-kik pĭrmi-tĭ
child-PL liquor drink-HABN child-PL water drink-PHAB somebody-EV
children do not drink liquor, children are ones drinking water
pĭrsĭn qʰora-ş-ki sola-wat, pĭrsĭn taʰs-ĭŋ-qa pʰalɣa-wat-i
one/POS3ACC pen-IN-DAT lock-FIN one/POS3ACC outside-POS3-DAT tie-FIN-COP
just lock one of them inside the pen, tie the other outside of it
kʰempiştĭɣ xosĭn ti-p per-ɣintĭ the woman told everything
woman all/POS3ACC say-CON give-NARev

The noun *kĭsĭ* 'person' may also be used as an indefinite pronoun 'a person, someone'.
punĭ-la kʰĭntiŋ kĭsĭ ti-ttĭ somebody certainly told this
this/ACC-PCL2 certainly person say-PASTev

The noun *nimi* almost always occurs with a preceding adjective.
o yiɣaş-tĭ qĭtĭr-v şar nimi et-uʰt-ĭttĭ
that wood-ACC cut-CSIM fragmented thing make-COM-PASTev
while chopping the wood s/he made it into small pieces

The indefinite pronoun *xosĭ* may qualify another noun; it follows the noun it qualifies.
mĭz xosĭ pʰerĭs-ĭppar we are all fighting (we all fight-PROG)
selir mĭnta qʰal-ɣan po-sa selir xosĭn yülĭr-t-qĭştĭ
you/PL this/LOC remain-PP become-COND you/PL all/POS3ACC kill-CAUS-FUTev
if you had stayed here, you all would have been killed

5.6. The numerals

The numeral system of Western Yugur is a decimal system. The decads are compounds consisting of a unit plus *on* 'ten'.

The numerals between ten and twenty (or ten and thirty for older speakers) use the anticipating counting system[2]. In the anticipating numerals, the monomorphemic forms *yiɣĭrmĭ* 'twenty' and *oʰtĭs* 'thirty' are used, instead of the compound decads *ĭşkun* 'twenty' and *uʰçun* 'thirty'.

Ordinal numerals are derived with the suffix -(*ĭ*)*nçĭ*, e.g. *pĭrĭnçĭ* 'first', *ĭşkĭnçĭ* 'second', *üʰçinçĭ* 'third', *onĭnçĭ* 'tenth', *yüzĭnçĭ* 'hundredth'. A special function of the ordinals is to denote the order of children in a family[3].

[2] Western Yugur is the only Turkic language that has preserved anticipating numerals, attested in Old Turkic. For a more extensive discussion of the numeral system, see Clark 1996.

[3] The eldest child is called *pezĭk-ĭ* (big-POS3).

1. *pïr*	11. *pïr yiɣïrmï*	21. *ïşkun pïr*	*pïr oʰtïs*	10. *on*
2. *ïşkï*	12. *ïşkï yiɣïrmï*	22. *ïşkun ïşkï*	*ïşkï oʰtïs*	20. *ïşkun*
3. *uş*	13. *uş yiɣïrmï*	23. *ïşkun uş*	*uş oʰtïs*	30. *uʰçun*
4. *tört*	14. *tört yiɣïrmï*	24. *ïşkun tört*	*tört oʰtïs*	40. *törtun*
5. *pis*	15. *pis yiɣïrmï*	25. *ïşkun pis*	*pis oʰtïs*	50. *pisun*
6. *aʰltï*	16. *aʰltï yiɣïrmï*	26. *ïşkun aʰltï*	*aʰltï oʰtïs*	60. *aʰltun*
7. *yitï*	17. *yitï yiɣïrmï*	27. *ïşkun yitï*	*yitï oʰtïs*	70. *yitun*
8. *saqïs*	18. *saqïs yiɣïrmï*	28. *ïşkun saqïs*	*saqïs oʰtïs*	80. *saqïsun*
9. *toʰqïs*	19. *toʰqïs yiɣïrmï*	29. *ïşkun toʰqïs*	*toʰqïs oʰtïs*	90. *toʰqïsun*

100. (*pïr*) *yüz*
200. *ïşkï yüz*
300. *üʰçüz*
1000. (*pïr*) *mïŋ*
10000. (*pïr*) *ayaq*

Table of the numerals.

Nowadays, Western Yugur speakers often count in Chinese, especially when higher numerals are involved[4].

şï pa kï çozï-tï, saqïs yiɣïrmï çozï they are eighteen sedans, eighteen sedans
ten eight piece sedan-EV eight twenty sedan

The third person possessive of the numeral *ïşkï* 'two', *ïşkïsï*, means 'the two of them, both, together with, and'.

mïz ïşkï-sï yol maŋ-ïppar the two of us are walking
we two-POS3 road walk-PROG
kʊ am kunïŋ nüʰker ïşkï-sï ki-ttï s/he came with his/her friend just now
DEM now DEM/GEN friend two-POS3 come-PASTev

The irregular third person possessive of the numeral *uş* 'three', *üʰçüsï*, occurs only once in a tale; the common construction for 'the three of' is *uş kïsï* 'three people'.

antaqanta üʰçüsï qʰal-ɣanta then, when the three of them remained
then three/POS3 remain-CTMP
mïz uş kïsï kʊ paɣaça-nï tʰayt-ʊ oyn-inï, su-ş-ki
we three person DEM bucket-ACC throw-CSIM play-IMP1pl water-IN-DAT
let the three of us play, throwing these buckets into the water

The numeral *pïr* occurs as an indefinite demonstrative 'a (certain)', indicating an indefinite individual versus a generic noun or a definite noun.

kʊ pïr yer yerl-ʊtï s/he is singing a (certain) song (DEM one song sing-PROGev)
o am yer yerl-ʊtï s/he is singing songs now (that now song sing-PROGev)
kʊ pïr sanyüɛ yi-ttï s/he ate a sweet potato (DEM one sweet.potato eat-PASTev)
kʊ sanyüɛ yi-ʊtï s/he is eating sweet potatoes (DEM sweet.potato eat-PROGev)

[4] Not all speakers were familiar with Western Yugur numerals higher than ten.

kʊ pïr miça terik-tï çüm-uʰt-ïttï s/he pulled out a small tree
DEM one little tree-ACC pull.out-COM-PASTev
kʊ yiʰp-tï pïr mïla yör-uʰt-ïptï a child untied this rope
DEM rope-ACC one child untie-COM-PASTev

The numeral *pïr* also occurs as an adverb indicating a single instance of the verb.
pïr qara-ɣantï s/he took a look, glanced (one look-NARev)
meŋ aqa-nïŋ qol-ïn cona pïr tïsti-ttï a wasp stung my elder brother's arm
me/GEN elder.brother-GEN arm-POS3ACC wasp one bite-PASTev
mïz-tir su-tan miça qʰol-ɣa poz-tï pïr yü-nï
we-PL water-ABL little ask-CCO body-ACC one wash-IMP1pl
let us ask some water and give ourselves a wash

The collocation *pïr .. pïr* 'one .. one' implies 'the one .. the other'.
pïr-nïŋ altïr-ïŋ-qa pïr taŋ kütïk sayt-qa pïr-nïŋ altïr-ïŋ-qa pïr qara kütïk sayt-qa
one-GEN underside-POS3-DAT one striped puppy put/QUI-CCO one-GEN underside-POS3-DAT one black puppy put/QUI-CCO
after she had put a striped puppy under one, and a black puppy under the other

The reduplicant construction *pïr* + noun *pïr* + noun implies repetition.
pïr pʰozï pïr pʰozï yoz-ɣantï s/he passed herd after herd
one herd one herd passed-NARev
pïr kuzï pïr kuzï aq ïs közti-ʊ-ɣantï spirals and spirals of white smoke appeared
one spiral one spiral white smoke appear-AUX-NARev

Below follow some idiomatic collocations with the numeral *pïr* 'one'. For examples of adverbial expressions with the ablative *pïrtin*, see 4.3.6.
çïwïn menï pïr tʰuni tïsti-ʰtï the mosquitos bit me all night
mosquito me/ACC one night bite-PAST
kʰempiştïɣ yerin uçin pïr ïs tuʰt-ʊtï-m? yaʰq, olar pïr ïs tuʰt-ʊyoqtï
woman man with one work hold-PROGev-Q no that/PL one work hold-PROGNev
do women and men do the same work? no, they do not do the same work

One speaker used *pïr pïrnï* 'one another' instead of, or to specify, a reciprocal verb.
ïşkï yerin pïr pïr-nï yülïr-ïwat-ïttï the two man killed one another
two man one one-ACC kill-FIN-PASTev
mïla-lar pïr pïr-nï pʰerïs-ʊtï
child-PL one one-ACC fight-PROGev (< beat-REC-PROGev)
the children are fighting (? beating one another)

5.7. The existential nouns

Western Yugur has two existential nouns, *par* 'present, there is' and *yoq* 'not present, there is not'.
seŋ yüɣal-ir aq yü qayta par-i? where is your resting tent?
you/GEN rest-PFUT white house where present-COP

pïʰtïrkï pïr kʰempiştïɣ par-i-tï once upon a time there was a woman
once.upon.a.time one woman present-COP-EV
yoq kïsï par, yoq tʰala yoq there are poor people, there are no poor fields
poor person present poor field not.present
par-ɣïçï kïsï yoq-tï there is no one to go
go-VNAG person not.present-EV

Combined with a noun in the dative case or, less frequently, the locative case, the existential nouns express possession or the lack of it.
mayɣa uş qïztar par I have three daughters (me/DAT three girl present)
men-ti uş qïztar par I have three daughters (me-LOC three girl present)
sayɣa niçi mïla par-i? mayɣa yoq how many children do you have? I have none
you/DAT how.many child present-COP me/DAT not.present
koɣa yol maŋ-ir menik paru-sa kʊ ki-ştï
DEM/DAT road walk-PFUT money present/become-COND DEM come-FUTev
if s/he had the money to travel s/he would come

The existential noun *yoq* is also used adnominally meaning 'without, un-, -less'.
su yoq yer a place without water (water not.present place)
kïsï yoq yer an uninhabited place (person not.present place)
ana-ŋ yoq mïla a motherless child (mother-POS1/2 not.present child)

The existential noun *yoq* also occurs as an adjective 'poor, not rich'.
yoq kïsï par, yoq tʰala yoq there are poor people, there are no poor fields
poor person present poor field not.present

The existential noun *yoq* combines with the demonstrative *kʊ* into an adjective *kʊyoq* 'not done, not appropriate; cannot be, impossible, inconceivable', which only occurs in predicate position[5].
kïʰçiɣ mïla araʰkï ïş-si kʊyoq-tï it is not done if small children drink liquor
small child liquor drink-COND not.done-EV
kïsï uzï-min kʊyoq-tï, kïsï semen ïş-min-ma kʊyoq-tï
person sleep-CN not.done-EV person food eat-CN-PCL3 not.done-EV
a person cannot do without sleep, a person cannot do without food either

The existential *yoq* combined with the verb *pol=* 'to become, to be' forms a verbal compound *yoq pol=* 'to disappear; to come to an end, to run out of; to die (honorific)'.
anïŋ aqa-sï yoq pu-ttï his/her elder brother died
that/GEN elder.brother-POS3 not.present become-PASTev
xuey yoq po-ɣanta sunçaŋ mïzer-nï maŋ-tïr-ïştï-m?
meeting not.present become-CTMP chief us-ACC walk-CAUS-FUTev-Q
will the chief let us go when the meeting is over?

The existentials *par* and *yoq* also occur as bound morphemes in the progressive (see 6.3.2.1. and 6.5.).

[5] The positive counterpart 'right, should be, would be best, necessary' is *yer* (see 6.7.1.).

5.8. Adverbs

Western Yugur has the following categories of adverbs (for adverbs derived from adjectives or nouns see 4.5.4.):

Adverbs of manner: ***amïr-şïmïr*** 'quietly', ***altam*** 'quickly', ***uzki*** 'otherwise, else' ***emisi*** 'otherwise, or, then', ***qʰurïɣ*** 'in vain'.

Adverbs of degree: ***piʰtior*** 'quite', ***muli*** 'very much'.

Adverbs of frequency: ***taʰqï*** 'still, yet, also, or', ***eni*** 'again, too, and'.

Adverbs of place: ***qaʰtar*** 'back(wards)', ***quzï*** 'down(wards)', ***yorï*** 'up(wards)', ***soŋ*** 'behind'.

sen emisi yaŋqïça par	go alone then (you or alone go)
men emisi yaŋqïça par-in	let me go alone then (I or alone go-IMP1sg)
oy maŋ, uzki sen soŋ qʰa-ştï	go quickly, otherwise you will remain behind
quick walk otherwise you behind remain-FUTev	

Several nouns function both as an adjective and an adverb, e.g. ***qʰurïɣ*** 'empty; in vain', ***yiuti*** 'much, a lot', ***oy*** 'quick, quickly'.

o qʰurïɣ ki-ptï	s/he came in vain (that in.vain come-PASTev)
oy maŋ	go quickly (quick walk)
yiuti lotïla-ma!	do not talk [so] much nonsense! (much talk.nonsense-NEG)

In the present material, the adverb ***muli*** only occurs in predicate position, following the adjective. Perhaps this construction is calqued from Chinese[6].

pu mïla kʰïr muli-tï	this child is very dirty (this child dirty very-EV)
o qayla-ɣan oy muli-tï	s/he runs very fast (that run-PP quick very-EV)

Several adverbs historically consist of a substantive + a third person possessive and/or spatial case suffix: ***narsïnta*** 'in fact, truly, really, certainly', ***narsïntan*** 'but; although, even though', ***halta*** 'just now, a moment ago, an instant ago', ***pʰornta*** 'before', ***soŋta*** 'later (on), afterwards', ***pʰornïŋqa*** 'in front, ahead'.

men pʰornta toɣ-ïttï	I was born before, earlier, some time ago
I before be.born-PASTev	
kʊ yiŋ pʰornta (soŋta) har-ttï	s/he was the first (last) to leave
DEM SUP before (later) go-PASTev	
kʊ halta nüʰker ïşkï-sï ki-ptï	s/he came with his/her friend just now
DEM just.now friend two-POS3 came-PASTev	

sen narsïnta maɣa yiuti emis et-kin, men saqïn-qa sen yül-si-ma po-ttï
you truly me/DAT many evil do-NAR I think-CCO you die-COND-PCL3 become-PASTev

for all the evil you have done to me, I thought, it would be best if you just die

narsïntan men ni-ma emis ïs et-ïwat-ma-ʰtï, o taʰqï-ya menï pʰer-itï
although I what-PCL3 evil work do-FIN-NEG-PAST that still-PCL1 me/ACC beat-DUB

although I had done nothing wrong, s/he still would beat me

[6] Cf Chinese hǎode hěn '(it is) very good' (hǎo 'good', de 'associative', hěn 'very'). However, there are some examples in the literature in which *muli* precedes the adjective, e.g. *mule yaʰşɻ tro* 'it is very good' (very good EV) (Léi 1992: 87).

Western Yugur adverbs of time include the following:

am 'now, just now, a moment ago', *amiʰkï* 'immediately, shortly, in a moment';

puɣïn 'today', *tʰoɣïn* 'yesterday', *oriʰkïn* 'the day before yesterday', *taʰqï oriʰkïn* 'three days ago', *taɣïn* 'tomorrow', *heɣïn* 'the day after tomorrow', *sïraʰkïn* 'three days from now', *untïʰrkïn* 'four days from now';

pöylï 'this year', *pïʰtïr* 'last year', *oriʰkel* 'the year before last', *taʰqï oriʰkel* 'three years ago', *tʰurti* 'next year', *törïm* 'the year after next';

kʰuntïs 'in daytime', *tʰuni* 'at night', *tʰörïn* 'at midnight', *kiçi tʰuni* 'yesternight', *taŋqar* 'in the morning', *kʰortï* 'at noon', *kʰuniŋkïr* 'in the afternoon'.

Converbs or conditionals may also introduce an adverbial clause of time.

qaʰş kʰun pol-ɣa	in a few days time (few day become-CCO)
miça tur-ɣa	immediately, shortly, in a moment (little stand-CCO)
miça olïr-ɣa	immediately, shortly, in a moment (little stay-CCO)
miça tur-sa	immediately, shortly, in a moment (little stand-COND)
pïr kʰunki eʰtkinti	one day (one day-DAT arrive-CTMP)
pïr çïŋzï polɣanta	after a moment (one moment become-CTMP)

There are many adverbs of Chinese etymology: adverbs of manner: *içʰi* 'altogether', *teylï* 'certainly', *çïntï* 'really', *çïnçïŋ* 'truly', *kançiŋ* 'quickly, hastily', *cɛkuo* 'finally', *ixa* 'suddenly', *çʰişï* 'actually', *kʰïntiŋ* 'surely, certainly, definitely', *çuanmïŋ* 'especially', *sɛnluŋsïnuŋ* 'gradually'; adverbs of degree: *çuaşï* 'very'; adverbs of time: *te* 'just now, a moment ago', *çïŋxo* 'just in time', *caŋ* 'just at that moment'; *çintʰou* 'by the time when', *içʰɛn* 'before', *maşaŋ* 'immediately', *üɛn* 'like before'; adverbs of frequency: *emin* 'often'.

5.9. Postpositions

Western Yugur has a small number of postpositions. These require the nouns they govern to take a certain case.

The postposition *uçin* ~ *puçin* 'together with, and; with, using' takes the unmarked case. The demonstrative pronouns, however, take the oblique form with the postposition *uçin*, and the interrogative pronoun *ni* may take a pronominal *-n-* by analogy.

sart-tar pïʰçaq <u>uçin</u> pʰerïs-vtï	the Uygur fight with knives
Uygur-PL knife with fight-PROGev	
men sen <u>uçin</u> oyna-s-in po-ştï-m?	let you and I play together, all right?
I you with play-REC-IMP1sg become-FUTev-Q	
kʰempiştïɣ yerin <u>uçin</u> pïr ïs tuʰt-qaq mi?	do women and men do the same work?
woman man and one work hold-HAB Q	
qʰïti <u>uçin</u> larla=	to speak Chinese (Chinese with speak)

The postposition *quzï* 'downwards, down on, down at' takes the unmarked case.

paʰç-ï <u>quzï</u> pïr qïlïş sal-ɣantï

head-POS3 down one sword put-NARev

s/he gave a blow with the sword on his/her head

The postposition *ɕïlaɣa* '(acting) like' takes the unmarked case.

kʊ törtiŋ ɕïlaɣa yi-vtï s/he is eating like a wolf (DEM wolf like eat-PROGev)
qïz ɕïlaɣa manqïr-vtï he is talking like a girl (girl like talk-PROGev)

The postposition *polɣa ~ poɣa* 'because of, for, in order to' takes the dative case. In fact, this postposition is the converb in -GA (see 6.2.4.) of the verb *pol=* 'to be, to become'[7].

kʊ menik-ki poɣa uzï-nïŋ aqa-sïn yülïr-ïştï
DEM money-DAT for own-GEN elder.brother-POS3ACC kill-FUTev
s/he would kill his/her own elder brother for money
sen pez-ir-ɣi polɣa taʰqï semen ïş-kïştï
you grow.up-PFUT-DAT for yet food eat-FUTev
in order to grow you must eat

The postpositions *pʰorn* 'before', and *soŋ* 'after' take the ablative case.

antan soŋ after that (that/ABL after)
sen-tin soŋ after you (you-ABL after)

Note that the postposition *pʰorn* 'before' takes the ablative, but the construction with the adverb *pʰornta* 'before' the genitive[8].

on yil-tan pʰorn ten years before (ten year-ABL before)
oŋ yil-nïŋ pʰornta ten years before (ten year-GEN before)

sen peyɕiŋ-qa kel-ir-tin pʰorn
you Běijīng-DAT come-PFUT-ABL before
before you will come to Běijīng
kolar sunɕaŋ-nï qara-ɣïla par-ma-ɣan-tan pʰorn sen kolar-ɣa maŋ-ma ti
DEM/PL chief-ACC see-CPUR go-NEG-PP-ABL before you DEM/PL-DAT walk-NEG say
tell them not to leave before they have gone to see the chief

5.10. The superlative particle

The superlative is expressed by the particle *yiŋ* preceding adjectives and adverbs. Some speakers use the superlative particle *tiŋ*, borrowed from Chinese.

kʊ yiŋ (~ *tiŋ*) *pʰornta hanï-ttï* s/he left first
DEM SUP (~ SUP) before go-PASTev
yiŋ pʰornta maɣa ti-ɣin-la kʊ-tï it was s/he who told me first
SUP before me/DAT say-PP-PCL2 DEM-EV

[7] A similar construction exists in Eastern Yugur, cf e.g. *menek-tė wol-čė* 'because of the money' (money-DAT/LOC become-CON) (J̌uunast 1981: 54).

[8] The construction *-nïŋ pʰornta* is in fact a spatial noun construction (see 7.1.2.), as the adverb *pʰornta* derives from the obsolescent spatial noun *pʰorn* 'front' + the locative case.

5.11. Conjunctions

Western Yugur has no vernacular conjunctions, but speakers occasionally use Chinese ones.

In a clause containing a conditional verb, the conjunctions ***yoʂï*** 'if', and ***ʐukuo*** 'if' may occur.

kv yoʂï tʰoɣïn kel-si kv kunï kör-ïʂtï
DEM if yesterday come-COND DEM DEM/ACC see-FUTev
if s/he had come yesterday, s/he would have seen him/her

ʐukuo ʐïq kïsï seni ʐïli-si sen mïnï pïr töʰrsaqta-sa-ya o kïsï maʂaŋ yoqqʰa-ʂtï
if bad person you/ACC harass-COND you this/ACC one turn.around-COND-PCL1 that person immediately die-FUTev
if a bad person harasses you, if you turn this around once, that person will die immediately

Incidentally, Chinese constructions with other conjunctions occur.

pu yiɣït sueyʐan kʰïr-tï tanʂï taʰqï-la ʨïta-ttï[9]
this young.man although dirty-EV but still-PCL2 succeed-PASTev
although this young man was dirty, yet he had succeeded

pukuo sen miʨa ʨuyila-sa-la ni-ma ol-ɣïmistï
but you little pay.attention-COND-PCL2 what-PCL3 become-FUTNev
but if you pay a little attention, nothing will happen

[9] A Western Yugur equivalent is *pu yiɣït kʰïr-ïraq-tï, taʰqï-la ʨïta-ttï* 'this young man was rather dirty, yet he had succeeded' (this young.man dirty-COMP-EV still-PCL2 succeed-PASTev).

6. Morphology of the verb

The morphology of the verb includes inflectional and derivational suffixes. Closest to the root appear the derivational suffixes of diathesis, followed by the aktionsart suffixes, and the negative verb suffix. The stem thus formed is followed by finite suffixes, expressing tense, aspect and mood, or by infinite suffixes: converbs (forming verbal compounds or introducing subordinate clauses), and participles (nominalizing a clause); the verbal noun suffixes are dealt with separately. Thus, the following suffix scheme can be presented:

root + (diathesis) + (aktionsart) + (negation) → stem

stem
- tense/aspect/mood
- converb (+ auxiliary verb → root)
- participle → noun

In contrast to many other Turkic languages, Western Yugur verbal inflection does not include person markers; only the imperative paradigm distinguishes person, though these forms are rather portmanteau suffixes, combining mood and person in one suffix. Otherwise, the subject of the verb is either overtly expressed by a noun or pronoun, or, if clear from the context, not expressed at all.

However, the Western Yugur present/future, progressive, past and narrative past paradigm have grammaticalized the notion of evidentiality[1]: an action that happens to the speaker without his/her controlling it ('accidentally, it turned out that'), or an action that is involuntary. The second and third person take the evidential form by default, and the first person the non-evidential or base form; questions addressing the first and second person take the base form by default. Morphologically, the evidential forms are all built around the evidential particle *-tï* (see 7.3.1.).

Disjunct use of the evidential (e.g. a first person taking the evidential, or a second or third person taking the base form) mark special circumstances. Examples will be given below.

6.1. Tense, aspect and mood

The Western Yugur verbal system distinguishes between indicative, dubitative, conditional, and imperative mood. The indicative distinguishes between non-past and past tense: the non-past tense comprises the habitual, the present/future, and the progressive aspect. The indicative of the past tense consists of the past, and the narrative past.

[1] This system is reminiscent of the Tibetan verbal paradigm (cf Delancey 1986). Evidentiality is also expressed in the verbal paradigm of Eastern Yugur (cf J̌uunast 1981), and Monguor (cf Slater 1998).

6.1.1. The habitual (HAB, HABN)

The suffix -GAK[2] expresses habitual actions, abilities, and states of general validity. It typically occurs with verbs indicating a permanent state ('to be called', 'to know', 'to feel', 'to resemble', 'to be (un)able'). The habitual often occurs in proverbs.

men menï ïsta-ɣaq I resemble myself (I me/ACC resemble-HAB)
men selir-nï saqïn-qaq I miss you (I you/PL-ACC think-HAB)
men kʰunsin pïʰtïɣ oŋsï-ɣaq I read every day (I every.day book read-HAB)
menïŋ at-qa yakʰïr ti-ɣik my name is Yakhır, I am called Yakhır
me/GEN name-DAT Yakhır say-HAB
sen yoɣïr lar maŋqïr-v çïta-ɣaq mi? are you able to speak the Yugur language?
you Yugur language speak-CSIM can-HAB Q

The habitual is negated by means of the suffix -MAs.

men pïl-mis I do not know (I know-HABN)
men pïʰtïɣ tanï-mas I am illiterate (I book recognize-HABN)
mïla-lar araʰkï ïş-kik mi? yaʰq, mïla-lar araʰkï ïş-mis
child-PL liquor drink-HAB Q no child-PL liquor drink-HABN
do children drink liquor? no, children do not drink liquor

Older speakers use this suffix more frequently than younger speakers, who often prefer to use the progressive or the present/future aspect instead.

miça mïla kʰunsen uzï-ɣaq (~ ***uz-vtï***) the baby sleeps (~ is sleeping) every day
little child every.day sleep-HAB (sleep-PROG)
yoɣïr-nïŋ yerin-nir ni kanna-ɣaq-e (~ ***kann-vtï***)?
Yugur-GEN man-PL what do-HAB-COP (~ do-PROGev)
what do the Yugur men do? (~ what are the Yugur men doing?)
meŋ kʰeln semen qʰantïr-v yata-ɣaq (~ ***yata-ştï***), ***kv aɣïr-ttï***
my/GEN wife food cook-CSIM cannot-HAB (~ cannot-FUTev) DEM be.ill-PASTev
my wife cannot cook, she has fallen ill

6.1.2. The present/future (FUT, FUTev, FUTN, FUTNev)

The suffixes of the present/future are -(G*ï*)*ş* for the first person, and -(G*ï*)*ştï* for the second and third person (-(G*ï*)*ş* + the evidential particle -*tï*). Especially in rapid speech, -G- is elided when following liquids, and -G*ï*- when following vowels.

The negation of the present/future is formed by the suffix -G*ïmis* for the first person, and -G*ïmistï* for the second and third person[3].

[2] Historically, the habitual suffix -GAK is a verbal noun suffix, denoting habitual or repeated actions. In Western Yugur, -GAK is used as a finite suffix and as a participle.

[3] Historically, the negative present/future suffix -G*ïmis* perhaps arises from a crasis of the verbal noun suffix *-GU, denoting a substantive or a gerundive, and *emis* 'is not'.

The present/future suffix -G*ʊ* occurs predominantly with the first person; there seems to be no difference between -G*ʊ* and -(G*ï*)*ʂ*[4]. In a number of proverbs this form also occurs with the third person.

men (mïz) ki-ʂ	I (we) shall come (I (we) come-FUT)
sen (selir) ki-ʂtï	you will come (you (you/PL) come-FUTev)
kʊ (kolar) ki-ʂtï	s/he (they) will come (DEM (DEM/PL) come-FUTev)
men (mïz) ki-ɣïmis	I (we) shall not come (I (we) come-FUTN)
sen (selir) ki-ɣïmistï	you will not come (you (you/PL) come-FUTNev)
kʊ (kolar) ki-ɣïmistï	s/he (they) will not come (DEM (DEM/PL) come-FUTNev)

The present/future expresses an action that takes place after the moment of speaking.

kʊ taɣïn (tʰurti) ki-ʂtï — s/he will come tomorrow (next year)
DEM tomorrow (next.year) come-FUTev

sen mïnta qʰal-sa sen yülïr-t-kïʂtï — if you stay here, you will be killed
you this/LOC stay-COND you kill-CAUS-FUTev

The present/future expresses an obligation or intention.

sen pez-ir-ɣi semen ïʂ-kïʂtï — you must eat in order to grow
you grow.up-PFUT-DAT food eat-FUTev

ana, men sïz-kïla-ʂ — mother, I have to pee (mother I pee-PUR-FUT)

The present/future is also used with verbs indicating a state of general validity, as *ɕïta=* 'can', *yata=* 'cannot', *pïl=* 'to know'.

o pïʰtïɣ qar-ʊ yata-ʂtï, o tʰelk-tï — s/he cannot read, s/he is blind
that book look-CSIM cannot-FUTev that blind-EV

pu su-nï iʰç-ʊ ɕïta-ʂtï-m? — can one drink this water?
this water-ACC drink-CSIM can-FUTev-Q

kʊ qayta olïr-ïppar-nï sen pïl-ïʂ mi? — do you know where s/he is living?
DEM where stay-PROG-ACC you know-FUT Q

The first person takes the evidential form if the action described is beyond control of the first person, or is involuntary.

mïz iʰsï-nï yülïr-ïʂtï! — we would kill ourselves!
we self-ACC kill-FUTev

men koraqïŋqa par-sa men pʰer-tïr-ïʂtï — if I go over there, I will be beaten
I over.there/DAT go-COND I beat-CAUS-FUTev

'sen uzï-nï köʰr-si uzï kil-ʊ ɕïta-ʂtï' — 'if you see me, I will be able to return'
you self-ACC see-COND self come-CSIM can-FUTev

sunɕaŋ ti-ʰtï men aɣa on qoy per-ïʂtï — the chief said I should give him ten sheep
chief say-PAST I that/DAT ten sheep give-FUTev

[4] In Chén & Léi (1985: 102), however, -G*ʊ* is considered to be the first person form of the dubitative paradigm; the forms for the second and third person here are -*ïtï*, negative -*mastï*.

A first person evidential expresses an action that is not a fixed intention but rather a suggestion. Compare:

men saɣa paŋnas-qʊ	I shall help you (I you/DAT help-FUT)
men saɣa paŋnas-qïmis	I shall not help you (I you/DAT help-FUTN)
men saɣa paŋnas-qïʂtï	I can (could) help you (I you/DAT help-FUTev)
men saɣa paŋnas-qïmistï	I cannot (could not) help you (I you/DAT help-FUTNev)

Questions addressing the first person and second person use the non-evidential; questions involving the third person take the evidential form.

men ni yer yerla-ʂ-e?	what song shall I sing? (I what song sing-FUT-COP)
men naɣs-e?	what shall I do? what am I to do? (I what.do/FUT-COP)
mïz ïʂkï-sï sïz-kïla-ʂ mi?	shall we two go to pee? (we two-POS3 pee-PUR-FUT Q)

sen qaʰçan ki-ʂ-i? when will you come? (you when come-FUT-COP)

sen naqï yotal-ɣa eʰlçï-nï qara-ɣïla par-ɣïmis mi?
you yonder matter-DAT shaman-ACC see-CPUR go-FUTN Q
will you not go and see the shaman about that matter?

sen puɣïn mi taɣïn mi cʰunçaŋ-qa ïs tuʰt-qïʂ mi?
you today Q tomorrow Q chief-DAT work hold-FUT Q
will you work today or tomorrow for the chief?

kʊ taɣïn ki-ʂtï-m?	will s/he come tomorrow? (DEM tomorrow come-FUTev-Q)
kʰïm par-ïʂtï?	who will go? (who go-FUTev)

Questions that address the second person but take the evidential form are more emphatic or anxious questions (the expected answer is negative).

sen puɣïn mi taɣïn mi ïʂ tuʰt-qïʂtï-m?
you today Q tomorrow Q work hold-FUTev-Q
is it today or tomorrow that you will work? (i.e. or won't you work at all)

Questions that involve a third person but take the non-evidential form are anxious questions (the expected answer is negative).

kʊ taɣïn ki-ʂ mi? will s/he truly come tomorrow?
DEM tomorrow come-FUT Q

kʰïm par-ïʂ-i? is there anybody who will go? (who go-FUT-COP)

kʰïm qïztar-nï saɣa per-ïʂ-i? who would give his daughter to you?
who girl-ACC you/DAT give-FUT-COP

Permissive questions take the evidential.

men taɣïn kel-ʊ çïta-ʂtï-m? may I come tomorrow?
I tomorrow come-CSIM can-FUTev-Q

men ni yer yerla-ʂtï? what song should I sing? (I what song sing-FUTev)

6.1.3. The progressive (PROG, PROGev, PROGN, PROGNev)

The suffixes of the progressive are *-(ï)ppar* for the first person (the converb *-(ï)p* + the existential ***par*** 'present'), and *-vtï* for the second and third person (the converb *-v* + the evidential particle *-tï*). The negation of the progressive is formed by *-vyoq* for the first person (the converb *-v* + the existential ***yoq*** 'not present'), and *-vyoqtï* for the second and third person (the same + the evidential particle *-tï*).

men (***mïz***) ***yol maŋ-ïppar***	I am (we are) walking (I (we) road walk-PROG)
sen (***selir***) ***yol maŋ-vtï***	you are walking (you (you/PL) road walk-PROGev)
kv (***ko-lar***) ***yol maŋ-vtï***	s/he is (they are) walking (DEM (DEM/PL) road walk-PROGev)
men (***mïz***) ***yol maŋ-vyoq***	I am (we are) not walking (I (we) road walk-PROGN)
sen (***selir***) ***yol maŋ-vyoqtï***	you are not walking (you (you/PL) road walk-PROGNev)
kv (***ko-lar***) ***yol maŋ-vyoqtï***	s/he is (they are) not walking (DEM (DEM/PL) road walk-PROGNev)

The progressive expresses an action that is going on at the moment of speaking.

kv am qayl-vtï s/he is running now (DEM now run-PROGev)

o ayïr-vtï, taʰqï maŋ-v çït-vtï s/he is ill, yet s/he is able to walk

that be.ill-PROGev yet walk-CSIM can-PROGev

sen na-ppe (< ***na-ppar-i***)***? men ni-ma tuʰt-vyoq***

you what.do-PROG/COP I what-PCL3 hold-PROGN

what are you doing? I am doing nothing, I am not doing anything

o sï-wat-qan qol-ï tançin-kv ayïr-vtï

that break-FIN-PP arm-POS3 awful-ADV hurt-PROGev

the arm s/he broke is hurting awfully

In the following examples, the progressive expresses a habitual action.

mïnï yerl-vyoqtï, antaɣ ti-vtï this [part] they do not sing, they say it like that

this/ACC sing-PROGNev that/EQU say-PROGev

yoɣïr-nïŋ-kï-ti mïntaqvɣan pïr lomaq ti-vtï

Yugur-GEN-KI-LOC such one story tell-PROGev

among the Yugur they tell such a story

In the following examples, the progressive is used in anxious questions, expecting a negative answer.

am ni yi-ppe (< ***yi-ppar-i***)***?*** what do we eat now? (i.e. there is nothing left)

now what eat-PROG/Q

ay, men sïp-tï mïn-kïştï-nï, antaɣ tuki-çer-nï kʰïm mïn-ïppe (< ***mïn-ïppar-i***)***?***

EXCL I foal-ACC mount-FUTev-INT that/EQU calf-DIM-ACC who mount-PROG/Q

ay, I will mount the foal of course, who mounts such a calf?

The present material yields one example in which the progressive does not refer to the present time, but is embedded in the past.

o sat-ta pulɣar sü kiz-vtï at that time they dressed in leather boots

that time-LOC leather boot dress-PROGev

The non-evidential progressive suffix -(ï)*ppar* + the evidential particle -*tï* expresses an intensive. This usage may be explained by the fact that the evidential denotes a situation that is beyond control or expectation of the first person.

men tʰorla-ppar I am hungry (I be.hungry-PROG)
men tʰorla-ppar-tï I am starving (I be.hungry-PROG-EV)
sen menï soq-qa aɣïr-ïppar-tï because you hit me, it is hurting awfully
you me/ACC hit-CCO hurt-PROG-EV
menïŋ paş aɣïr-ïppar-tï I have a terrible headache
me/GEN head hurt-PROG-EV
pu xuli-nï törtiŋ ïşkï-sï menï yi-ɣï ti-ppar-tï!
this fox-AND wolf two-POS3 me/GEN eat-VNFUT say-PROG-EV
this fox and this wolf are both about to eat me!

Questions addressing the second person use the non-evidential form, questions involving the third person take the evidential form. There are no examples in the present material of a question addressing the first person.

sen ni tuʰt-ïppar-i? what are you doing? (you what hold-PROG-COP)
kʊ naɣʊtï? what is s/he doing? (DEM what.do/PROGev)
mïla-lar araʰkï iʰç-ʊtï-m? yaʰq, mïla-lar araʰkï iʰç-ʊyoqtï
child-PL liquor drink-PROGev-Q no child-PL liquor drink-PROGNev
are the children drinking liquor? no, the children are not drinking liquor

Apparently a third person may take the non-evidential if the speaker has intimate knowledge of the action described. Compare:

yoɣïr kʰempiş ni tuʰt-ʊtï? what are the Yugur women doing?
Yugur woman what hold-PROGev
yoɣïr-nïŋ şaztïɣ-lar ni kanna-ppe?
Yugur-GEN woman-PL what do-PROG/COP
what are the women of the Yugur doing?
seŋ kʰeln iʰt tʰul-ʊtï-m? yaʰq, o yür qʰaynat-ʊtï
you/GEN wife meat boil-PROGev-Q no that fish cook-PROGev
is your wife boiling meat? no, she is cooking fish
seŋ kʰeln iʰt tʰul-ïppar mi? yaʰq, o yür qʰaynat-ïppar
you/GEN wife meat boil-PROG Q no that fish cook-PROG
is your wife boiling meat? no, she is cooking fish

6.1.4. The past (PAST, PASTev, PASTN, PASTNev)

The suffixes of the past are -(ʰ)*tï* for the first person, and -(ï)*ptï* (the converb -(ï)*p* + the evidential particle -*tï*) for the second and third person. The suffix -(ï)*ptï*, mostly assimilated into -(ï)*ttï*, usually drops its buffer vowel *ï* when following a liquid, e.g. ***har-ïptï*** ~ ***har-ttï*** 'became or was tired'. The negation of the past is formed by the negative verb suffix -MA + -(ʰ)*tï* for the first person, and -M*intï* for the second and third person (the negative converb -M*in* + the evidential particle -*tï*).

men (mïz) paʰr-tï I (we) went (I (we) went-PAST)
sen (selir) par-ttï you went (you (you/PL) go-PASTev)
kʊ (kolar) par-ttï s/he (they) went (DEM (DEM/PL) went-PASTev)
men (mïz) par-ma-ʰtï I (we) did not go (I (we) go-NEG-PAST)
sen (selir) par-mintï you did not go (you (you/PL) go-PASTNev)
kʊ (kolar) par-mintï s/he (they) did not go (DEM (DEM/PL) go-PASTNev)

The past denotes an action prior to the moment of speaking.
men taʰqï qara-ma-ʰtï I have not looked at it yet (I yet look-NEG-PAST)
kʊ halta (pïʰtïr) ki-ptï s/he came just now (last year)
DEM just.now (last.year) come-PASTev
mïla nati yilɣ-ʊtï? pʰer-tïr-ttï why is the child crying? s/he has been beaten
child why cry-PROGev beat-CAUS-PASTev

The first person takes the evidential form if the action described is beyond control of the first person, or not intended, or if the action happens to the speaker without his/her deliberate procuring it.
men untïqqʰa-ttï I forgot (i.e. by accident) (I forget-PASTev)
men untïqqʰa-ʰtï I forgot (i.e. deliberately) (I forget-PAST)
men eʰrti toɣ-ïttï[5] I was born a long time ago (I early be.born-PASTev)
selir-ɣi ti-mintï I did not tell you (i.e. I neglected to tell you)
you/PL-DAT tell-PASTNev
am-la mïz yaʰş yer-ɣi eʰt-ïttï now we apparently have arrived at a good place
now-PCL2 we good place-DAT arrive-PASTev

The third person takes the non-evidential if the action performed by the third person pertains to the first person.
pïr şïyan menï tïsti-ʰtï a mouse bit me (one mouse me/ACC bite-PAST)
pïr mïla menï köʰr-tï a child saw me (one child me/ACC see-PAST)
meŋ nüʰker maɣa yü qʰala-ʰtï my friend built a house for me
me/GEN friend me/DAT house build-PAST
maɣa qʰarʊ keʰl-tï I received a letter (me/DAT letter come-PAST)

Questions addressing the second person take the non-evidential, questions involving the third person take the evidential form; the material does not yield an example of a past tense question addressing the first person.
sen tʰoɣïn menïŋ mïla-nï köʰr-tï-m? did you see my child yesterday?
you yesterday me/GEN child-ACC see-PAST-Q
kïsï anï kör-ttï-m? did someone see him/her?
person that/ACC see-PASTev-Q

Questions that have a third person as the subject and address the second person also take the non-evidential form.
kʰïm sen aɣïl-ɣa par-ɣan-nï köʰr-tï? who saw that you went to the village?
who you village-DAT go-PP-ACC see-PAST

[5] An alternative is the narrative past: *men toq-qan* (I be.born-NAR).

Questions that address the second person and take the evidential form are anxious questions. Compare:
sen sunçaŋ-qa nal-ɣïla-ʰtï? what did you go to do for the chief?
you chief-DAT what.do-PUR-PAST
sen sunçaŋ-qa nal-ɣïla-ttï? what was it that you went to do for the chief?
you chief-DAT what.do-PUR-PASTev

Apparently a third person may take the non-evidential if the speaker has intimate knowledge of the action described. Compare[6]:
meŋ kʰeln ïşkï mïla toɣ-ïttï my wife gave birth to two children
my/GEN wife two child give.birth.to-PASTev
menïŋ kʰeln pïr qïz toɣ-tï my wife gave birth to a daughter
my/GEN wife one daughter give.birth.to-PAST

6.1.5. The narrative past (NAR, NARev)

The suffixes of the narrative past are -GA*n* and -GA*ntï*. The narrative past rarely occurs outside tales, and is usually closely connected with a following clause. Within tales, the evidential form -GA*ntï* is most frequently used; in the present material, there are only very few examples of the non-evidential form. The negative is formed on the basis of the negative verb.
men toq-qan I was born (I be.born-NAR)
pu yotal çoq-qan this matter was accomplished
this matter be.accomplished-NAR
men ki-ɣin sen yoq-tï I came [but] you were not there
I come-NAR you not.present-EV
men tʰoɣïn sukçi-ɣi par-ɣan miça tarïɣ aʰl-tï
I yesterday Sùzhōu-DAT go-NAR little grain take-PAST
yesterday I went to Sùzhōu and bought some grain

6.1.6. The dubitative (DUB, DUBN)

The dubitative suffix is -A*tï* (the converb -A + the evidential particle -*tï*). Apparently the suffix -A*tï* is losing its back vocalic variant, and the form -*itï* prevails. The dubitative is negated by means of the suffix -MA*stï* (the negative habitual -MA*s* + the evidential particle -*tï*). The dubitative suffix elides a stem final vowel, e.g. ***yitï*** 'would eat' (***yi=*** 'to eat'), ***tan-itï*** 'would be acquainted' (***tanï=*** 'to be acquainted'), ***paʰşt-itï*** 'would begin' (***paʰşta=*** 'to begin').

The dubitative expresses a doubtful feeling, uncertainty, polite request or suggestion 'should better, would, might, seem to, perhaps, actually'.

[6] The first example was taken from the elicitation list, the second is from a personal letter.

pol-itï-m? would it be all right, possible? (become-DUB-Q)
pol-itï it would be fine, all right (become-DUB)
sen pol-itï-m? would you be able to? (you become-DUB-Q)
sen tʰorl-itï-m? are you perhaps hungry? (you be.hungry-DUB-Q)
sen har-itï-m? are you perhaps tired? (you be.tired-DUB-Q)
men har-itï I am a little tired (I be.tired-DUB) (polite statement)
men har-mastï I am not tired (I be.tired-DUBN)
sen menï ïst-itï you seem to resemble me (you me/ACC resemble-DUB)
piʰkʊ ïs tuʰt-itï s/he seems to work hard (stong/ADV work hold-DUB)
yaʰş közti-mistï s/he does not look too pretty (good appear-DUBN)
miça mïla kʰunsen uz-itï a child should sleep every day
small child day.every sleep-DUB
mïla-lar araʰkï iʰç-itï-m? *yaʰq*, *mïla-lar araʰkï ïş-mistï*
child-PL liquor drink-DUB-Q no child-PL liquor drink-DUBN
should children drink liquor? no, children should not drink liquor
yoɣïr kïsï yilan yitï-m? *yaʰq*, *olar amïrtan yitï*
Yugur person snake eat/DUB-Q no that/PL animal eat/DUB
would the Yugur eat snake? no, they would eat game
sen iʰç-in-ti-kï örçi-nï kör-itï-m kör-mistï-m? *men kör-itï* (*men kör-mistï*)
you inside-POS3-LOC-KI thing-ACC see-DUB-Q see-DUBN-Q I see-DUB (I see-DUBN)
can you see the thing inside or can't you? I can see it (I cannot see it)
sen iʰç-in-ti örçü tïr-ïm kör-itï-m? *men kör-itï* (*men kör-mistï*)
you inside-POS3-LOC thing EX-Q see-DUB-Q I see-DUB I see-DUBN
can you see whether there is a thing inside? I can see it (I cannot see it)

6.1.7. The conditional (COND)

The conditional suffix is -sA. Though the suffix is susceptible to vowel harmony, this is not observed consistently, e.g. *ki-si* ~ *ki-sa* 'if comes' (*kel-* 'to come'). The negative is formed on the basis of the negative verb. Incidentally, the Chinese conditional conjunctions *yoşï* or *ɀukuo* 'if' (see 5.11.) are used in conditional sentences.
mïla qoy-nï paʰtïr-ïwat-sa kunïŋ açа-sï kunï pʰer-ïştï
child sheep-ACC lose-FIN-COND DEM/GEN father-POS3 DEM/ACC beat-FUTev
if the child loses the sheep, his/her father will beat him/her

The conditional may occur with a non-past as well as a past verb in the main clause.
mïla-lar nayv tïli-si-ma paʰtïr-ïwat-qan qoy-nï taʰq-mintï
child-PL how look.for-COND-PCL3 lose-FIN-PP sheep-ACC find-PASTNev
however much the children looked for it, they did not find the lost sheep
mïla-lar nayïl-sa-ma paʰtïr-ïwat-qan qoy-nï taʰp-pastï
child-PL what.do-COND-PCL3 lose-FIN-PP sheep-ACC find-DUBN
whatever the children do, they could not find the lost sheep

The conditional may express an irrealis (see further 7.2.6.).

mïla qoy-nï paʰtïr-ïwat-qan po-sa aça-sï anï pʰer-ïştï

child sheep-ACC lose-FIN-PP become-COND father-POS3 that/ACC beat-FUTev

if the child would have lost the sheep, his father would have beaten him/her

ku yoşï tʰoɣïn kel-si ku kunï kör-ïştï

DEM if yesterday come-COND DEM DEM/ACC see-FUTev

if s/he had come yesterday, s/he would have seen him/her

The conditional combined with the particle *-ma* expresses a concessive clause (see 7.3.9.).

saɣa ti-si-ma yuŋçʰu yoq-tï

you/DAT say-COND-PCL3 use not.present-EV

even if I tell you, it is of no use

6.1.8. The imperative (IMP1sg, IMP1pl, IMPN, IMP3)

The paradigm of the imperative is the only verbal paradigm in Western Yugur that distinguishes three persons; plurality is distinguished for the first person only. The base of the imperative paradigm is the verb stem, indicating the second person imperative. There is no separate form for the negative imperative of the first person singular; the negative present/future ***par-ɣïmis*** 'I shall not go' or the negative habitual ***par-mas*** 'I do not go' are used instead. The imperative of the first person singular may refer to the first person plural as well.

par-in	let me go (go-IMP1sg)
par-inï	let us go (go-IMP1pl)
par	go (go)
par-ɣe	let him/her/them go, may s/he/they go (go-IMP3)
par-minï	let us not go (go-IMPN)
par-ma	do not go (go-NEG)
par-ma-ɣe	let him/her/them not go, may s/he/they not go (go-NEG-IMP3)

In verb stems ending in a vowel, the first person suffixes *-in* and *-inï* are realized as *-yn* and *-ynï*. These suffixes, however, may contract with the stem final vowel. An alternative description would be that a stem final vowel *a* or *i* is elided when the suffixes *-in* or *-inï* are attached. The negative imperative of the first person plural, -M*inï*, is in fact a contracted form of the negative verb suffix -MA + *-ynï*.

tïli-ɣïla-yn	let me go looking for it (look.for-PUR-IMP1sg)
oyn-inï	let us play (play-IMP1pl) (***oyna=*** 'to play')
yi-yn ~ yin	let me eat (eat-IMP1sg ~ eat/IMP1sg)
ti-yn ~ tin	let me say (say-IMP1sg ~ say/IMP1sg)
yü-yn ~ yün	let me wash (wash-IMP1sg ~ wash/IMP1sg)

The first person imperatives of the verb ***maŋ=*** 'to walk', are usually contracted.

maŋ-in ~ mayn	let me walk (walk-IMP1sg ~ walk/IMP1sg)
maŋ-inï ~ maynï	let us walk (walk-IMP1pl ~ walk/IMP1pl)

The imperative of the first person expresses an intention.
men saɣa pïr pïʰtïɣ per-in let me give (I will give, I want to give) you a book
I you/DAT one book give-IMP1sg

The second person imperative followed by the conditional form ***tisi*** 'if say' (***ti=*** 'to say'), or by the copula *-i* (see 7.3.1.) indicates a more polite request.

sen ti!	tell it! (you say)
selir par!	go! (you/PL go)
aʰç-uʰt-i	just open it, please open it (open-COM-COP)
sen ezertpi-ɣi ïs tuʰt	work for the chief! (you chief-DAT work hold)
sen ezertpi-ɣi ïs tuʰt ti-si	just you work for the chief, please work for the chief

you chief-DAT work hold say-COND

The third person imperative suffix -G*e*, realized as -G*i* by some speakers, is historically the optative suffix, and this suffix may still occur with a first or second person in its optative function.
kv seŋ pʰo-nï aŋ-qa miça yiş aʰt-qïla-ɣe
DEM you/GEN gun-ACC take/RFL-CCO little food shoot-PUR-IMP3
let him/her take along your gun and go to shoot some food
koɣa maŋ ti, men kunï eni kör-mi-ɣi
DEM/DAT walk say I DEM/ACC again see-NEG-IMP3
tell him/her to go, may I not see him/her again
men yüz yaʰs yaʰsa-ɣe! may I live a hundred years!
I hundred year.of.age be.a.year.of.age-IMP3
sen par-ɣe may you go (you go-IMP3)

6.2. Converbs

Converb suffixes connect two verbs, having as their scope an entire clause (a subordinate clause dependent on the main verb), or pertaining to a single verb (as a means of compounding, or to specify an aktionsart).

6.2.1. The compounding converb (CON)

The compounding converb -(ï)*p* connects two adjacent verbs; it does not occur in syntactically free use[8]. The converb -(ï)*p* inserts a buffer vowel *ï* when following a stem final consonant, compare e.g. ***tʰorla-p*** 'being hungry' (***tʰorla=*** 'to be hungry'), ***qoʰrq-ïp*** 'fearing' (***qoʰrq=*** 'to fear'). The converb -(ï)*p* only precedes verbs with an initial plosive. The converb's consonant usually assimilates to this following plosive *t tʰ k kʰ q qʰ*, though in careful speech, assimilations are less noted.

The converb -(ï)*p* occurs as a bound morpheme with the existential ***par*** 'present' and the evidential particle -*tï* in the tense/aspect suffixes of the progressive and the past (see 6.1.3. and 6.1.4.).

In the following frequently used verbs, the stem final consonant, usually a liquid, is elided to form a clipped converbal form: ***kip*** 'coming' (***kel=*** 'to come'), ***pop*** 'becoming, being' (***pol=*** 'to become, to be'), ***qʰap*** 'falling; remaining' (***qʰal=*** 'to fall; to remain'), ***sap*** 'putting; releasing' (***sal=*** 'to put; to release'), ***niɣïp*** ~ ***nip*** ~ ***nap*** 'doing what' (***niɣïl=*** ~ ***naɣïl=*** ~ ***nal=*** 'to do what'), ***qop*** (< **qowïp*) 'rising' (***qoʰp=*** 'to rise'). These verbs currently use clipped forms in other paradigms as well.

The combination of a verb of motion + -(ï)*p* and one of the direction verbs ***kel=*** 'to come', or ***par=*** 'to go' indicates the direction of a motion.

kʰïrïk ki= 'to come in'	***kʰïrïp par=*** 'to go in'	***kʰïr=*** 'to enter'
unïk ki= 'to come out'	***unïp par=*** 'to go out'	***un=*** 'to come or go out'
tusïk ki= 'to come down'	***tusïp par=*** 'to go down'	***tus=*** 'to descend'
qaylak ki= 'to run hither'	***qaylap par=*** 'to run away'	***qayla=*** 'to run'

yiɣaṣ-tï maɣa sozïr-ïk ki — drag the log toward me
wood-ACC me/DAT drag-CON come

pu yiɣaṣ-tï men-tin sozïr-ïp par — drag this log away from me
this wood-ACC me-ABL drag-CON go

anï naqï yerin-nïŋ yaŋ-qa sozïr-ïp par — drag that away towards that man
that/ACC yonder man-GEN side-DAT drag-CON go

sen menik-tï koɣa tiat-ïp kel — send him/her the money back
you money-ACC DEM/DAT send-CON come

pïr ç̣ʰïntïr tʰayta-k ki-ɣintï — [Heaven] threw down a chain [to them]
one chain throw-CON come-NARev

kv pïr miça terik-tï taʰrt-ïk ki-ttï — s/he pulled up a small tree
DEM one little tree-ACC pull-CON come-PASTev

[8] Malov, however, still records -(ï)*p* in syntactically free use (e.g. Malov 1967: 78).

The combination of a verb + -(ï)*p* with the verb ***per=*** 'to give' expresses a benefactive.

sen mayа tïz-ïp per write [it] down for me
you me/DAT write-CON give

sen menik-tï mayа as-ïp per change the money for me
you money-ACC me/DAT change-CON give

kʰempiştïy xosïn ti-p per-ɣintï the woman told [him/her] everything
woman all/POS3ACC say-CON give-NARev

yiŋ-ïş-ki tʰuŋna-p per-ɣintï she poked it into the sleeve [for him/her]
sleeve-IN-DAT poke-CON give-NARev

aʰti mïla yilɣa-ma-sa sen aɣa sut-tï iʰçir-ïp per-mi
small child cry-NEG-COND you that/DAT milk-ACC let.drink-CON give-NEG
if the baby does not cry, do not let him drink the milk

The combination of a verb + -(ï)*p* with the verb ***pol=*** 'to be, to become' expresses a potential (imposed by external circumstances)[9].

ti-mi-si no-p pol-ɣïş-i? if one does not tell, what could happen?
say-NEG-COND what.be-CON become-FUT-COP

men pïl-ɣïş, men sayа ti-p pol-ɣïmistï-nï
I know-FUT I you/DAT say-CON become-FUTNev-INT
I know, [but] I really cannot tell you

The combination of a verb + -(ï)*p* with the verb ***qara=*** 'to look' expresses an explorative 'to try to'. It is lexicalized in ***tatïq qara=*** 'to taste' (***tatï=*** 'to taste').

sen paʰç-ïn pïr soɣ-ïq qara just you try giving the head of it a knock
you head-POS3ACC one hit-CON look

men pïr yoz-ïq qar-in-ya let me try to pass along once
I one pass-CON look-IMP1sg-PCL1

The combination of a verb + -(ï)*p* with the verb ***kʰïr=*** 'to enter' expresses an inchoative 'to start to'.

antaqanta naqï-sï-ma kançiŋ çʰük-ki çal-ïk kʰïr-ɣintï
then yonder-POS3-PCL3 at.once kneel-CCO pray-CON enter-NARev
then yonder one of them at once knelt down and started praying

A number of combinations of a verb + -(ï)*p* with a following verb are lexicalized in compound verbs, e.g. ***appar=*** 'to take to, to take away' (***ap***[10] + ***par=***), ***akkʰer=*** 'to bring to, to bring along' (***ap*** + ***kʰeɣïr=*** 'to bring'), ***untïqqʰa=*** 'to forget' (< ***untïp***[11] + ***qʰal=***), ***yoqqʰa=*** 'to die' (***yülïp*** + ***qʰal=***). The verb ***qoʰp=*** 'to stand up, to rise' usually occurs in the combination ***qok ki=*** (***qop*** + ***kel=***).

[9] In the following example, this meaning is not present: *poʰsan-ïp po-sa men temïr kʰaŋ-qa uzï-ş* 'if it is cloudy, I will sleep on the iron kang' (be.cloudy-CON become-COND I iron kang-DAT sleep-FUT). According to Chén &Léi (1985: 126), -(ï)*p pol=* indicates an exhaustive 'enough'.

[10] In the present material, the clipped converbal form *ap* 'taking' (*al=* 'to take') only occurrs in the compound verbs *appar=* and *akkʰer=*.

[11] In the present material, the simplex verb *untï=* 'to forget' does not occur.

The collocation of a verb + -(ï)*p* + the indefinite/concessive particle *-ma* followed by a negation expresses an intensive negation 'nothing at all, nothing whatsoever'. The present material yields only three instances[12].

men <u>na-p-pa</u> yoq — I am not doing anything at all
I what.do-CON-PCL3 not.present

<u>na-p-pa</u> nal-mas — s/he does not do anything at all
what.do-CON-PCL3 what.do-HABN

<u>na-p-pa</u> yata-ştï — s/he is unable to do anything at all
what.do-CON-PCL3 cannot-FUTev

The converb -(ï)*p* also connects a main verb with an auxiliary verb to express an aktionsart.

The combination of a final transformative verb[13] + -(ï)*p kel*= emphasizes the point of transformation.

ozɣanïk ki= 'to wake up'	***ozɣan***= 'to wake up'
tïrlïk ki= 'to come to live'	***tïrlï***= 'to revive'
toɣïk ki= 'to be born'	***toɣ***= 'to be born; to give birth'

The combination of a verb of speaking or thinking + -(ï)*p kel*= renders such a non-transformative verb into a transformative one.

tik ki= 'to put forward, to mention'	***ti***= 'to tell, to say'
uzkitïk ki= 'to lie, to speak out lies'	***uzkit***= 'to lie'
qïtik ki= 'to call out'	***qïti***= 'to shout'
sïsaŋnak ki= 'to think of, to think up'	***sïsaŋna***= 'to think'

sen maɣa <u>ti-k ki</u>-ya — tell it to me, disclose it to me
you me/DAT say-CON come-PCL2

pu aʰt-tï men naɣv <u>tanï-k ki</u>-ş-i — how will I recognize this horse?
this horse-ACC I how recognize-CON come-FUT-COP

The combination of an initial transformative verb + -(ï)*p qʰal*= expresses an inceptive.

poq qʰa= 'to come into being'	***pol***= 'to become, to be'
örliq qʰa= 'to stand up, to get up'	***örli***= 'to go stand, to stand'
yaʰtïq qʰa= 'to lie down'	***yaʰt***= 'to lie down, to lie'
uzïq qʰa= 'to fall asleep, go to sleep'	***uzï***= 'to sleep, to fall asleep, to be asleep'
aɣïrïq qʰa= 'to fall ill'	***aɣïr***= 'to be or become ill, to hurt'

[12] Cf *yep pʰa yemeʰtʰi* 'I ate nothing whatsoever, I ate nothing at all' (Malov 1967: 9, Chén & Léi 1985: 136). The particle *-ma* is lexicalized in *aqpaq* 'very white' (see 4.5.5.).

[13] The terminology used here to classify verbs is based on Schönig's discussion (1984: 33-37, following Johanson 1971) of Tatar verbs. He considers two dimensions along which verbs can be classified: transformative (~ telic) versus non-transformative (~ atelic) verbs; and initial transformative versus final transformative verbs. Western Yugur examples are: *oyna*= 'to play' (non-transformative), *yül*= 'to die' (final transformative), *ɕʰoqe*= 'to sit down, to sit' (initial transformative).

miça mïla uzï-ttï the small child slept (small child sleep-PASTev)
mïla uzï-q qʰa-ttï the child fell asleep (child sleep-CON fall-PASTev)
men çʰoqe-yn let me sit (I sit-IMP1sg)
men çʰoqe-q qʰa-ʰtï I sat down (I sit-CON fall-PAST)
ïşt-qa iʰt-tin antïraq yitïr-ɣi aɣïr-ïştï
dog-DAT meat-ABL that.much feed-CCO be.ill-FUTev
by feeding the dog that much meat, it will be (become) ill
ïşt-qa antïraq iʰt yitïr-sa aɣïr-ïq qʰa-ştï
dog-DAT that.much meat feed-COND be.ill-CON fall-FUTev
if you feed the dog that much meat, it will fall ill

The combination of a non-transformative verb + -(*ï*)*p qʰal*= renders such a verb transformative.

horaq qʰa= 'to strangle'	***hora***= 'to coil'
ïstaq qʰa= 'to resemble'	***ïsta***= 'to resemble'
köztiq qʰa= 'to pop up'	***közti***= 'to appear, to appear as'

6.2.2. The simultaneous converb (CSIM)

The simultaneous converb -*v*[14] connects two clauses or two verbs. It elides a verb's stem final *a*, e.g. ***qarv*** 'looking' (***qara***= 'to look'); when following verbs with stem final *i*, the converb -*v* is realized either as -*v*, e.g. ***tiv*** 'saying' (***ti***= 'to say'), ***mintiv*** 'busying' (***minti***= 'to be busy'), or as -*w*, e.g. ***kïptiw*** ~ ***kïptiv*** 'fastening' (***kïpti***= 'to fasten'), ***tïliw*** (***tïli***= 'to search'), ***qïtiw*** (***qïti***= 'to call').

The converb -*v* occurs as a bound morpheme with the existential ***yoq*** 'not present' and the evidential particle -*tï* in the tense/aspect suffixes of the progressive (see 6.1.3.). The converb -*v* of the obsolescent verb ***qïl***= 'to do', ***qïlv***, contracted into *qv* and now functions as the denominal adverb suffix -G*v* (see 4.5.4.). The converb -*v* is lexicalized in the demonstrative adverbs ***mïntaqv*** and ***antaqv*** 'thus' (see 5.3.), and in ***kilv*** 'once upon a time' (come-CSIM).

The converb -*v* connects two clauses, in which the action expressed by the converb takes place simultaneously with the action of the main verb, and is of some duration ('while'). The subject of the converb -*v* and the main verb is usually the same.
kv yer yerl-v eni tarïɣ uɣ-vtï s/he is grinding the grain while singing
DEM song sing-CSIM too grain grind-PROGev
o yiɣaş-tï qïtïr-v şar nimi et-uʰt-ïttï
that wood-ACC chop-CSIM broken.bit something make-COM-PASTev
while chopping the wood, s/he made small pieces of it

[14] The etymology of the converb -*v* is uncertain: perhaps it originated as an allomorph of -(*ï*)*p* > -(*ï*)*W* preceding vowels, and became more widespread thereafter. At present, there seems to be a complementary distribution between the two converbs: -(*ï*)*p* occurs only preceding plosives, and -*v* elsewhere. However, in the bound morphemes of the evidential of the progressive -*vtï* and of the past -*ïptï*, these converbs do occur in opposition.

There are only few cases in which the subject of the converb *-ʊ* is not the same as the subject of the main verb; these may perhaps be regarded as broken sentences.

tʰer-ʊ kʰun-ma oyla-ɣantï while they were gathering - the sun set
gather-CSIM sun-PCL3 set-NARev

tʰulkï miça qaz-qa qar-ʊ maŋqïs uzï-q qʰa-ɣantï
fox little dig-CCO look-CSIM monster sleep-CON fall-NARev
while the fox dug a little and looked - the monster had fallen asleep

The auxiliary verbs ***çïta=*** 'can, to be able', and ***yata=*** 'cannot, to be unable' are connected to the main verb through the converb *-ʊ*.

pu su-nï iʰç-ʊ çïta-ştï-m? can one drink this water?
this water-ACC drink-CSIM can-FUTev-Q

kʊ kil-in saqïn-ʊtï, kil-ʊ yata-ştï s/he wants to come [but] is unable to come
DEM come-IMP1sg think-PROGev come-CSIM cannot-FUTev

The combination of a verb + *-ʊ* with the verb ***sal=*** 'to put' expresses an inchoative 'to start to'[15].

kʊ ïs tuʰt-ʊ sa-ttï s/he started working
DEM work hold-CSIM put-PASTev

pu kus-tïŋ mos sanç-ʊ sa-ɣantï this cow's horn started stabbing
this bovine-GEN horn stab-CSIM put-NARev

The combination of a verb + *-ʊ* with the verb ***un=*** 'to go or come out' or ***untïr=*** 'to take out' expresses a completive 'to finish to'.

xuey-nï kʰeyl-ʊ un-kinti ezertpi mïz-tï maŋ-tïr-ïş miʰkin?
meeting-ACC open-CSIM come.out-CTMP chief we-ACC walk-CAUS-FUT Q/IHKIN
will the chief surely let us go when the meeting is over?

suçou çʰïŋmïŋ-nï qʰal-ʊ un-ïttï-m?
Sùzhōu city.gate-ACC build-CSIM come.out-PASTev-Q
have they finished building the city gate of Sùzhōu?

paŋn-o untïr-ɣiş-la sen kʊ poʰqça-nïŋ aʰs-ïn aʰş-qaş-la çotta-ɣa ana-ŋ-qa eʰt!
tie-CSIM take.out-CCO-PCL2 you that saddle.bag-GEN opening-POS3ACC open-CCO-PCL2 libate-CCO mother-POS1/2-DAT arrive
after you have finished tying up [your leg], and after you have opened that saddle bag's opening, do a libation and get to your mother!

The combination of a verb + *-ʊ* with the verb ***oyla=*** 'to approach; to almost finish' expresses a near completive.

men ïs-tï tuʰt-ʊ oyla-ʰtï I have almost finished working
I work-ACC hold-CSIM almost.finish-PAST

maŋqïs anika qaz-ʊ oyla-ɣantï
monster grandmother dig-CSIM almost.finish-NARev
monster grandmother had almost finished digging

[15] There are too few examples in the present material to determine the difference between the inchoatives *-ʊ sal=* and *-(ï)p kïr=* (see 6.2.1.).

Furthermore, the present material yields one example of a combination of a verb + *-ʊ* with the verb ***yoz***= 'to pass': ***sanʨ-ʊ yoz-ɣan*** 'pierced' (stab-CSIM pass-NAR)[16].

The following verbs often occur in collocation: ***uzʊ ʂart***=, ***ʂartʊ uz***= 'to tear to shreds' (***uz***= 'to tear, to rip', ***ʂart***= 'to tear to pieces').

The converb *-ʊ* is used in exclamations.

tart soq-ʊ! squeezing a fart! (ONOM hit-CSIM)

sen yükʰïʨʰer-ya qarq-tï miʨa nili-ʊ! just you often pinch the nose a bit!

you often-PCL1 nose-ACC little pinch-CSIM

6.2.3. The repetitive converb (CREP)

The converb -A occurs in doublets only, forming adverb clauses indicating a repetitive action or an action increasing in intensity. The subject of the repetitive converb is always the same as the subject of the main verb. Doublet constructions with the converb -A are incompatible with final trans- formative verbs like ***par***= 'to go, to go away', and ***qʰal***= 'to fall'.

Vowel harmony is not observed regularly, and especially younger speakers use only *-i*, e.g. ***maŋ-i maŋ-i*** 'walking and walking' (***maŋ***= 'to walk') for older speakers ***maŋ-a maŋ-a***. A stem-final vowel is elided.

The converb -A occurs as a bound morpheme with the evidential particle *-tï* in the suffix of the dubitative (see 6.1.6.).

kʊ qoʰqaʂ uʰk-i uʰk-i aʰrq pʰaq-ʊtï that bird is shitting shit while flying on

DEM bird fly-CREP fly-CREP shit shit-PROGev

kʊ pʰut-i pʰut-i ot tʰamtïr-ʊtï by blowing and blowing s/he is lighting the fire

DEM blow-CREP blow-CREP fire light-PROGev

anïŋ ïnï-sï kil-i kil-i semïrï-ttï

that/GEN younger.brother-POS3 come-CREP come-CREP be.fat-PASTev

his/her younger brother gradually became fat (became fatter and fatter)

kʊ iʰp-tï ul-i ul-i uzïnat-ʊtï

DEM rope-ACC string-CREP string-CREP make.long-PROGev

s/he is making the rope longer by stringing and stringing it

Doublets of the converb -A may convey a concessive.

kʊ pïl-i pïl-i ti-mistï although s/he knows, s/he would not say

DEM know-CREP know-CREP say-DUBN

kʊ pïʰt-i pïʰt-i eni al-ɣï ti-ʊtï

DEM suffice-CREP suffice-CREP again take-CON5 say-PROGev

although s/he has enough, s/he is about to take again

The verb ***tïli***= 'to look for, to search' apparently does not occur in a doublet construction with the converb -A, but forms an alternative doublet with the converb *-ʊ*.

[16] According to Chén & Léi (1985: 128) this combination expresses the notion 'a long time ago'.

kʊ pïʰçaq-ïn tïli-w tïli-w taʰq-mintï
DEM knife-POS3ACC look.for-CREP look.for-CREP find-PASTNev
s/he looked and looked for his/her knife [but] did not find it

There are some examples of alternative doublets expressing intensity or repetition.
uz-ʊ uzï-ɣa soundly asleep (sleep-CSIM sleep-CCO)
o aɣïr-ʊ aɣïr-ïq qʰa-ttï s/he had fallen very ill
that be.ill-CSIM be.ill-CON fall-PASTev
sen uzï kïsï iʰt-tï yi-ʊ yi-ɣi saɣa kïsï iʰt oʰqaʰ-l-tï
you self person meat-ACC eat-CSIM eat-CCO you/DAT person meat smell-RFL-PAST
because you eat human meat yourself all the time, you smelled human meat

6.2.4. The coordinative converb (CCO)

The coordinative converb -GA[17] connects two clauses or two verbs. Older speakers still use the form -GAṣ[18] occasionally, but younger speakers almost exclusively use the clipped form -GA, and the unclipped form only when the converb is followed by a particle *-ya, -la*. The negation is formed on the basis of the negative verb. The subject of the converb -GA may differ from the subject of the main verb.

The converb -GA is lexicalized in the demonstrative adverbs *mïntaqaṣ* and *antaqaṣ* 'thus, then' (see 5.3.), and it occurs in the adverbial clauses *miça turɣa* and *miça olïrɣa* 'immediately, shortly, in a moment' (see 5.8.).

The converb -GA connects two clauses, expressing an enumeration of actions, or the converb -GA expresses an action taking place prior to the action of the main verb.
yi-yiṣ hanï-ɣantï s/he ate and went, after having eaten s/he went
eat-CCO go-NARev
pu qʰan-ma kʰeln-ï mïṣ-ti par-nï pïl-mi-yiṣ-ya kʊ qarq-ïn-ma nili-mi-ɣintï
this khan-PCL3 wife-POS3 this/IN-LOC present-ACC know-NEG-CCO-PCL1 DEM nose-POS3ACC-PCL3 pinch-NEG-NARev
because this khan didn't know this bride of his was in here, he did not pinch his nose either
men taɣïn sukçi-ɣi par-ɣa miça tarïɣ al-ɣïla-ṣ, tarïɣ-nï akkʰer-ɣi meŋ kʰelŋ-ki per-ɣʊ
I tomorrow Sùzhōu-DAT go-CCO little grain buy-PUR-FUT grain-ACC bring-CCO me/GEN wife-DAT give-FUT
tomorrow I will go to Sùzhōu to buy some grain, bring it home and give it to my wife
tʰoɣïn men sukçi-ɣi paʰr-tï, miça tarïɣ aʰl-tï, tarïɣ-nï akkʰer-ɣi meŋ kʰelŋ-ki peʰr-tï
yesterday I Sùzhōu-DAT go-PAST little grain buy-PAST grain-ACC bring.to-CCO me/GEN wife-DAT give-PAST
yesterday I went to Sùzhōu, I bought some grain, I brought it home and gave it to my wife

[17] A similar converb -(G)A exists in Eastern Yugur (cf J̌uunast 1981: 41), and in Monguor -AA (cf J̌uunast 1981a: 39).

[18] In Tenišev 1976: 112 the loss of -Ṣ is already noted.

When the verb of the main clause describes a period of time, the converb -GA may express an action that is simultaneous with the verb of the main clause.

antaqanta-ya pïr yil o-ɣantï, aʰtïs-ɣaṣ-la

then-PCL1 one year become-NARev make.war-CCO-PCL2

then one year passed, as they made war

The converb -GA may convey an instrumental.

pu ot-tï pʰuti-ɣi qʰart-uʰt-i just extinguish this fire by blowing on it

this fire-ACC blow-CCO extinguish-COM-COP

o naqï-nï kör-in saqïn-qaṣ ki-ttï s/he came with the intention of seeing him/her

that yonder-ACC see-IMP1sg think-CCO come-PASTev

pu qʰïti-lar qoʰrq-qa qayla-s-ɣantï

this Chinese-PL fear-CCO run-REC-NARev

these Chinese ran away together for fear

ṣïɣan yiɣaṣ-tï tïsti-ɣi kʰili-ɣi tʰel-ïwat-ïttï

mouse wood-ACC bite-CCO gnaw-CCO pierce-FIN-PASTev

by biting and gnawing at the wood, the mouse made a hole in it

The converb -GA may convey a reason 'because of, so that, to the effect that'; this meaning is lexicalized in the postposition ***polɣa*** 'because of, for' (see 5.9.), actually a converb in -GA of the verb ***pol=*** 'to be, to become'.

kʊ maɣa antïraq yüs sal-ɣa men koɣa yül ti-ppar

DEM me/DAT that.much evil put-CCO I DEM/DAT die say-PROG

because s/he did so much evil to me, I hope s/he dies

aʰt-ïn mïn-ʊ kïsï kïlap pol-ɣa ki-ɣintï

horse-POS3ACC mount-CSIM person strong become-CCO come-NARev

because s/he was strong, being mounted on his/her horse, s/he came back

kʊ tïs-tï mïla pʰer-ɣi sïŋ-qʰar-ttï

DEM pot-ACC child hit-CCO break-RES-PASTev

because a child hit that pot it broke, a child hit that pot so that it broke

kʊ kunïŋ mïla-sïn pʰer-ɣi yülïr-ïwat-ïttï

DEM DEM/GEN child-POS3ACC beat-CCO die-FIN-PASTev

s/he beat his/her child so hard that s/he died

The converb -GA may convey a concessive 'although, but'.

kʊ aɣïr-ɣaṣ-ma ki-ptï

DEM be.ill-CCO-PCL3 come-PASTev

s/he came although s/he was ill, s/he came inspite of his/her illness

kʊ pʰoqïrt-in saqïn-qa toqïra-har-ttï

DEM jump-IMP1sg think-CCO fall-RES-PASTev

s/he intended to jump but fell

The combination of a verb + -GA with the verb ***yata=*** 'cannot', expresses the notion of 'cannot bear, cannot stand; cannot help but'.

oʰs-qa yata=	cannot stand the thirst (be.thirsty-CCO cannot)
tʰorla-ɣa yata=	cannot stand the hunger (be.hungry-CCO cannot)
pʰer-ɣi yata=	cannot stand the beating (beat-CCO cannot)

aʰt uʰk-ki ɣata-ɣantï the horses could not help but being startled
horse be.startled-CCO cannot-NARev

The combination of a verb + -GA with the negative verb *ɕoqpa=* 'to not succeed' expresses the notion of 'to refrain from, cannot stand; cannot help but'.
soq-qa ɕoq-pa= cannot stand the beating (beat-CCO succeed-NEG)
aɣïr-ɣa ɕoq-pa= cannot stand the pain (be.ill-CCO succeed-NEG)
ɣi-ɣi ɕoq-pa= cannot refrain from eating (eat-CCO succeed-NEG)
araʰkï ïʂ-ki ɕoq-pa= cannot refrain from drinking liquor
liquor drink-CCO succeed-NEG
men selir-ɣi oyna-t-qïmis: selir oryïla-s-qa ɕoq-pastï
I you/PL-DAT play-CAUS-FUTN you/PL shout-REC-CCO succeed-DUBN
I will not let you play: you cannot help but making noise

The present material yields a few examples of the combination of a verb + -GA with *qara=* 'to see'. Its meaning is unclear (an undesired action?); the last example seems straightforward.
ʂïɣan meŋ ïlïɣ-nï tïsti-ɣi qar-ɤtï the mouse bit my finger
mouse me/GEN finger-ACC bite-CCO see-PROGev
ɕïwïn menï pïr yiŋïr tïsti-ɣi qar-ɤtï the mosquitos bit me all night
mosquito me/ACC one evening bite-CCO look-PROGev
pu su-nï men taʰsï-t-uʰt-qa qar-ɤtï I have spilled this water
this water-ACC I spill-CAUS-COM-CCO see-PROGev
mïnï men tʰayt-uʰt-qa qar-ɤtï I have thrown this away
this/ACC I throw-COM-CCO look-PROGev
eni sosïkïn par-ɣa pu ɕïŋʂï yaʰs-qa qar-ɤ-ɣantï
again next.day go-CCO this really hide-CCO look-AUX-NARev
s/he went again the other day, and s/he really hid him/herself and looked

The present material yields a few examples of the combination of a verb + -GA with *olïr=* 'to stay'. Its meaning is unclear (perhaps a perfect?).
pu ɕitan-ɣa luzï-nïŋ üsïn-ti pïs-ki olïr-ɣantï
this egg-PCL1 stove-GEN upside/POS3-LOC cook-CCO stay-NARev
this egg had been cooked on the stove
tur-nïŋ yaŋ-qa eʰt-kinti-ɣa tur-nïŋ üsïn-ti pïr ala xuar un-ki olïr-ɣantï
tomb-GEN side-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 tomb-GEN upside/POS3-LOC one multicoloured flower come.out-CCO stay-NARev
when s/he arrived near the tomb, on top of the tomb a multicoloured flower had come out

The converb -GA is used in exclamations.
men har-ɣa! I am so tired! (I be.tired-CCO)
kɤ ɕïnɕïŋ ɕʰïla-ɣa! s/he is ever so angry! (DEM really be.angry-CCO)
par-ma-ɣa! me not going?! (go-NEG-CCO)
ɕʰïla-ma-ɣa! me not angry?! (be.angry-NEG-CCO)

The following verbs often occur in collocation: *uzki şart=* 'to tear to shreds', *ezertki maŋ=* 'to go leading, to bring someone along'.

men yiz-tï uz-ki şart-uʰt-tï I tore the material to shreds
I material-ACC rip-CCO tear-COM-PAST

The converb -GA may be extended with an intensive suffix -K*ïna*, typical of the speech of Mīnghăi Township.

ol-ma uzï ki-ɣi-kïna anï pʰer-ïş-i titï
that-PCL3 self come-CCO-INT that/ACC beat-FUT-COP say/DUB
s/he says s/he personally will come and beat him/her

6.2.5. The negative converb (CN)

The negative converb -M*in* indicates that the action of the main verb occurs without the action expressed by the negative converb.

The negative converb combines with *kʊyoq* 'inconceivable' (see 5.7.) into a construction meaning 'impossible without, inconceivable that not'.

The negative converb -M*in* occurs as a bound morpheme with the particle *-tï* in the tense/aspect suffixes of the past (see 6.1.4.).

kolar cʰunçaŋ-nï qara-ɣïla par-min sen kolar-nï maŋ-tïr-ma
DEM/PL chief-ACC see-CPUR go-CN you DEM/PL-ACC walk-CAUS-NEG
do not let them leave without going to see the chief

kïsï uzï-min kʊyoq-tï, kïsï semen ïş-min-ma kʊyoq-tï
person sleep-CN not.done-EV person food eat-CN-PCL3 not.done-EV
a person cannot do without sleep, a person cannot do without food either

6.2.6. The purpose converb (CPUR)

The converb -G*ïla* indicates the purpose of an action, and is always combined with a verb of motion.

o senï qara-ɣïla ki-ştï s/he will come to see you
that you/ACC see-CPUR come-FUTev

o tʰelk qaz-ɣïla par-ttï s/he went to dig a hole
that hole dig-CPUR go-PASTev

6.2.7. Other converbs

Western Yugur has a number of converbs which are in fact formed on the basis of the participles. These are: the temporal converbs -G*ant*A 'when' (see 6.4.1.1.), -GA*n(nïŋ) arata* 'just as, just at the moment when' and -G*annïŋ pʰornta* 'before' (see 7.1.2.), -G*ant*A*n pʰorn*, *-irt*A*n pʰorn* (see 5.9.), and the converb -GA*nça* 'by means of, by way of' (see 6.4.1.1.).

6.3. Aktionsart suffixes and auxiliary suffixes

Aktionsart suffixes specify the phase of the verbal action. They are directly attached to the verb root (which may be extended by diathesis suffixes), and are in this respect unusual in Turkic languages, where aktionsart is expressed by combining a verb with an auxiliary verb through a converb suffix, not by a derivational suffix. However, peculiarities in the phonology and morphology of the aktionsart suffixes suggest that these suffixes originate from independent verbs, which have subsequently contracted with the preceding converb suffix. Apparently, the aktionsart suffixes are in the process of developing from independent forms into derivational suffixes. Also included here are the derivational auxiliary suffixes of quick or sudden action and of purpose, the auxiliary suffix *-v*, and the analytical 'about to' construction. Finally, some observations concerning interchangeability and combinatory properties of the aktionsart and auxiliary suffixes will be presented.

6.3.1. The completive suffix (COM)

The aktionsart suffix *-uʰt* indicates a completive, e.g. ***tuʰtuʰt=*** 'to do completely, to finish' (***tuʰt=*** 'to hold, to catch, to do'). Stem final vowels are elided, e.g. ***şannuʰt=*** 'to castrate' (***şanna=***), ***çümuʰt=*** 'to pluck' (***çümi=*** ~ ***çümü=***). The suffix *-uʰt* following *-q* is realised as *-oʰt*, e.g. ***sïʰqoʰt=*** 'to wring out' (***sïʰq=*** 'to press')[19].

The suffix *-uʰt* also occurs in an augmented form *-uʰtïr*, which occurs only rarely; there is no apparent difference of meaning between *-uʰt* and *-uʰtïr*, e.g. ***qʰaltïruʰtïr=*** ~ ***qʰaltïruʰt=*** 'to drop' (***qʰaltïr=***), ***uʰkïtuʰtïr=*** 'to frighten' (***uʰkït=***).

The suffix *-uʰt* is lexicalized in ***suʰt=*** 'to break off, to break through' (***sï=*** 'to break'), and ***soʰt=*** 'to release, to set free' (***sal=*** 'to put, to release').

pu tïs-tï mïla suʰt-ïptï a child broke this pot (this pot-ACC child break/COM-PASTev)
kʊ şuku-nï soʰt-ïptï s/he released the goat (DEM goat-ACC release/COM-PASTev)

The suffix *-uʰt* occurs frequently with final transformative verbs as an intensive, e.g. ***aʰçuʰt=*** 'to open' (***aʰş=***), ***çʰoluʰt=*** 'to pry open' (***çola=***), ***aʰsïruʰt=*** 'to overturn' (***aʰsïr=***), ***qʰaltïruʰt=*** 'to drop' (***qʰaltïr=***).

The suffix *-uʰt* renders a non-transformative verb transformative, forming egressive verbs, e.g. ***aluʰt=*** 'to take away' (***al=*** 'to take'), ***artuʰt=*** 'to wipe off' (***art=*** 'to rub, to clean'), ***tʰaytuʰt=*** 'to throw down, to throw away' (***tʰayta=*** 'to throw'), ***uzuʰt=*** 'to rip off' (***uz=*** 'to rip'), ***tüʰkuʰt=*** 'to pour out' (***tüʰk=*** 'to pour'), ***qïʰrquʰt=*** 'to shave off' (***qïʰrq=*** 'to shave').

There are a few examples in which ingressive verbs are formed, e.g. ***yilɣuʰt=*** 'to cry out, to burst into tears' (***yilɣa=*** 'to cry'), ***tʰamtïruʰt=*** 'to set fire to, to ignite' (***tʰamtïr=*** 'to light a fire').

[19] Historically, the suffix *-uʰt* perhaps consists of the converb -A + the verb *pïʰt=* 'to suffice; to finish'. Remnants of a *p* occur in e.g. *yorïfutïptï* < *yorïpuʰtïptï* 'untied' (Tenišev 1976: 247). Allomorphs with *-s* are recorded in the older sources, e.g. *paturusteryeš* 'lost', *tüküsterïptro* 'poured out' (Malov 1967: 100), *aloʰtsa* ~ *alostsa* 'if takes away' (Chén & Léi 1985: 110).

men ïs-tï̈ tuʰt-uʰt-tï̈ I finished the work (I work-ACC hold-COM-PAST)
men ïs-tï̈ taʰqï̈ tuʰt-uʰt-ma-ʰtï̈ I have not yet finished the work
I work-ACC yet hold-COM-NEG-PAST
kʰõm-uʰt-i bury it! get it buried! (bury-COM-COP)
pu ot-tï̈ qʰart-uʰt-i just extinguish this fire!
this fire-ACC extinguish-COM-COP
sann-uʰt-qan çʰi a gelded camel (castrate-COM-PP camel)

6.3.2. The finitive suffix (FIN)

The aktionsart suffix -(*ï̈*)*wat* indicates a finitive[20]. The -*w* has a strong rounding effect on a preceding vowel *a* or *ï̈*, e.g. ***aŋna-wat=*** 'to overhear' [*aŋnʊwat*].

The suffix -(*ï̈*)*wat* is lexicalized in ***suwat=*** 'to put down, to throw down' (***sal=*** 'to put; to release'), a contraction of the form ***salïwat=***.
kʊ çʰïla-ɣa pïʰtïɣ-nï̈ çozï̈-ɣa suwat-ïttï̈ (~ *sal-ïwat-ïttï̈*)
DEM be.angry-CCO book-ACC table-DAT put/FIN-PASTev (~ put-FIN-PASTev)
s/he angrily put down the book on the table

The aktionsart suffix -(*ï̈*)*wat* occurs frequently with final transformative verbs as an intensive, e.g. ***yülïrïwat=*** 'to kill' (***yülïr=***), ***paʰtïrïwat=*** 'to lose' (***paʰtïr=***), ***toɣïwat=*** 'to give birth' (***toɣ=***).

The aktionsart suffix -(*ï̈*)*wat* renders a non-transformative verb transformative, e.g. ***aŋnawat=*** 'to overhear, to catch the word' (***aŋna=*** 'to hear, to listen'), ***yiwat=*** 'to eat up, to devour' (***yi=*** 'to eat').

sen menik-tï̈ koɣa per-ïwat-i just give the money back to him/her
you money-ACC DEM/DAT give-FIN-COP
tïs-tï̈ sï̈-wat-ïttï̈ s/he broke the pot (pot-ACC break-FIN-PASTev)
iʰt qayta par-i? ïşt-qa yi-tïr-ïwat-ïttï̈
meat where present-COP dog-DAT eat-CAUS-FIN-PASTev
where is the meat? it has been devoured by the dog
o terik-tïŋ iʰç-in-ti anïŋ ïşt-tï̈ paʰtïr-ïwat-ïttï̈
that tree-GEN inside-POS3-LOC that/GEN dog-ACC lose-FIN-PASTev
s/he lost his/her dog in the forest
kʊ menik-ki po-ɣa uzï̈-nïŋ aqa-sïn yülïr-ïwat-qïştï̈
DEM money-DAT become-CCO self-GEN elder.brother-POS3ACC kill-FIN-FUTev
s/he would have killed his own elder brother for money
narsïntan men ni-ma emis ïs et-ïwat-ma-ʰtï̈, o taʰqï̈-ya menï̈ pʰer-itï̈
although I what-PCL3 evil work do-FIN-NEG-PAST that still-PCL1 me/ACC beat-DUB
although I had done nothing wrong, s/he still would beat me

[20] Historically, the suffix -(*ï̈*)*wat* perhaps consists of the converb -(*ï̈*)*p* or -*ʊ* + the verb *aʰt=* 'to throw'; the loss of preaspiration, however, would be inexplicable. For older examples, cf *salwadïp* 'put down' (Malov 67: 105), *yiwatenï̈* 'let's eat it up' (Chén & Léi 1985: 108).

6.3.3. The resultative suffix (RES)

The aktionsart suffix *-har* indicates a resultative[21]. Its allophonic variants are *-har* ~ *-xar* following vowels, liquids and sibilants, and *-qʰar* following plosives and nasals. It is apparently connected with the verb ***har=*** 'to be or become tired; to leave'. In the present material, it occurs predominantly with a following past tense.

su taʰsï-har-ttï the water spilled (water overflow-RES-PASTev)
tïs sï-ŋ-qʰar-ttï the pot broke, the pot is broken
pot break-RFL-RES-PASTev
kunïŋ qol qarar-har-ttï his/her arm has turned black, is black
DEM/GEN arm be.black-RES-PASTev
anïŋ sï-ŋ-qʰar-ɣan qol aɣïr-ttï his/her broken arm hurt
that/GEN break-RFL-RES-PP arm hurt-PASTev
kʊ pʰoqïrt-in saqïn-qa toqïra-har-ttï s/he intended to jump [but] fell
DEM jump-IMP1sg think-CCO topple-RES-PASTev
meŋ sïŋnï antaɣ titï uzï iʰt-tï ɕʰumïkti-mi-ʰtï titï, ïşt ɕʰili-xar-ttï titï
my/GEN younger.sister that/EQU say/DUB self meat-ACC steal-NEG-PAST say/DUB dog take.in.the.mouth-RES-PASTev say/DUB
my younger sister says she did not steal the meat, she says the dog has got it

6.3.4. The terminative suffix (TER)

The aktionsart suffix *-hanï* indicates a terminative[22]. Its allophonic variants are *-hanï* ~ *-xanï* following vowels, liquids and sibilants, and *-qʰanï* following nasals. It is apparently connected with the verb ***hanï=*** 'to go'[23]. In the present material, it occurs predominantly with a following suffix -GA*n* (either the narrative past or the present/ past participle).

toqïra-hanï-ɣan mïla qo-k ki-ttï the fallen child stood up
fall-TER-PP child stand.up-CON come-PASTev
su-ma qïzar-xanï-ɣantï and the water became red
water-PCL3 be.red-TER-NARev
pu enik taʰs-ïŋ-qa hanï-ɣa yoq po-xanï-ɣantï
this cow outside-POS3-DAT go-CCO not.present become-TER-NARev
this cow went out and disappeared
ïşkï qïztar tuʰt-qa tiŋïrwaş-qa un-qʰanï-ɣantï
two girl hold-CCO top.of.heaven-DAT ascend-TER-NARev
the two girls got hold [of the rope] and climbed up to Heaven's top

[21] The resultative aktionsart *-har* is not attested in the older sources.

[22] Cf Schönig's term präliminar-finaltransformativ (1984: 37).

[23] The older sources incidentally attest clipped forms, e.g. *toqïra xanïp tïr* 'fell' (Malov 1967: 125), *uʰkutʰkʰanïp tïr* 'blew apart' (Léi 1992: 42b); elsewhere the elision of the converb -GA(*ş*) is suggested, e.g. *unkeʰnïptro* < *unkeş hanïpto* 'came out' (Tenišev 1976: 252).

6.3.5. The inceptive suffix (INC)

The aktionsart suffix -(*ï*)*wal* indicates an inceptive[24], usually with the connotation of an action performed to obtain or procure something for oneself. The -*w* has a strong rounding effect on a preceding vowel *a* or *ï*, e.g. ***alïwal=*** 'to take; to get' [*alʊwal*].

The suffix -(*ï*)*wal* most frequently occurs with verbs for 'to take', and emphasizes the initial transformative phase of such a verb, e.g. ***tuʰtïwal=*** 'to get hold of, to catch' (***tuʰt=*** 'to catch; to hold'), ***alïwal=*** 'to get, to procure' (***al=*** 'to take; to get'), ***alnïwal=*** 'to take along, to lift, to carry' (***alïn=***), ***tʰerïwal=*** 'to pick up' (***tʰer=*** 'to gather').

kunï tʰer-ïwal! pick it up! (DEM/ACC gather-INC)
sen nayʊ anï tuʰt-ïwal-ɣïş-i? how will you catch it?
you how that/ACC hold-INC-FUT-COP
o pïr kïʰçiɣ terik-tï çimi-wal-ïttï s/he pulled out a small tree
that one small tree-ACC pluck-INC-PASTev
sen yaʰş-qʊ qara-wal! you take a good look at it!
you good-ADV look-INC

The aktionsart suffix -(*ï*)*wal* also indicates a potential[25] 'can, possible, might', or, with a negation 'cannot, should not'.
kʊ kil-ïwal-ïştï s/he might come (DEM come-INC-FUTev)
kʊ kil-ïwal-ɣïmiştï s/he may not come (DEM come-INC-FUTNev)
tas niyor pezïk pu-sa-ma su-nï ayït-ïwal-mas
stone how big become-COND-PCL3 water block-INC-HABN
however big the stone, it cannot block up the water
ïşt-tïŋ iʰçikï-ş-ti aq yaɣ sal-ïwal-mas
dog-GEN intestines-IN-LOC white butter put-INC-HABN
one should not place white butter in a dog's intestines
pïr çïŋzï sur-ɣi eʰt-ïs-ïwal-ma-ɣa eni ki-ɣintï
one moment pursue-CCO arrive-REC-INC-NEG-CCO again come-NARev
s/he pursued [them] for a moment, but was unable to overtake them and came back again

6.3.6. The suffix of sudden or quick action (QUI)

The aktionsart suffix -*it* indicates a quick or sudden action. A stem final vowel *a* is elided, e.g. ***qaylit=*** 'to dash off' (***qayla=*** 'to run'). The suffix -*it* requires back vocalic suffixes to be attached[26].
kizitqan 'slipped (into a garment)' ***kiz=*** (*kizki*) 'to dress'
kʰïritqanta 'when entering suddenly' ***kʰïr=*** (*kʰïrɣi*) 'to enter'

[24] Historically, the aktionsart suffix -(*ï*)*wal* probably consists of the converb -(*ï*)*p* or -*ʊ* + the verb *al=* 'to take'. For an older example, cf e.g. *pïtïw alʁan* 'ended' (Malov 1967: 99).

[25] In Chén & Léi (1985: 109) the form is -(*y*)*al*; only this potential function is described.

[26] In Chén & Léi (1985: 108) the form is -(*y*)*etʰ*.

The suffix *-it* is lexicalized in ***qoyt=*** 'to rise quickly, suddenly' (***qoʰp=*** 'to rise'), and ***sayt=*** 'to quickly put, release' (***sal=*** 'to put, to release').

kʊ oʰqtaʰrqʊ qoyt-ïttï s/he got up suddenly, s/he jumped up
DEM suddenly rise/QUI-PASTev

The aktionsart suffix *-it* occurs with all kinds of action verbs, e.g. ***taʰrtit=*** 'to quickly pull' (***taʰrt=***), ***alnit=*** 'to grab' (***alïn=*** 'to take along').

menï tʰart-it! pull me out quickly! (me/ACC pull-QUI)

ïʂt menï tïsti-ɣi yazïr-it-ïttï the dog bit me and dashed off
dog me/ACC bite-CCO run-QUI-PASTev

6.3.7. The purpose suffix (PUR)

The aktionsart suffix -G*ïla* indicates a purpose of going, or an intention. It is attached to all kinds of action verbs.

mïzir yi-ɣïla-yn let's go to eat (we/PL eat-PUR-IMP1pl)

kʊ miça su ïʂ-kïla-ttï s/he went to have a drink of water
DEM little water drink-PUR-PASTev

anï tïli-ɣïla-ma-sa çï yoq-tï there is no option but to go looking for him/her
that/ACC look.for-PUR-NEG-COND option not.present-EV

kʰunsin taʰs-ïŋ-qa yaŋqïça yi-ɣïla-ɣaq-i-tï
every.day outside-POS3-DAT alone/ADV eat-PUR-HAB-COP-EV
every day s/he used to go out alone to eat

men taɣïn sukçi-ɣi par-ɣa miça tarïɣ al-ɣïla-ʂ
I tomorrow Sùzhōu-DAT go-CCO little grain take-PUR-FUT
tomorrow I will go to Sùzhōu to buy some grain

The purpose suffix may express the notion 'almost, nearly'.

o aɣïr-ɣan salïɣ-tï, yül-ɣïla-ttï s/he was very ill, s/he almost died
that be.ill-PP heavy-EV die-PUR-PASTev

6.3.8. The 'about to' construction

The combination of the future verbal noun suffix -G*ï* + the verb ***ti=*** 'to say' expresses the notion of 'to be about to, to be on the verge of' or 'to intend to'. The suffix -G*ï* occurs only in this construction[27].

mïz semen ïʂ-kï ti-ppar we are about to eat (we food eat-VNFUT say-PROG)

o çaŋ maŋ-qï ti-vtï s/he is just about to leave
that just walk-VNFUT say-PROGev

maŋ-ma, tiŋïr yaq-qï ti-vtï do not go, it is about to rain
walk-NEG sky rain-VNFUT say-PROGev

[27] Apart from this construction, the suffix -G*ï* occurs as a bound morpheme in the future tense suffix -G*ïmis* (see 6.1.2.), and in the future agent suffix -G*ïçï* (see 6.4.6.).

6.3.9. The tense auxiliary suffix (AUX)

The suffix *-ʊ* only occurs as a bound morpheme in combination with a number of verbal suffixes and verbal noun suffixes[28], but most frequently with -GA*n*. Its function is not entirely clear. The suffix *-ʊ* elides a stem final vowel *a* or *ï*, e.g. ***tʰayt-ʊ-ɣantï*** 'thrown away' (***tʰayta=*** 'to throw').

The suffix *-ʊ* combined with the narrative past -GA*n* expresses a perfect.
pïr ɕʰayiteyzï tʰayt-ʊ-ɣantï they had thrown away a tea bag
one tea.bag throw-AUX-NARev
meŋ kʰeln semen qʰantïr-ʊ-ma-ɣan my wife has never cooked
me/GEN wife food cook-AUX-NEG-NAR
ïʂkï uʂ yaʰs-ʊ-ɣan ɕʰi qozï a camel foal of two or three years of age
two three be.a.year.of.age-AUX-PP camel lamb
sen peɕiŋ-qa par-ʊ-ɣan mʊ? men par-ʊ-ma-ɣan
you Běijīng-DAT go-AUX-NAR Q I go-AUX-NEG-NAR
have you ever gone to Běijīng? I have never gone [there]

In the following instances, the use of *-ʊ* seems to indicate a progressive.
men muɣa kel-ʊ-ɣanta anï kïsï tuʰt-ïwal-ttï
I this/DAT come-AUX-CTMP that/ACC person hold-INC-PASTev
I was coming here when somebody caught him/her
kʊ puɣa ki-ɣï ti-ʊ-ɣanta men eʰt-ïp paʰr-tï
DEM this/DAT come-VNFUT say-AUX-CTMP I arrive-CON go-PAST
when s/he was about to come hither, I arrived

The present material also yields a few examples of *-ʊ* followed by the habitual -GAK.
kʰunsin mïntaqʊ-ɣaq-i-tï every day s/he used to do thus
every.day thus.do/AUX-HAB-COP-EV
antaqanta pu qʰan-la emen-la qarq-ïn-la nili-ʊ-ɣaq-i-tï
then this khan-PCL2 often-PCL2 nose-POS3ACC-PCL2 pinch-AUX-HAB-COP-EV
then this khan often used to pinch his nose

The present material also yields a few examples of *-ʊ* followed by the verbal noun suffix -MA[29].
eʰt-ʊ-ma ni-tï? what is it making sound? (make.sound-AUX-VN what-EV)
senïŋ kiz-ʊ-ma ɕʰïnsan-nï uz-ki ʂart-uʰt-ïttï
you/GEN wear-AUX-VN shirt-ACC rip-CCO cut.in.pieces-COM-PASTev
s/he teared the shirt you wore to tatters

[28] Historically, the suffix *-ʊ* is perhaps a crasis of the converb -A + the verb *pol=* 'to be, to become'. Chén & Léi only record examples of *-0* + -GA*n* (1985: 111); Malov has examples of *-0* + the past tense -(*ï*)*ptï*, e.g. *čoqï woptro* 'sat down' (1967: 108) besides *-0* + -GA*n*. Tenišev has an example of *-0* + conditional, *tiosa* 'if says' (1976: 246).

[29] An opposition is found between *ezert-pi* 'leader, chief' (lead-VN) and *ezert-o-ma* (Léi 1992: 29b) 'man servant' (lead-AUX-VN).

6.3.10. Interchangeability and combinatory properties

It seems that the choice of the aktionsart suffixes *-uʰt*, *-(ï)wat*, *-har*, *-hanï*, *-(ï)wal*, which specify a phase of the action, is to a large extent lexically determined: in the present material, only few verbs occur combined with more than one aktionsart suffix. Therefore, the terminology of the aktionsart suffixes used here must be considered tentative. The following observations can be made.

The completive suffix *-uʰt* and the finitive suffix *-(ï)wat* seem to be interchangeable in some verbs, e.g. ***soluʰt=*** ~ ***solïwat=*** 'to lock up', ***soʰt=*** ~ ***suwat=*** 'to put; to release'.

men iʰt-tï tʰul-uʰt-tï I have finished cooking the meat
I meat-ACC cook-COM-PAST
men iʰt-tï tʰul-ïwat-tï I have finished cooking the meat
I meat-ACC cook-COM-PAST
kʊ tïs-tï mïla suʰt-ïttï a child broke this pot
DEM pot-ACC child break/COM-PASTev
tïs-tï sï-wat-ïttï s/he broke the pot (pot-ACC break-FIN-PASTev)

The aktionsart suffixes *-uʰt*, *-(ï)wat*, *-(ï)wal* occur more often with transitive verbs, while the suffixes *-har*, *-hanï* occur more often with intransitive verbs. Compare:

tïs-tï yar-uʰt-ïttï s/he smashed the pot (pot-ACC smash-COM-PASTev)
tïs-tï sï-wat-ïttï s/he broke the pot (pot-ACC break-FIN-PASTev)
tïs sï-ŋ-qʰar-ttï the pot broke, is broken (pot break-RFL-RES-PASTev)

su-nï men tasï-t-uʰt-tï I spilled the water (water-ACC I spill-CAUS-COM-PAST)
su taʰsï-har-ttï the water spilled (water spill-RES-PASTev)

anïŋ sï-ŋ-qʰar-ɣan qol çuaşï aɣïr-vtï his/her broken arm is hurting awfully
that/GEN break-RFL-RES-PP arm very hurt-PRESev
anïŋ qol-ï aɣïr-vtï, sï-ŋ-qʰanï-ɣa his/her arm is hurting, as it has been broken
that/GEN arm-POS3 hurt-PRESev, break-RFL-TER-CCO
o sï-wat-qan qol-ï tançin-qʊ aɣïr-vtï the arm s/he broke is hurting awfully
that break-FIN-PP arm-POS3 serious-ADV hurt-PRESev
anïŋ sï-n-uʰt-qan qol çuaşï aɣïr-vtï his/her broken arm is hurting awfully
that/GEN break-RFL-COM-PP arm very hurt-PRESev

mïla-lar naɣʊ tïli-si-ma paʰtïr-ïwat-qan (~ ***paʰtïr-uʰt-qan***) ***qoɣ-nï taʰq-mintï***
child-PL how look.for-COND-PCL3 lose-FIN-PP (~ lose-COM-PP) sheep-ACC find-PASTNev
however much the children searched, they did not find the sheep they had lost
mïla-lar naɣï-sa-ma paʰt-qʰar-ɣan qoɣ-nï taʰq-mintï
child-PL what.do-COND-PCL3 be.lost-RES-PP sheep-ACC find-PASTNev
whatever the children did, they did not find the lost sheep

Aktionsart suffixes and auxiliary suffixes may combine with a number of finite and infinite suffixes (see the table below); furthermore, *-(ï)wal* may combine with the dubitative, *-it* and *-Gï tï=* with the simultaneous converb, and *-ʊ* with the verbal noun suffix -MA.

	CCO	NAR	PP	CTMP	PAST	IMP	NEG	FUT	COND	HAB	PROG
-uʰt	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
-(ï)wat	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
-har	x	x	x		x				x		
-hanï	x	x	x	x				x			
-(ï)wal	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x
-it	x	x	x	x	x	x					
-G*ïla*	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	
-G*ï ti=*	x	x									x
-ʊ	x	x	x	x			x			x	

Attested combinations of aktionsart and auxiliary suffixes with finite and infinite suffixes.

Aktionsart suffixes and auxiliary suffixes do not accumulate normally; however, the following combinations do occur.

The purpose suffix may follow the inceptive.
tʰer-ïwal-ɣïla-yn let me go gather for myself (gather-INC-PUR-IMP1sg)

The construction -G*ï ti=* 'about to' often occurs in combination with *-ʊ* + a present/past participle or a temporal converb -GA*nt*A.
senïŋ yüɣal-ɣï ti-ʊ-ɣan aq yü qayta par-i?
you/GEN rest-VNFUT say-AUX-PP white house where present-COP
where is your resting tent?
o puɣa kel-ɣï ti-ʊ-ɣanta-ya men eʰt-tï
that this/DAT come-VNFUT say-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 I arrive-PAST
when s/he was about to come hither, I arrived

Typical of Mīnghăi speech is the formation *-itʊɣa* for otherwise *-itqa*.
antaqanta ïşkï qïztar kizkï-nï al-n-it-ʊ-ɣa qayla-ɣantï
then two girl clothes-ACC take-RFL-QUI-AUX-CCO run-NARev
then the two girls grabbed [their] clothes and ran

Verbal compounds containing an aktionsart or auxiliary suffix are rare.
pu kʰeln-ï par-ɣan pu-sa taʰqï kuziɣï-sïn çula-wat-ïk ki-ştï
this wife-POS3 go-PP become-COND still husband-POS3ACC rescue-FIN-CON come-FUTev
if this wife of his would have gone, she could still have rescued her husband
uzï-nïŋ-kï-nï kʰuŋ-ïş-tin untïr-ïk kil-ʊ yerin-nïŋ-kï-nï şïrma-ş-tin untïr-ïk kil-ʊ-ɣantï
self-GEN-KI-ACC basket-IN-ABL take.out-CON come-CSIM man-GEN-KI-ACC
rubbish-IN-ABL take.out-CON come-AUX-NARev
while she took out hers from the basket, she took out [her] husband's from the rubbish

6.4. Participles

There are five participles in Western Yugur, to be distinguished according to tense and aspect: -GA*n* indicates the present/past, -GAK the habitual, *-ir* the future, and -(*ï*)*ppar* the progressive; -MA*s* functions as the negative habitual and future participle. -GA*n*, -GAK, -MA*s*, and -(*ï*)*ppar* are identical in form with the finite suffixes of the narrative past, the habitual, and the progressive respectively.

Participles are used adnominally to express a relative clause, or they may occur independently as a complement to the verb (as action nominals, subject and object participles). As nouns the participles can take case suffixes. However, Western Yugur participles do not occur with possessive or plural suffixes in the present material.

The subject of a participle is expressed analytically by a pronoun or noun in the unmarked case, or it may be omitted when understood from the context.

6.4.1. The present/past participle (PP)

The present/past participle is -GA*n*; the negation of the participle -GA*n* is formed on the basis of the negative verb (thus -MAɣA*n*).

The participle -GA*n* is used adnominally to express a present or past tense relative clause. In the following examples, the head noun is the subject of the participle.

pezï-ɣin qïz a grown-up girl (grow.up-PP girl)

sïz-ïq qʰa-ɣan kïta a swollen bump (swell-CON fall-PP bump)

emis eʰt-kin kïsï a person who made a mistake
mistake make-PP person

kunïŋ sï-ŋ-qʰar-ɣan qol aɣïr-ttï his/her broken arm hurt
DEM/GEN break-RFL-RES-PP arm hurt-PASTev

toqïra-hanï-ɣan mïla qo-k ki-ttï the child that had fallen stood up
fall-TER-PP child stand.up-CON come-PASTev

miça taʰqaɣï oʰsïrïq-tï ïsta-q qʰa-ɣan tas
small chicken fart-ACC resemble-CON fall-PP stone
a small stone resembling a chicken's egg (i.e. a definition of a pebble)

In the following examples, the head noun is not the subject of the participle -GA*n*. When the subject is generic ('they, one'), the participle -GA*n* can be translated as a passive.

yör-ɣin ʂaz braided hair (braid-PP hair)

ezert-kin mïla an adopted child (lead-PP child)

ʂoɣïl-ɣin kʰenzï baked buns (bake-PP bun)

sen olïr-ɣan yü qayta par-i? where is the house you live in?
you stay-PP house where present-COP

kuziɣï yoq pu-ɣan kʰempiʂ a woman whose husband has died, widow
husband not.present become-PP woman

törtiŋ taqa-nï qïʰqïr-ɣan lomaq the story of inviting Uncle Wolf
wolf maternal.uncle-ACC invite-PP story

saqï-ɣan kïsï yaʰş — a person one has waited for is good
wait-PP person good
kïsï-nïŋ yi-ɣin tïmsïɣ imsaq — the mouth of somebody one eats from is soft
person eat-PP mouth soft

The present/past participle -GA*n* functions as an action nominal of present and past actions.
men qayla-ɣan oy — I run fast (I run-PP fast)
kʊ qayla-ɣan oy-tï — s/he runs fast (DEM run-PP fast-EV)
o qayla-ɣan oy muli-tï — s/he runs very fast (that run-PP fast very-EV)
kʊ su ïş-kin tançin oy-tï — s/he drinks water very quick
DEM water drink-PP extremely fast-EV
o anï kör-ɣin lap-tï — s/he certainly saw him/her
that that/ACC see-PP certain-EV
kïsï uzï-mi-ɣin kʊyoq-tï — that a person does not sleep is impossible
person sleep-NEG-PP impossible-EV
o aɣïr-ɣan po-ştï — s/he may be ill, maybe s/he is ill
that be.ill-PP become-FUTev
saɣa qʰarʊ tïz-ɣan kiş pol-ɣan — it has been a long time since I wrote you a letter
you/DAT letter write-PP late become-NAR
o anïŋ pïʰçaq-ïn paʰtïr-ïwat-qan po-ştï
that that/GEN knife-POS3ACC lose-FIN-PP become-FUTev
s/he probably lost his/her knife (lit. it is probable that s/he lost his/her knife)
kʊ aɣïr-ɣan pïr kʰun pïr kʰun-tin salïɣ po-ttï
DEM be.ill-PP one day one day-ABL heavy become-PASTev
from day to day, s/he became more ill

kʊ tʰoɣïn ki-ɣin-nï men pïl-ɣïş — I know s/he came yesterday
DEM yesterday come-PP-ACC I know-FUT
kʰïm sen cʰunzï-ɣa par-ɣan-nï köʰr-tï? — who saw that you went to the village?[30]
who you village-DAT go-PP-ACC see-PAST
o semen ïş-kin-tin toɣïr nimi tuʰt-pas pïrmi-tï
that food eat-PP-ABL other thing do-PN somebody-EV
s/he is somebody who does no other thing than eating

There are a few examples in which the participle -GA*n* functions as a subject or object participle.
yiŋ pʰornta maɣa ti-ɣin-la kʊ-tï — it was s/he who told me first
SUP before me/DAT say-PP-PCL2 DEM-EV
sen çïta-ɣan-nï men-ma çïta-ş — what you can do, I can do too
you can-PP-ACC I-PCL3 can-FUT
antaqanta pu içï pu ço-ş-ti olïr-ɣan-qa, yil kör-mi-ɣin-ki ti-ʊtï
then this always this cellar-IN-LOC stay-PP-DAT wind see-NEG-PP-DAT say-PROGev
then s/he is telling him/her who had always stayed in this cellar, who had not seen the wind

[30] A double accusative is used here by some speakers (see 7.6.).

6.4.1.1. Converbs based on the present/past participle (CTMP)

The participle -GA*n* + locative case suffix, -GA*nt*A, functions as a temporal converb 'when'. Usually, but not always, the subject of this subordinate temporal clause is different from that of the main clause. The temporal converb is lexicalized in ***antaqanta*** 'then' (see 5.3.).

tarïɣ pïs-kinti mïz yi-ynï let us eat when we have cooked the grain
grain cook-CTMP we eat-IMP1pl

uzï-ɣanta-ya yiŋïr po-ɣanta pïr törtiŋ anika-nï yi-ɣïla ki-ɣintï
sleep-CTMP-PCL1 evening become-CTMP one wolf old.woman-ACC eat-CPUR come-NARev
when she slept and it became evening, a wolf came to eat the old woman

The participle -GA*n* + the adverbial suffix -*ɕa* (see 4.5.4.) forms a conbverb functioning as an adverb of manner 'by means of, by way of'. The present material yields only one example.

sen qayla-ɣan-ɕa par you go by means of running (you run-PP-ADV go)

The present/past participle -G*an* furthermore forms the base of the following compound temporal converbs: -GA*n*(*nïŋ*) *arata* 'just as, just at the moment when' (-GA*n* (+ the genitive case -*nïŋ*) + the spatial noun ***ara*** 'the space between' + the locative case -*ta*), -GA*nnïŋ pʰornta* 'before' (-GA*n* + the genitive case -*nïŋ* + the adverb ***pʰornta*** 'before') (see 7.1.2.), and -GA*nt*A*n pʰorn* 'before' (-GA*n* + the ablative case -*t*A*n* + the postposition ***pʰorn*** 'before') (see 5.9.).

6.4.2. The habitual participle (PHAB)

The habitual participle is -GAK. It occurs only adnominally to express a habitual relative clause, of which the head noun is the subject of the participle.

sözti-v ɣata-ɣaq kïsï a person who is unable to speak
speak-CSIM cannot-PHAB person

meŋ-kï-ti pïr kïsï yi-ɣik yiɣït par in my house is a man-eating young man
me/GEN-KI-LOC one person eat-PHAB young.man present

6.4.3. The future participle (PFUT)

The future participle is -*ir*; it elides a stem final vowel. The participle -*ir* occurs adnominally to express an intention or purpose of the head noun. For an alternative construction with the future agent -G*ïɕï*, see 6.4.6.

par-ir kïsï yoq-tï there is no one to go, nobody will go
go-PFUT person not.present-EV

The participle *-ir* functions as a supine to denote a purpose of the head noun.

koɣa yol maŋ-ir menik par u-sa kʊ ki-ʂtï

DEM/DAT road walk-PFUT money present become-COND DEM come-FUTev

if s/he has the money to travel, s/he will come

sen qaɣl-ir sat-qa eʰt-ïttï it has become time you run

you run-PFUT time-DAT arrive-PASTev

In this function, the participle *-ir* may alternate with the verbal noun -MA. Compare:

yüɣal-ir (~ ***yüɣal-ma***) ***aq yü*** a tent to rest, a tent for resting, a resting tent

rest-PFUT (~ rest-VN) white house

yaɣmïr yaɣ-ir sat-qa eʰt-kinti yaɣmïr yaq-qïʂtï

rain rain-PFUT time-DAT arrive-CTMP rain rain-FUTev

during the rainy time, it will rain

yaɣmïr yaɣ-ma kʰun-nir-ti yaɣmïr yaq-qïʂtï

rain rain-VN day-PL-LOC rain rain-FUTev

during the rainy days, it will rain

The participle *-ir* functions as an action nominal of future actions and general states.

uz-ir-ma kʰerik, iʰç-ir-ma kʰerik

sleep-PFUT-PCL3 necessary drink-PFUT-PCL3 necessary

sleeping (to sleep) is necessary and drinking (to drink) is necessary too

o kel-ir pol-ɣan s/he almost came

that come-PFUT become-NAR

kʊ taɣïn kel-ir-nï men pïl-ɣïʂ I know s/he will come tomorrow

DEM tomorrow come-PFUT-ACC I know-FUT

pïrsï amsa seɣ oʰqa-l-ir-tan qoʰrq-qa

one/POS3 anyway vegetable smell-RFL-PFUT-ABL fear-CON4

because, anyway, one of them feared the smell of vegetables

The dative case of the participle *-ir* functions as a supine, expressing the purpose of an action. For an alternative construction with the postposition ***polɣa*** 'in order to', see 5.9.

sen pez-ir-ɣi semen ïʂ-kïʂtï in order to grow you must eat

you grow-PFUT-DAT food eat-FUTev

pu tʰuŋzï-nï ni-ɣi ims-vtï? su al-ir-ɣa ims-vtï

this bucket-ACC what-DAT use-PROGev water take-PFUT-DAT use-PROGev

what is s/he using this bucket for? s/he is using it for fetching water

The future participle *-ir* furthermore forms the base of the compound converb *-irtAn* *pʰorn* 'before' (*-ir* + the ablative case *-tAn* + the postposition ***pʰorn*** 'before') (see 5.9).

6.4.4. The negative habitual and future participle (PN)

The negative habitual and future participle is -MA*s*. It occurs only adnominally, to express a relative clause negating a habitual or future state or action. In the following example, the head noun is the subject of the participle.

o semen ïş-kin-tin toɣïr nimi tuʰt-pas pïrmi-tï
that food eat-PP-ABL other thing do-PN somebody-EV
s/he is somebody who does no thing other than eating

In the following examples, the head noun is not the subject of the participle -MA*s*. When the subject is generic ('they, one'), the negative participle can be translated as a passive.

o pïl-mis panfa a method s/he will not know (that know-PN method)
pïr köz kör-mis aʰka a monk whose eyes cannot see, a blind monk
one eye see-PN monk
pïr pïl-mis amïrtan an animal one cannot know, an unknown animal
one know-PN animal
pïr antaɣ tanï-mas amïrtan
one that/EQU recognize-PN animal
such an animal one cannot recognize, such an unrecognizable animal

6.4.5. The progressive participle

The material yields two examples in which the finite progressive suffix -(*ï*)*ppar*, etymologically consisting of the converb -(*ï*)*p* and the noun ***par*** 'present', is used as a progressive action nominal.

kʊ qayta olïr-ïppar-nï sen pïl-ɣïş mi?
DEM where stay-PROG-ACC you know-FUT Q
do you know where s/he is living?
kʊ qayta olïr-ïppar-nï men pïl-ïn saqïn-atï
DEM where stay-PROG-ACC I know-IMP1sg think-DUB
I would like to know where s/he is living

6.5. Deverbal verb suffixes

Deverbal verb suffixes include the suffixes of diathesis and the negative verb suffix. Though the meaning of the diathesis suffixes is often transparent (e.g. ***qayla=*** 'to run', causative ***qaylat=*** 'to cause to run', reciprocal ***qaylas=*** 'to run together') many idiosyncracies do occur, such as the absence of the simplex stem[31] (e.g. ***paŋnas=*** 'to help'), or unpredictable semantics. Therefore, these suffixes belong to the derivational, rather than the inflectional part of the grammar. The suffixes of diathesis may accumulate.

[31] For verbs that in the present material only occur in derived forms (e.g. *ɋowat=* 'to thank'), reference to an otherwise confirmed simplex form will be made in the vocabulary section.

6.5.1. Causative/transitive suffixes (CAUS)

Western Yugur contains a number of causative/transitive suffixes, most of which are not productive, except for *-t* and to some extent *-tïr*. The causative/transitive suffixes cover several functions: causative, transitive, permissive, intensive.

The suffix *-t* is affixed to verbs ending in a vowel, e.g. ***pezït***= 'to raise' (***pezï***= 'to grow up'), ***tuʰkit***= 'to put an end to' (***tuʰki***= 'to come to an end'), ***tïrlït***= 'to revive (somebody)' (***tïrlï***= 'to revive'), ***ɕowat***= 'to thank'. The suffix *-t* is also affixed to verbs ending in *-r*, e.g. ***olïrt***= 'to let stay' (***olïr***= 'to stay'), ***ezert***= 'to lead' (***ezer***= 'to follow').

The suffix *-tïr* occurs in e.g. ***mantïr***= 'to put on' (***man***= 'to wear'), ***maŋtïr***= 'to cause to go; to drive (a car)' (***maŋ***= 'to walk'), ***qʰaltïr***= 'to drop' (***qʰal***= 'to fall'), ***untïr***= 'to take out' (***un***= 'to come out'), ***pïltïr***= 'to let know' (***pïl***= 'to know'), ***pʰertïr***= 'to cause to beat' (***pʰer***= 'to beat'), ***titïr***= 'to cause to say' (***ti***= 'to say'), ***yantïr***= 'to vomit' (***yan***= 'to vomit'), ***aɣïttïr***= 'to bring to a stop' (***aɣït***= 'to come to a stop'), ***tʰatïr***= 'to let guess' (***tʰa***= 'to guess'), ***tʰamtïr***= 'to set fire to', ***qʰantïr***= 'to cook'.

Petrified causative/transitive suffixes are:

-ït: ***uʰkït***= 'to frighten, to scare' (***uʰk***= 'to be frightened'), ***qoʰrqït***= 'to threaten' (***qoʰrq***= 'to be afraid'), ***köʰkït***= 'to show'.

-ïr: ***paʰtïr***= 'to lose' (***paʰt***= 'to become lost'), ***toɣïr***= 'to let give birth' (***toɣ***= 'to be born; to give birth'), ***yülïr***= 'to kill' (***yül***= 'to die'), ***iʰɕir***= 'to give to drink' (***ïʂ***= 'to drink'), ***tusïr***= 'to make descend' (***tus***= 'to descend'), ***yaʰsïr***= 'to hide (somebody)' (***yaʰs***= 'to hide (oneself)'), ***sïŋïr***= 'to swallow'.

-ïs: ***yimïs***= 'to suckle' (***yim***= 'to suck').

-Gïr: ***eʰtkïr***= 'to cause to arrive' (***eʰt***= 'to arrive'), ***tʰozɣïr***= 'to fill'.

-ar: ***qowar***= 'to erect' (***qoʰp***= 'to rise'), ***yüntar***= 'to bring together' (***yümït***= 'to come together').

The following causative/transitive formations have a corresponding reflexive/detransitive, but no simplex stem: ***uzɣar***= 'to cause to wake up, to wake someone up' (***uzɣan***= 'to wake up'), ***yörɣit***= 'to teach' (***yörɣin***= 'to learn').

In the following words, the causative/causative suffix *-t* fuctions as an intensive: ***aʰsïrt***= 'to sneeze', ***kikïrt***= 'to belch', ***pʰoqïrt***= 'to jump' (***pʰoqïr***=), ***surt***= 'to smear'.

6.5.2. The reflexive/detransitive suffixes (RFL)

The reflexive suffixes are *-(ï)n*, *-Lï*, and *-(ï)l*; they express an action pertaining to oneself, e.g. ***alïn***= 'to take along' (***al***= 'to take'), or may function as a detransitivizer, e.g. ***sïn***= 'to break, to become broken' (***sï***= 'to break (something)'); ***aŋnal***= 'to be audible' (***anna***= 'to hear'). There are a few instances in which the suffixes *-Lï*[32] and *-l* can be translated by a passive, e.g. ***tiolal***= 'to be hoisted' (***tiola***= 'to hoist (something)'), ***soqïl***= 'to be constructed' (***soq***= 'to construct').

The suffix *-l* follows vowels, e.g. ***oʰqal***= 'to smell' (***oʰqa***= 'to smell something'), ***pʰiolal***= 'to float', ***yolal***= 'to show off', ***ɕaʰstal***= 'to shine'.

[32] Both suffixes have historically developed from the passive suffix *-(ï)l*.

The petrified suffix -L*ï* occurs in ***aʰṣtï***= 'of the sky to become clear' (***aʰṣ***= 'to open'), ***aʰsïrlï***= 'to trip' (***aʰsïr***= 'to overturn'), ***azïrlï***= 'to divide' (***azïr***= 'to divide'), ***yörlï***= 'to turn (oneself) around'), ***tïrlï***= 'to revive'.

The suffix -(*ï*)*n* also occurs in e.g. ***söyn***= 'to be happy', ***yaqïn***= 'to cover', ***saqïn***= 'to think'.

The following reflexive formations have a corresponding causative/transitive, but no simplex: ***yörɣin***= 'to learn' (***yörɣit***= 'to teach'), ***uzɣan***= 'to wake up, to become awake' (***uzɣar***= 'to wake up somebody').

6.5.3. The reciprocal suffix (REC)

The reciprocal suffix, -(*ï*)s-, expresses mutual action, e.g. ***yilɣas***= 'to cry together' (***yilɣa***= 'to cry'), ***qaylas***= 'to run together' (***qayla***= 'to run'), ***poztas***= 'to moo together', or an action pertaining to one another, e.g. ***oʰqas***= 'to smell at one another' (***oʰqa***= 'to smell').

Further examples are: ***aʰtïs***= 'to make war' (***aʰt***= 'to shoot'), ***eʰtïs***= 'to overtake' (***eʰt***= 'to arrive'), ***pʰerïs***= 'to fight' (***pʰer***= 'to beat'), ***tis***= 'to discuss' (***ti***= 'to say'), ***as***= 'to exchange' (***al***= 'to take'), ***ulis***= 'to share' (***uli***= 'to share'), ***ïstas***= 'to resemble one another, to equal' (***ïsta***= 'to resemble'), ***tʰuktis***= 'to meet with', ***paŋnas***= 'to help'.

6.5.4. Accumulation of diathesis suffixes

Accumulation of the diathesis suffixes occurs in e.g. ***antïr***= 'to cause to take along' (causative of ***alïn***= ~ ***an***= 'to take along', reflexive of ***al***= 'to take'), ***aʰsïrlï***= 'to trip, to fall', (reflexive of ***aʰsïr***= 'to turn open; to overturn', causative of ***aʰs***= 'to pass'), ***tïrlït***= 'to cause to revive' (causative of ***tïrlï***= 'to revive' (a reflexive formation)).

In the following instances the reciprocal suffix -(*ï*)s is followed by the causative/transitive suffix -*tïr* (functioning as an intensive) to express the notion of 'a bit, around': ***qarastïr***= 'to look a bit, to browse' (***qara***= 'to look'), ***teɣïstïr***= 'to feel around a bit, to grope' (***teɣ***= 'to touch'), ***yüstïr***= 'to wash a bit' (***yü***= 'to wash'), ***ṣartïstïr***= 'to cut up a bit' (***ṣart***= 'to break to bits').

6.5.5 The negative verb suffix (NEG)

The negative verb suffix -MA immediately follows the (extended) root. It forms a negative verb, and occurs with the imperative, the past tense -(ʰ)*tï*, the narrative past -GA*n*, the conditional -*s*A, the converb -GA, and the participle -GA*n*. Elsewhere, negation is incorporated into a portmanteau suffix. The verb ***ɕïta***= 'can, to be able' is negated by means of the verb ***yata***= 'cannot, to be unable'.

tuʰt-ma!	don't! do not do it! (hold-NEG)
kör-mi-ʰtï	I did not see (see-NEG-PAST)
taʰq-pa-ɣantï	did not find (find-NEG-NARev)
suz-mi-si	if it does not butt (butt-NEG-COND)

6.6. Verbal noun suffixes

The verbal noun suffix -MA is the most productive verbal noun suffix; it displays a wide array of functions and is in the process of usurping the functions of several other suffixes. The verbal noun suffix -G*ïçï* occurs with some frequency. Most of the other verbal nouns are more restricted in their use and do not seem to be productive.

6.6.1. The verbal noun suffix -MA (VN)

The most productive verbal noun suffix in Western Yugur is -MA[33]. Older speakers observe consonant assimilation of -M, but younger speakers often do not, e.g. ***yiz soqpa*** ~ ***yiz soqma*** 'weaver' (fabric beat-VN).

The suffix -MA forms nouns indicating professions and agents, e.g. ***ezertpi*** 'leader' (***ezert=*** 'to lead'), ***satpa*** 'merchant' (***sat=*** 'to sell') It replaces the agent suffix -*çï* (see 4.5.2.). Often the verbal noun takes an object.

temïr soq-pa	smith (iron beat-VN) (for ***temïrçï***)
yiz soq-pa	weaver (fabric beat-VN)
mal qara-ma	herdsman (livestock look-VN) (for ***malçï***)
mal oʰqar-ma	herdsman (livestock pasture-VN) (for ***malçï***)
yiz tïʰk-pi	tailor (fabric sew-VN)
kim qara-ma	doctor (disease look-VN)[34]
yer tar-ma	farmer (land cultivate-VN)
örçi sat-pa	merchant (thing sell-VN)
qayma sat-pa	whore (cunt sell-VN)
ïs tuʰt-pa	worker (work hold-VN)
yikʰï qʰaqʰta-ma	lazybones (rib dry-VN)

The suffix -MA forms nouns indicating an object, implement, or action, e.g. ***tïzma*** 'writer; pen; the act of writing' (***tïz=*** 'to write'), ***küʰtïrmi*** 'carrying belt' (***küʰtïr=*** 'to carry'), ***yörmi*** 'braid' (***yör=*** 'to braid'), ***şïrtimi*** 'charm, spell' (***şïrti=*** 'to curse'), ***pʰoqïrma*** 'dance; dancing' (***pʰoqïr=*** 'to dance'). These nouns may also occur with an object.

oʰt yaz-ma	straw mat (grass spread-VN)
paş yü-ma	shampoo (head wash-VN)

The suffix -MA is also used adnominally, and again may take an object.

yerla-ma kïsï	singer (sing-VN person)
pïʰtïɣ yörɣin-mi mïla-lir	students (book study-VN child-PL)
yiz tïʰk-pi kïsï	tailor (fabric sew-VN person)
sïk qara-ma kïsï	guard (door look-VN person)
ïs tuʰt-ma yer	working place (work do-VN place)
temïr soq-pa yü	forge, smithy (iron beat-VN house)

[33] A similar suffix -*m*A occurs in Eastern Yugur (cf Ǔuunast 1981: 37).

[34] Replacing the older form *emçl* (cf Léi 1992: 26a).

The suffix -MA functions as a supine, replacing the future participle *-ir* (see 6.4.3.).

yaʰs-ma yer	hiding place, a place to hide (hide-VN place)
kʰaŋ-qa yaz-ma sizï	a mat to spread on the kang (kang-DAT spread-VN mat)
yaɣmïr yaɣ-ma kʰun-nir-ti	during the rainy days (rain rain-VN day-PL-LOC)

6.4.6. The future agent suffix (VNAG)

The future agent suffix -G*ïçï* indicates a future action of an agent. It is lexicalized in ***qʰolqïçï*** 'beggar' (***qʰol=*** 'to beg of, to ask for').

The suffix -G*ïçï* occurs adnominally to express a purpose of the head noun. For an alternative construction with the future participle *-ir*, see 6.4.3.

<u>par-ɣïçï</u> kïsï yoq-tï	there is no one to go, nobody will go
go-VNAG person not.present-EV	
pu pïʰtïɣ-nï <u>al-ɣïçï</u> kïsï par mʊ?	are there people who will buy this book?
this book-ACC take-VNAG person present Q	

The suffix -G*ïçï* occurs in collocation with the verb ***pol=*** 'to become, to be' to express the notion 'to feign to, to pretend to'.

qara-ɣïçï pol=	to pretend to look (look-VNAG become)
maŋ-qïçï pol=	to pretend to go (walk-VNAG become)

6.4.3. Remaining verbal noun suffixes

The verbal noun suffix -(G*ï*)*ş* forms mostly instruments: ***tuʰtqïş*** 'potholder; chop sticks' (***tuʰt=*** 'to hold'), ***taʰrtqïş*** 'scales' (***taʰrt=*** 'to pull, to weigh'), ***ïşkïş*** 'beverage, food' (***ïş=*** 'to drink'), ***yiş*** 'food' (***yi=*** 'to eat'), ***yüş*** 'cleaning towel' (***yü=*** 'to wash'), ***portaş*** 'fodder' (***porta=*** 'to feed'), ***pʰutiş*** 'flute' (***pʰuti=*** 'to whistle').

The verbal noun suffix -(*a*)*çan* occurs in three instances: ***qoʰrqaçan*** 'who fears too much' (***qoʰrq=*** 'to fear'), ***yüataçan*** 'who is too shy' (***yüat=*** 'to be shy'), ***lotïçan*** 'who talks too much, chatterbox' (***lotïla=*** 'to chatter').

Other, petrified verbal noun suffixes are:

-(*ï*)*ɣ* (forming adjectives and substantives): ***açïɣ*** 'bitter, sharp' (***açï=*** 'to be worried'), ***ïsïɣ*** 'warm' (***ïsï=*** 'to be warm'), ***örliɣ*** 'high' (***örli=*** 'to stand'), ***pïsïɣ*** 'boiled; ripe' (***pïs=*** 'to boil; to be ripe'), ***tatïɣ*** 'tasty, sweet' (***tatï=*** 'to taste'), ***yülïɣ*** 'dead' (***yül=*** 'to die'), ***tïrïɣ*** 'alive' (related to ***tïrlï=*** 'to revive'), ***taʰrtïɣ*** 'rope' (***taʰrt=*** 'to pull'), ***tarïɣ*** 'grain' (***tar=*** 'to sow'), ***yimïɣ*** 'breast' (***yim=*** 'to suck'), ***pïʰtïɣ*** 'book', ***qaʰtïɣ*** 'hard'.

-kï: ***kizkï*** 'clothes' (***kiz=*** 'to dress').

-(*ï*)K: ***pezïk*** 'big' (***pezï=*** 'to be big'), ***yütïrïk*** 'cough' (***yütïr=*** 'to cough'), ***qʰalaq*** 'eyelid, blinker' (***qʰala=*** 'to cover'), ***sïtïk*** 'urine', ***tʰelk*** 'hole', ***oʰsïrïq*** 'fart'.

-(*ï*)*m*: ***alïm*** 'debt' (***al=*** 'to take'), ***manïm*** 'part of a dress' (***man=*** 'to wear').

-maq: ***tʰazmaq*** 'riddle', ***yazmaq*** 'pancake' (***yaz=*** 'to spread').

-ɣaq: ***orɣaq*** 'sickle' (***or=*** 'to harvest').

-ek: ***pʰekek*** 'hunchback' (***pʰek=*** 'to bend').

-çïq: ***yaqïnçïq*** 'blanket' (***yaqïn=*** 'to cover with a blanket').

7. Syntax

7.1. Internal organization of the noun phrase

Noun phrases are structured according to the principle that a modifier precedes the head noun. There is no agreement between demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, and the following head noun.

The general order of elements within the noun phrase is presented below. A qualifying genitive or attributive noun occurs before anything else; these may be qualified by other nouns in their turn.

noun-KI
demonstrative numeral adjective head
noun-GEN

Adjective + substantive:

ʂar tʰaqaɣï	a meagre chicken
miʂa qoʰqaʂ	a small bird
eʰrkik ïʂt	a male dog
tïsï aʰt	a female horse
ʂiki ʂar poz	a slender, meagre body
kïsï-lïɣ yer	an inhabited place (person-ADJ place)

Adjective constructions with ***yoq*** 'not present, without, -less':

ana yoq ʂat	a motherless calf (mother not.present calf)
ana-ŋ yoq mïla	a motherless child (mother-POS1/2 not.present child)

Numeral + substantive:

uʂ qïz	three girls (three girl)
saqïs-yiɣïrmï ʂozï	eighteen sedans (eight-twenty sedan)
naqï pïr ʂazï	yonder one family

Numeral + measure noun + substantive:

pïr poʰqʂa kükiʂkïn	a bag full of pigeons (one bag pigeon)
pïr pʰɛnzï iʰt	a plate of meat (one plate meat)
pïr arkan qʰan	a chest full of blood (one chest blood)
pïr tïp halɣar	a pad of dung (one pad dung)
pïr tuan ʂïʂɛn	a period of time (one period time)
pïr tueɣ aʰt	a pair of horses (one pair horse)

Incidentally, Chinese classifiers occur in Western Yugur, especially when following a Chinese numeral and preceding a noun of Chinese etymology.

pïr tuo xuar	a flower (one piece flower)
pïr tʰio yür	a fish (one twig fish)

ʂï pa kï ço (~ *saqïs-yiɣïrmï ço*) eighteen sedans
ten eight piece sedan (~ eight-twenty sedan)
liaŋ kï tioçɛn (~ *ïʂkï tioçɛn*) two conditions
two piece condition (~ two condition)

An unusual construction occurs in the following idioms, in which a head noun is followed by a modifier. These idioms probably arose from a predicate sentence.

yaʰs-kïʰçiɣ erin	a young man (age-small man)
iʰçikï-pezïk	pregnant (belly-big)
pu kïsï unkin-zïq-tï	this person is ugly (this person exterior-bad-EV)
pïr yaʰs-emis, zïq yotal	a poorly done, bad job (one good-is.not bad job)
pu qatïn-ï köŋïl-yüs-i-tï	this wife of his was bad-natured

this wife-POS3 heart-bad-COP-EV

When a noun is qualified by another substantive, a genitive suffix is attached to the qualifying noun; a third person possessive suffix may be attached to the head noun but is not obligatory.

taʰqaɣï-nïŋ yüŋ	the feather of a chicken (chicken-GEN feather)
ana-nïŋ qoyn-ta	at mother's bosom (mother-GEN bosom-LOC)
köz-tïŋ yaʰs	a tear of the eye (eye-GEN tear)
köz-tïŋ qaraq-ï	the pupil of the eye (eye-GEN pupil-POS3)
mal-lïr-nïŋ aʰrq-ï	the shit of livestock (livestock-PL-GEN shit-POS3)

Compounds are formed by juxtaposing nouns in the unmarked case[1].

qïzaqa	elder sister (*qïz* 'girl', *aqa* 'elder brother')
su qïzïɣ	water side (water side)
pïʂt aʰrq	nit (louse shit)
qarq tʰelk	nostril (nose hole)
soqpa kïltïŋ	gruel (barley broth)

Especially when calquing nouns from Chinese, compound constructions, rather than genitive construction are used, as in e.g. the following nonce loans.

sarïɣ ʂïyan törtiŋ	weasel (yellow mouse wolf) ←Ch huángshǔláng (huáng 'yellow', shǔ 'mouse', láng 'wolf')
ot yiltïs	spark (fire star) ←Ch huǒxīng (huǒ 'fire', xīng 'star')

Speakers alternate between compounding and using a genitive construction. Compare:

çiɣin intaq	donkey dung (donkey equine.dung)
aʰt-tïŋ intaq-ï	dung of the horse, horse dung (horse-GEN equine.dung-POS3)
qoy azaq	sheep's foot (sheep foot)
qoy-nïŋ put	leg of a sheep, sheep's leg (sheep-GEN leg)
qïz kizkï	women's clothes (girl clothes)
kʰempiʂ-tïŋ kizkï	clothes of a woman, women's clothes (woman-GEN clothes)
terik lawïr	the leaf of a tree (tree leaf)
terik-tïŋ lawïr-ï	the leaf of a tree (tree-GEN leaf-POS3)

[1] The construction N + N-POS, common in Turkic languages, does not occur in Western Yugur.

Some examples of multiple modifiers:
kïsï-nïŋ pïr yikʰï-sï one rib of the person
person-GEN one rib-POS3
mïla-nïŋ pu toqïr nimi-sïn this round thing of the child
child-GEN this round thing-POS3ACC
inaq-tïŋ aʰltïr-ïŋ-ta-qï toqïr aq nimi the round, white thing under the blanket
blanket-GEN underside-POS3-LOC-KI round white thing
pezïk kuan-nïŋ aʰltïr-ïn-ta-qï miça kuan a petty official under the big official
big official-GEN underside-POS3-LOC-KI little official

Some exceptions in the order of elements do occur.
pïr kïʰçiq qïz-tïŋ aʰtimaq one little finger of the little girl
one small girl-GEN little.finger

In spatial noun constructions (see 7.1.2.), no other nouns occur between the spatial noun and the preceding qualifying substantive.
ku uş tʰaɣ-nïŋ üsïn-ti on top of those three mountains
DEM three mountain-GEN upside/POS3-LOC
pu yüɛnwey-nïŋ sïk-tïŋ uʰtïr-ïn-ta in front of the door of this official
this official-GEN door-GEN frontside-POS3-LOC
tïs-tïŋ qʰapaq-tïŋ üsïn-ti on top of the lid of the cauldron
cauldron-GEN lid-GEN upside/POS3-LOC

Nouns that round up an enumeration follow the head noun.
kumpinso, aʰltïmso, çorɣawaş uş kïsï
Kumbinso Altımso Chorgawash three person
Kumbinso, Altımso and Chorgawash, these three (the three of them)
pu cona, şïɣan, şorɣïʰlçïn, mïla xosï-ɣa pu sïk qara-ma kïsï-ɣi antaɣ ti-ɣintï
this wasp mouse ant boy all-PCL1 this door look-VN person-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
then these wasps, mouse, ants, and boy all said thus to this guard

7.1.2. The spatial noun phrase

The spatial nouns are ***üzi*** 'upside', ***aʰltïr*** 'underside', ***uʰtïr*** 'frontside', ***art*** 'backside', ***ïş*** 'inside', ***tas*** 'outside', ***ara*** 'the space between', ***oʰrta*** 'middle', ***yan*** 'side', and ***qaʰt*** 'side'. The obsolescent spatial noun ***pʰorn*** 'front' now mainly occurs as a postposition 'before' (see 5.9.), or as an adverb ***pʰornta*** 'before', ***pʰornïŋqa*** 'in front, ahead' (see 5.8.).

When suffixed with a dative, locative or ablative case suffix, spatial nouns function as adverbs of space.
uʰtïr-ta pïr tʰaɣ par-i-tï there is a mountain in front
frontside-LOC one mountain present-is-EV
sunçaŋ anïŋ kʰeln-ï taʰs-qa yazïr-it-ïttï titï
chief that/GEN wife-POS3 outside-DAT run-QUI-PASTev say/DUB
the chief said that his wife had run away (lit. to the outside)

The spatial nouns are also employed to specify the the spatial dimensions of the dative, locative or ablative case of other nouns. The spatial nouns are qualified by a noun in the genitive case and take a third person possessive, followed by a dative, locative, or ablative suffix.

inaq-tïŋ aʰltïr-ïŋ-qa	under the blanket (blanket-GEN underside-POS3-DAT)
lou-nïŋ üsïn-ti	on top of the building (building-GEN upside/POS3-LOC)
su-nïŋ iʰç-in-tin	from within the water (water-GEN inside-POS3-ABL)
ïşkï-nïŋ oʰrta-sïn-ta	between the two (two-GEN middle-POS3-LOC)

The spatial noun *ïş* 'inside' currently occurs more often as a clitic (see 4.4.1.) than in a spatial noun construction.

Incidentally, a spatial noun is preceded by a qualifying noun in the unmarked case, or occurs without a third person possessive; these clipped constructions tend to be limited to figurative expressions.

kïsï-nïŋ uʰtïr-ta	in the face of person (person frontside-LOC)
sïk art-ta	stealthily (lit. behind the door) (door behind-LOC)
qʰan aʰltïr-ïn-ta-qï yüɛnwey	an official under the khan

khan underside-POS3-LOC-KI official

The spatial noun *üzi* 'upside', may occur without a third person possessive suffix, especially in the speech of older people. Most younger speakers, however, use the contracted form *üsï(n)-*, which does contain a third person possessive.

tïs-tïŋ üzi-ki	onto the top of the cauldron (cauldron-GEN upside-DAT)
luzï-nïŋ üsïŋ-ki	onto the top of the stove (stove-GEN upside/POS3-DAT)

The spatial noun *art* 'backside' generally does not take a possessive suffix, and is qualified by a noun in the unmarked case. It is lexicalized in *quratta* 'behind the fence' (< *quran artta*).

tʰaɣ art-ta	behind the mountain (mountain behind-LOC)

The spatial nouns *yan* 'side', and *qaʰt* 'side' do not take a possessive suffix.

malçï-nïŋ qaʰt-qa	near the herdsman (herdsman-GEN side-DAT)
su-nïŋ qaʰt-qa	next to the water (water-GEN side-DAT)
luzï-nïŋ yaŋ-qa	next to the stove (stove-GEN side-DAT)

A spatial noun may occur without preceding qualifying noun. The third person possessive functions as a referent to an earlier mentioned noun, or may implicate a noun like 'this, here, now', or may be regarded as forming an idiomatic adverb.

men taʰs-ïn-ta aŋna-ʰtï	I heard outside (I outside-POS3-LOC heard-PAST)
o art-ïn-ta ni-ma tuʰt-qïmistï	in the future, s/he will not do anything

that backside-POS3-LOC what-PCL3 do-FUTNev

art-ïŋ-qa tʰunna-ma-sa yür-tï	if it does not move backwards, it is a fish

backside-POS3-DAT move.back-NEG-COND fish-EV

iʰç-iŋ-ki cuanna-ɣantï	s/he made his way in

inside-POS3-DAT make.one's.way.into-NARev

pu mïla o^{h}rta-sïŋ-qa k^{h}ïr-it-qanta when this child entered their middle
this child middle-POS3-DAT enter-QUI-CTMP
enik ta^{h}s-ïŋ-qa hanï-ɣa yoq po-xanï-ɣantï
cow outside-POS3-DAT go-CCO not.present become-TER-NARev
the cow went out and disappeared

In the present material, the spatial noun ***ara*** 'the space between' is encountered only in the grammatical construction -GA*n*(*nïŋ*) *arata*, which functions as a temporal converb 'just as, at the moment when' (see 6.4.1.1.). It consists of the present/past participle -GA*n* (+ the genitive case *-nïŋ*) + ***ara*** + the locative case *-ta*. This construction is generally replaced by the adverbs ***ɕaŋ*** 'just' or ***ɕint^{h}ou*** 'by the time when' + the temporal converb -GA*nt*A 'when'.
ku puɣa kel-in saqïn-qan-nïŋ ara-ta-la, men e^{h}t-tï
DEM this/DAT come-IMP1sg think-PP-GEN between-LOC-PCL2 I arrive-PAST
just as s/he intended to come here, I arrived
k^{h}eln-ï sut-ïn al-u^{h}t-qan ara-ta as-xanï-ɣantï, kuziɣï-sï
wife-POS3 milk-POS3ACC take-COM-PP between-LOC cross-TER-NARev husband-POS3
just as his wife had taken away her milk, her husband had crossed [the mountain]

The adverb ***p^{h}ornta*** 'before', locative of the obsolescent spatial noun ***p^{h}orn*** 'front', occurs in the spatial noun construction *-nïŋ p^{h}ornta* to express a temporal converb 'before'.
alar ezertpi-nï qara-ma-ɣan-nïŋ p^{h}ornta-la alar-nï maŋ-tïr-ma
that/PL chief-ACC see-NEG-PP-GEN before-PCL2 that/PL-ACC walk-CAUS-NEG
do not let them leave before they have seen the chief

In addition to the spatial nouns, the nouns ***paş*** 'head, top', ***azaq*** 'foot', and ***tïp*** 'base, lower end, bottom, root' may determine spatial location. Apparently no genitive case on the qualifying noun and no possessive on the spatial noun is required.
soqa tïp-ti at the root of the soqa grass (soqa.grass base-LOC)
t^{h}aɣ-nïŋ tïp-ti at the foot of the mountain (mountain-GEN base-LOC)
antaqanta pu kumïs-tï a^{h}ltïm salïɣ-tï, tïw-ïŋ-ki q^{h}al-xanï-ɣantï
then this silver-AND gold heavy-EV base-POS3-DAT fall-TER-NARev
then this silver and gold were heavy, and sank to the bottom of the [water]
kv pï^{h}tïɣ-nï ɕozïwaş-qa (< ***ɕozï paş-qa***) ***suwat-ïttï***
DEM book-ACC table.top-DAT put/FIN-PASTev
s/he put the book down onto the table
ïşkï pezïk qïztar k^{h}azaq-qa (< ***k^{h}aŋ azaq-qa***) ***uzï-ɣantï***
two big girl kang.foot-DAT sleep-NARev
the two big girls slept along the foot of the kang

7.2. Complements of the verb

7.2.1. Causative-passive constructions

Causative verbs express causativity or permission, and occur in the present material with up to three actants: the causer is expressed by the unmarked case, functioning as the subject, the causee is expressed by the dative case, and the object is expressed by the accusative case.

men selïr-ɣi oyna-ṭ-qïmis I will not let you play
I you/PL-DAT play-CAUS-FUTN
kʊ uzï-nïŋ kizkï-nï kïsï-ɣi poz-tïr-ïttï
DEM self-GEN clothes-ACC person-DAT dye-CAUS-PASTev
s/he made (let) a person (someone) dye his/her own clothes
s/he had his/her own clothes dyed by a person (someone)

Causative verbs can also indicate a passive: the patient is expressed by the unmarked case, and the agent by the dative case.

meŋ aqa cona-ɣa tïsti-t-ïttï my elder brother was stung by a wasp
my elder.brother wasp-DAT sting-CAUS-PASTev
kʰïm-ki pʰer-tïr-ttï? by whom has s/he been beaten?
who-DAT beat-CAUS-PASTev
mïla nati yilɣ-ʊtï? o aça-sïŋ-qa pʰer-tïr-ttï
child why cry-PROGev that father-POS3-DAT beat-CAUS-PASTev
why is the child crying? s/he has been beaten by his/her father
iʰt qayta-tïr? iʰt yi-wat-ïttï. kʰïm-ki yi-tïr-ïwat-ïttï? ïşt-qa yi-tïr-ïwat-ïttï
meat where-EX meat eat-FIN-PASTev who-DAT eat-CAUS-FIN-PASTev dog-DAT eat-CAUS-FIN-PASTev
where is the meat? [someone] has eaten the meat. by whom has it been eaten? it has been eaten by the dog
ïşt qayta-tïr? o yoqqʰa-ttï. o nal-ɣa yoqqʰa-ttï? çïmaq-qa pʰer-tïr-ɣi yoqqʰa-ttï
dog where-EX that die-PASTev that what.do-CCO die-PASTev stick-DAT beat-CAUS-CCO die-PASTev
where is the dog? it died. how come it died? it died because it was beaten by a stick

One speaker, however, used the accusative case to express the patient.

meŋ aqïŋ-nï sïŋkik-ki tïsti-t-ïttï my elder brother was stung by a fly
me/GEN elder.brother/POS1-ACC fly-DAT bite-CAUS-PASTev
anï aça-sïŋ-qa pʰer-tïr-ttï s/he has been beaten by his/her father
that/ACC father-POS3-DAT beat-CAUS-PASTev

The agent does not need to be expressed.

mïla nati yilɣ-ʊtï? pʰer-tïr-ttï why is the child crying? s/he has been beaten
child why cry-PROGev beat-CAUS-PASTev
sen mïnta qʰalsa sen yülïr-t-kïştï if you stay here, you will be killed
you this/LOC stay-COND you kill-CAUS-FUTev

selir mïnta qʰal-ɣan po-sa selir yülïr-t-kïştï
you/PL this/LOC stay-PP becoem-COND you/PL kill-CAUS-FUTev
if you had stayed here, you would have been killed

These causative-passive constructions are not frequent, however. Often, an elicitated passive clause is rephrased by speakers of Western Yugur. Compare:
o aɕa-sïŋ-qa pʰer-tïr-ttï s/he has been beaten by his/her father
that father-POS3-DAT beat-CAUS-PASTev
kʊ anï soq-ïttï s/he beat him/her (DEM that/ACC beat-PASTev)
o kïsï anï pʰer-ïwat-ïttï that person beat him/her up
that person that/ACC beat-FIN-PASTev

7.2.2. The imperative as a verbal complement

The verb *ti=* 'to say' preceded by an imperative of the second person means 'to tell someone to, to order someone to'.
kel ti= to tell to come, to invite (come say)
kolar-ɣa maŋ ti tell them to go (DEM/PL-DAT go say)
maɣa ti-mi ti-ɣin s/he told me not to say (me/DAT say-NEG say-NAR)

The verb *saqïn=* 'to want to, to intend to' takes the imperative of the first person as a complement; the negation takes the negative habitual -MAs.
kelin saqïn= to want to come, to intend to come
kimis saqïn= not want to come, not intend to come
men senï pïr tun pʰer-in saqïn-atï I would like to give you a beating
I you/ACC one beating beat-IMP1sg think-DUB
kolar senï kör-in saqïn-ïptï they wanted to see you
DEM/PL you/ACC see-IMP1sg think-PASTev
cʰunɕaŋ ki-mis saqïn-ïttï the chief did not intend to come
chief come-HABN think-PASTev
mïz taɣïn lɛnɕou-ɣa par-in (~ par-inï) saqïn-qan
we tomorrow Lánzhōu-DAT go-IMP1sg (~ go-IMP1pl) think-NAR
we intended to go to Lánzhōu tomorrow

The verb *saqïn=* 'to want to, to intend to' takes the imperative of the third person + a direct object as a complement to expresses 'to want someone to'.
men anï yoqqʰa-ɣe saqïn-itï I would like him/her to die, I hope s/he dies
I that/ACC die-IMP3 think-DUB

The verbs *paŋnas=* 'to help to', and *minti=* 'to be busy with' do not occur with a complement but are themselves expressed as a complement in a converb phrase.
menïŋ nüʰker maɣa paŋnas-ʊ pïr yü qʰala-ʰtï
me/GEN friend me/ACC help-CSIM one house build-PAST
my friend helped me building a house
men minti-ʊ pïr yü tïli-ʰtï I was busy looking for a house
I be.busy-CSIM one house look.for-PAST

7.2.3. A clause as a verbal complement

The perception verbs *saqïn=* 'to think that', *pïl=* 'to know (whether, how to)', *kör=* 'to see (whether)', take an independent clause as their complement.

antaqanta pʰeɣ ʂʰïla-ɣantï: kueywu toɣ-ïttï saqïn-qantï
then beg be.angry-NARev monster be.born-PASTev think-NARev
then the beg became angry, he thought that a monster was born

tʰurti yaʰʂ-ïraq pol-ɣïʂ mi am taʰqï pïl-mistï
next.year good-COMP become-FUT Q now yet know-HABN
I do not now know yet whether it will be better next year

nayʊ ʂila-ʂ-i men taʰqï pïl-mis I do not know yet how to post it
how post-FUT-COP I yet know-HABN

niyor mi po-ɣan-i pïl-mistï what has become of it, I would not know
how Q become-NAR-COP know-DUBN

am taʰqï pïl-mistï, kʊ tʰawaq-tar mayа pïr yü per-ɣïʂ mi per-ɣïmis mi
now yet know-HABN DEM robber-PL me/DAT one house give-FUT Q give-FUTN Q
I still don't know now whether those crooks are going to give me a house or not

7.2.4. Instance

A measure noun can express an instance of the following verb. Chinese classifiers also occur in this function.

pïr azaq kaŋna= to give a kick (one foot kick)
pïr qïlïʂ sal= to give a blow with the sword (one sword put)
pïr tun pʰer= to give a beating (one beating beat)
pïr tun küsi= to chew a long time (one meal chew)

7.2.5. Double accusatives

Some speakers use a double accusative construction with nominalized clauses: instead of expressing the subject of the nominalized clause in the unmarked case, and the nominalized clause in the accusative case, both arguments occur as an accusative complement of the main verb. Compare:

*kʰïm sen aɣïl-ɣa par-ɣan-nï kö*ʰ*r-tï?* who saw that you went to the village?
who you village-DAT go-PP-ACC see-PAST

*kʰïm senï cʰunzï-ɣa par-ɣan-nï kö*ʰ*r-tï?* who saw you going to the village?
who you/ACC village-DAT go-PP-ACC see-PAST

antaqanta ïʂkï qïztar qayl-it-qan-nï pïl-ɣintï
then two girl run-QUI-PP-ACC know-NARev
then [s/he] knew that the two girls had run away

kʊ menï ti-ɣin-nï pïl-si if s/he knows I told it
DEM me/ACC tell-PP-ACC know-COND

A construction with two direct objects may also arise in the case of verbs that take a dummy object.

ana-sï aʰti mïla yimïɣ yimïs-ʊtï the mother is suckling her baby
mother-POS3 small child breast suckle-PROGev

ana-ŋ mïla sut imïs-ʊtï the mother is suckling the child
mother-POS1/2 child milk suckle-PROGev

tʰuŋzï-nï mïz-tïŋ sunzï-ta-qï kʰempiʂtïɣ-lir su al-ma-tï
bucket-ACC we-GEN village-LOC-KI woman-PL water take-VN-EV
buckets are used by the women in our village to fetch water

7.2.6. Conditional verb phrase

Conditional verbs occur in a number of clause structures, and express indefiniteness, adverbs of manner, and irreality.

An interrogative in a conditional clause followed by an interrogative in the main clause expresses an indefinite pronoun.

qaɣa par-sa qaɣa par go wherever you like (whither go-COND whither go)
no-sa no-ɣe whatever will be, whatever may happen
what.be-COND what.be-IMP3

sen menï nayʊ yi-si nayʊ yi eat me however you like, as you like
you me/ACC how eat-COND how eat

qaɣa eʰt-si qanta ims-ʊ ɕïta-ʂ you will be able to use it wherever you get
whither arrive-COND where use-CSIM can-FUT

niɕi kïsï yoz-sa-la niɕi kïsï yoq pu-ɣaq-i-tï
how.many person pass-COND-PCL2 how.many person not.present become-HAB-COP-EV
whoever passes disappears

kʰïm-ɣa anï tʰer-ïwal-sa-ɣa kʰïm-ki kʰeln po-ʂtï
who-PCL1 that/ACC gather-INC-COND-PCL1 who-DAT wife become-FUTev
whoever picks it up will have her as a wife

A conditional clause followed by a an adjective in the predicate expresses manner.

o qaɣla-sa oɣ-tï if s/he runs, it is fast (s/he runs fast)
that run-COND quick-EV

yi-si yaʰʂ-tï if one eats it, it is good (it is good to the taste)
eat-COND good-EV

yi-si yaʰʂ emis-tï if one eats it, it is not good (it is bad to the taste)
eat-COND good is.not-EV

The combination of a conditional + ***poʂtï*** expresses 'it would be all right if, it would be better or best if'. One speaker used the past evidential ***pottï*** 'has become, became; all right, enough, sufficient' here.

meŋ aɕa-ŋ kunï pïr tun pʰer-si po-ʂtï
me/GEN father-POS1/2 DEM/ACC one beating beat-COND become-FUTev
it would be best if my father gives him/her a beating

pu mïla kʰïr muli-tï, yü-şki kʰïr-mi-si po-ştï
this child dirty very-EV house-IN-DAT go-NEG-COND become-FUTev
this child is very dirty, it would be best if s/he does not enter the house
sen narsïnta maɣa yiuti emis et-kin, men saqïn-qa sen yül-si-ma po-ttï
you actually me/DAT much evil do-NAR I think-CCO you die-COND-PCL3 become-PASTev
you actually did much evil to me, so I thought, it would be better if you die

The combination of conditional + the interrogative form *poştïm* (consisting of *poştï* + question particle) expresses 'would it be possible if, is it possible to, could, may'. Instead of the conditional, an imperative may be used.
pu su-nï ïş-si po-ştï-m? is it possible to drink this water?
this water-ACC drink-COND become-FUTev-Q
men taɣïn taŋqar ki-si po-ştï-m? may I come tomorrow morning?
I tomorrow morning come-COND become-FUTev-Q
men sen uçin oyna-s-in, po-ştï-m? could I play together with you?
I you with play-REC-IMP1sg become-FUTev-Q

The form *posa* ~ *pusa* 'if it becomes or is' renders a nominal clause conditional. When it follows the existential noun *par* 'present, there is', a fused form *parusa* occurs.
pu selir-ɣi kʰerik po-sa men al-ɣa selir-ɣi tiat-in
this you-DAT need become-COND I take-CCO you-DAT send-IMP1sg
if you need this, let me buy and send you one
o yoq pu-sa mïz par-min let us not go without him/her
that not.present become-COND we go-IMPNpl
ni paru-sa-ma kim paru-ma whatever you may have, do not have diseases
what present/become-COND-PCL3 disease present/become-NEG

The combination of the present/past participle -GA*n* + *posa* (conditional of *pol=* 'to become, to be') and a future in the main clause expresses an irrealis. One speaker used -GA*n posa* and a past in the main clause here.
kʊ tʰoɣïn ki-ɣin po-sa kʊ kunï kör-ïştï
DEM yesterday come-PP become-COND DEM DEM/ACC see-FUTev
if s/he had come yesterday, s/he would have seen him/her
meŋ açа-ŋ anï pïr tun pʰer-ɣin po-sa-la po-ştï
me/GEN father-POS1/2 one beating beat-PP become-COND-PCL2 become-FUTev
if my father would have given him/her a beating, it would have been best
meŋ açа-ŋ anï pïr tun soq-qan po-sa-ɣa po-ttï
me/GEN father-POS1/2 that/ACC one beating beat-PP become-COND-PCL1 become-PASTev
if my father would have given him/her a beating, it would have been best

The following collocation consisting of the habitual participle -GAK + *posa* expresses a wish 'if it could be the case that, if only'.
e, men pïr par-ʊ çïta-ɣaq po-sa! eh, if only I could go once!
EXCL I one go-CSIM can-PHAB become-COND
e, am-la puɣa terik pol-ɣaq po-sa, yaŋyaŋ!
EXCL now-PCL2 this/DAT tree become-PHAB become-COND all.sorts
eh, if only there would be all sorts of trees here now!

7.3. Particles

7.3.1. The copulative particles (COP)

Western Yugur contains several remnants of a copula[2]. The use of copulative particles, however, is obsolescent, and at present, they seem to have acquired different functions as well.

The copulative particle *-i* is used mainly by older speakers, and it still occurs quite frequently in tales; it is generally omitted by younger speakers, however. The copulative particle *-i* occurs especially in sentences containing an existential noun; it may also follow the habitual suffixes -GAK, -MA*s*, the present/future suffix -(G)*ïṣ*, and the narrative past -GA*n*.

maɣa kʰeln par-i I have a wife (me/DAT wife present-COP)
maɣa kʰeln par I have a wife (me/DAT wife present)
mïz yoɣïr-i we are Yugur (we Yugur-COP)
mïz yoɣïr we are Yugur (we Yugur)

mïla çou ïṣ-kik pi? yaq, mïla pʰiçou ïṣ-mis-i, o su ïṣ-kik-i
child liquor drink-HAB Q no child beer drink-HABN-is that water drink-HAB-COP
does a child drink liquor? no, a child doesn't drink beer, he drinks water
men taɣïn aɣa ïs tuʰt-qïṣ-i
I tomorrow that/DAT work hold-FUT-COP
I will work for him/her tomorrow
men içʰɛn mïnta pïr aq paqa suwat-qan-i
I before this/LOC one white frog put/FIN-PNAR-COP
before I released a white frog here

In folk tales, the copulative particle may be followed by an evidential particle[3].

pïr anika par-i-tï there was an old woman (one old.woman present-COP-EV)
o uzï ki-ɣik-i-tï it used to come by itself (that self come-HAB-COP-EV)
kʰïm-ma tanï-mas-i-tï nobody could recognize (who-PCL3 recognize-HABN-COP-EV)
kʰeln al-ɣïṣ-i-tï he would take a wife (wife take-FUT-COP-EV)
pu qʰan pïl-ɣin-i-tï this khan realized (this khan know-NAR-COP-EV)

Furthermore, in sentences containing an interrogative element, the copulative particle *-i* generally occurs following the progressive -(*ï*)*ppar* (which may be contracted into -(*ï*)*ppe* < -(*ï*)*ppar-i*), the habitual suffix -GAK, the present/future -G*ïṣ*, and the narrative past -GA*n*.

sen ni ïs tuʰt-ïppar-i? what are you doing? (you what work do-PRES-COP)
yü-ti niçor kïsï par-i how many people are there in your house?
house-LOC how.much person present-COP
am nayṣ-e? (< ***nal-ɣïṣ-i***) now what to do? (now what.do/FUT-COP)

[2] Etymologically, the copulative particles derive from the defective copula **e(r)*= 'to be'.

[3] In older sources, these forms are *-me-tro*, *-nime-tro*.

sen qayta toq-qan-i? where were you born? (you where be.born-PNAR-COP)
kʰïm-ki sïzïr-t-qan-i? by whom was s/he beaten?
who-DAT beat-CAUS-PNAR-COP

The copulative particle *-i* may occur following a second person imperative to form a more polite or friendlier order:
aʰç-uʰt-i please open it! (open-COM-COP)

The form *yer* 'is' functions an emphatic copulative; in the present material, it only occurs in a song.
yoɣïr qïztar men yer-i a Yugur girl am I (Yugur girl I is-COP)

In modern speech, *yer* only occurs in predicate position meaning 'right, should be, would be best, necessary'[4].
uz-ir-ma yer-tï to sleep is best (sleep-PFUT-PCL3 right-EV)
menïŋ açа-ŋ anï pïr tun pʰer-si yer-tï
me/GEN father-POS1/2 that/ACC one beating beat-COND right-EV
it would be best if my father gives him/her a beating

The particle *emis* 'is not' functions as the negative copula.
men martançï kïsï emis I am not a boastful person (I boastful person is.not)
tatïɣ emis-tï it is not tasty (tasty is.not-EV)
pu mïz-tïŋ ana-ŋ emis-tï this is not our mother
this we/GEN mother-POS1/2 is.not-EV

The particle *emis* is also used as a noun meaning 'mistake, fault; mistaken, wrong'.
emis yoq kïsï yoq there is no person without a fault
fault not.present person not.present

7.3.2. The evidential particle (EV)

The evidential particle *-tï* is attached to the predicate noun. When stressed, the particle *-tï* is realized as *-to*; in folk tales, the obsolescent form *-tro* may still occur[5]. The particle *-tï* occurs as a bound morpheme in the suffix of the dubitative (see 6.2.6.), the evidential of the present/future, the progressive and the past (see 6.2.2., 6.2.3., 6.2.4.), and the intensive of the progressive (see 6.2.3.).
pu ni-tï ? what is this? (this what-EV)
pu şïɣan mi-tï? is this a mouse? (this mouse Q-EV)
pu şïɣan-tï this is a mouse, it is a mouse (this mouse-EV)
semen yaʰş-tï the food is good (good-EV)
kʊ qayla-ɣan oy-tï s/he runs quickly (DEM run-PP quick-EV)
selir xosï menïŋ kʰeçʰin-tï you are all my guests (you all I/GEN guest-EV)

[4] The negative 'not right, should not be, not done' is *koyɔq* (see 5.7.).

[5] Etymologically, the particle *-tï* derives from the verb *tʊr-* 'to stand, to be situated in'.

With a first person as the subject, the evidential particle is not used.
men qayla-ɣan oy I run quickly (I run-PP quick)
mïz yoɣïr we are Yugur (we Yugur)

7.3.3. The existential particle (EX)

The existential particle *-tïr*[6] only occurs when a locative is present.
maɣa ti kʊ qayta-tïr tell me where s/he is (me/DAT say DEM where-EX)
ïşt qayta-tïr? where is the dog? (dog where-EX)
kʊ piŋkuan-ïş-ti-tïr s/he is in the hotel (DEM hotel-IN-LOC-EX)
kʊ kunï kör-ɣi antaqanta o teylï araqïnta-tïr
DEM DEM/ACC see-CCO then that certainly over.there/LOC-EX
s/he saw it, so s/he was certainly over there

The existential particle *-tïr* may combine with the conditional suffix (see 6.1.7.) and with the question marker *-ïm* (see 6.7.8.).
men-ti menik tïr-sa if I have the money (I-LOC money EX-COND)
sen neraqïnta tʰeryin tïr-ïm köʰr-tï-m? did you see whether there is a car over there?
you over.there/LOC car EX-Q see-PAST-Q
sen iʰç-in-ti örçi tïr-ïm kör-itï-m? can you see whether there is a thing inside?
you inside-POS3-LOC thing EX-Q see-DUB-Q
taʰs-ïn-ta ni soşi tïr-ïm antarmi aŋna-k ki-ɣi-kïna
outside-POS3-LOC what news EX-Q that.kind.of.thing hear-CON come-CCO-INT
having heard whether there was any news outside and so

There are some examples in which an alternative construction with the existential noun ***par*** 'present' instead of *-tïr*, occurs. It is unclear whether there is a difference in meaning between constructions with *-tïr* or with ***par***.
menïŋ iʰçikï-ş-ti pïr aq nimi par there is a white thing in my belly
me/GEN belly-IN-LOC one white thing present
seŋ yüɣal-ma çʰi yü qayta par-i? where is your resting tent?
you/GEN rest-VN camel house where present-COP

7.3.4. The contrastive particle *-ɋa* (PCL4)

The clause particle *-ɋa* follows nouns; it seems to expresses contrative emphasis.
sen-ɋa ni-sïn ti-vtï? you are saying what?!
you-PCL4 what-POS3ACC say-PROGev
mïnï-ɋa naɣï-sa-ma yata-ştï whatever he does about this, he will not succeed
this/ACC-PCL4 what.do-COND-PCL3 cannot-FUTev

[6] Etymologically, the existential particle *-tïr* too derives from the verb *tʊr=* 'to stand, to be situated in'. Apparently, a functional split occurred in the older form *-tro*, and the form *-tï* developed next to *-tro* as an evidential particle and the form *-tïr* as an existential particle. This split is not present in the older material.

7.3.5. The dubitative particle (IHKIN)

The dubitative particle ***iʰkin*** follows the finite verb to express 'it is probable, likely, certain, sure that, probably, likely, surely'.

puɣïn tiŋïr yaq-qïmis iʰkin
today sky rain-FUTN IHKIN
it is not certain, likely that it will rain today, it surely won't rain today

uzï kil-in saqïn-sa uzï ki-ʂtï iʰkin
self come-IMP1sg think-COND self come-FUTev IHKIN
s/he would surely come if s/he wants to come

sen puɣïn antïraq yol maŋ-qa am haʰr-tï iʰkin
you today that.much road walk-CCO now be.tired-PAST IHKIN
because you walked so much today, you now surely have become tired

o menï ʂïrti-ɣi yül-ɣï ti-ppar-tï iʰkin
that me/ACC curse-CCO die-VNFUT say-PROG-EV IHKIN
s/he put a curse on me so that I surely should die

The dubitative particle ***miʰkin*** 'is it probably or likely that, probably' (consisting of the question particle *mi* + *iʰkin*) is the question form of ***iʰkin***.

xuey-nï kʰeyl-v un-kinti ezertpi mïz-tï maŋ-tïr-ïʂ miʰkin?
meeting-ACC open-CSIM come.out-CTMP chief we-ACC walk-CAUS-FUT Q/IHKIN
will the chief surely let us leave when the meeting is over?

From Chinese, the particle ***pa*** (~ ***wa***) has been borrowed as a dubitative marker.

uzï-ɣan pa — s/he surely slept (sleep-PNAR surely)

kv semen ïʂ-kin pa — s/he surely ate (DEM food eat-PNAR surely)

puɣïn tiŋïr yaq-qïmis wa (~ ***iʰkin***) — it surely will not rain today
today sky rain-FUTN surely (~ IHKIN)

o miça tur-ɣaʂ-ya ki-ʂ wa — he surely is going to come shortly
that little stand-CCO-PCL1 come-FUT surely

7.3.6. The intensive particle (INT)

The intensive particle *-nï* follows the finite verb to express emphasis 'certainly, indeed, of course'. Examples are:

ay, men sït-tï mïn-kïʂtï-nï — well, I would mount the foal of course!
EXCL I foal-ACC mount-FUTev-INT

am qarʂ-e? kʰun-ma yaɣ-ïptï-nï — now where to go? the sun has already set indeed!
now whither.go/FUT-COP sun-PCL3 set-PASTev-INT

men pïl-ɣïʂ, men saɣa ti-p pol-ɣïmistï-nï
I know-FUT I you/DAT say-CON become-FUTNev-INT
I know, [but] I certainly cannot tell you

meŋ yiɣït amiʰkï-la iʰt-ïk ki-ʂ-i-nï
my/GEN young.man presently-PCL1 arrive-CON come-FUT-COP-INT
my son will arrive presently indeed!

7.3.7. The particle *-sa* (PCL5)

The particle *-sa* follows the finite verb. The occurrences in the present material are too few to establish its exact meaning.

pu-sa-sa sen antaɣ ti-ttï but you said thus
become-COND-PCL5 you that/EQU say-PASTev
am-la pezïk qïz-ï qʰa-ptï-sa eni par-ɣantï
now-PCL2 big girl-POS3 remain-PASTev-PCL5 too go-NARev
now [only] the eldest girl remained, she went too
pïŋlay un-mintï-sa tʰaŋṣa ayt-qïla-ttï-sa kïsï 'un-ïptï' ti-ɣintï
actually come.out-PASTNev-PCL5 advice ask-PUR-PASTev-PCL5 person come.out-PASTev say-NARev
actually, they had not finished it, they had come to ask advice, they [just] said 'they have finished it'

7.3.8. The question particle (Q)

The question particle ***mi*** renders an affirmative sentence into an interrogative one, expressing a yes-no question. When stressed, it is pronounced ***mʊ***; older speakers may use the assimilated form ***pi*** following plosives. Question particles do not occur in sentences having an interrogative.

The question particle may follow nouns, including the existentials ***par*** 'present' and ***yoq*** 'not present', the habitual suffix -GAK, the present/future -(Gï)*ṣ*, -G*ïmis*, and the progressive -(*ï*)*ppar*.

yaʰṣ mi (~ ***mʊ***)? hello! (good Q)
pu ṣïɣan mi-tï? is this a mouse? (this mouse Q-EV)
yoɣïr kïsï yilan yi-ɣik pi (~ ***mi***)**?** do Yugur people eat snake?
Yugur person snake eat-HAB Q
sen uzï-ppar mi? are you sleeping? (you sleep-PROG Q)
sen ezertpi-ɣi ïs tuʰt-ïppar mi? are you working for the chief?
you chief-DAT work do-PRES Q
seŋ kʰeln iʰt tʰul-ïppar mi? is your wife cooking meat?
you/GEN wife meat cook-PRES Q
sen naqï yotal-ɣa eʰlɕï-nï qara-ɣïla par-ɣïmis mi?
you yonder matter-DAT shaman-ACC see-CPUR go-FUTN Q
will you not go and see the shaman about that matter?

The suffix of the past -(ʰ)*tï* and those finite suffixes containing the evidential particle *-tï* (-(Gï)*ṣtï*, *-otï*, -(*ï*)*ttï*) take *-m* as a question particle. The question particle *-m* is lexicalized in ***yam*** 'all right?' (***ya*** 'all right').

sen yü tuʰt-tï-m? are you married? (you house hold-PAST-Q)
sen uzï-ʰtï-m? did you sleep? (you sleep-PAST-Q)
kʊ ki-ṣtï-m? will s/he come? (DEM come-FUT-Q)

In alternative questions (either x or y), both alternants take the question particle.
sen puɣïn mi taɣïn mi taʰqï cʰunçaŋ-qa kuŋcuola-ş mi?
you today Q tomorrow Q or chief-DAT work-FUT Q
will you work for the chief today or tomorrow?
men çuaşï kv ki-ş mi ki-ɣïmis mi pïl-in saqïn-atï
I very DEM come-FUT Q come-FUTN Q know-IMP1sg think-DUB
I would very much like to know whether s/he will come or not
kv ki-ştï-m ki-ɣïmistï-m? will s/he come or not?
DEM come-FUTev-Q come-FUTNev-Q

The question form of the existential particle *-tïr* (see 6.5.3.) also inplies an alternative question. Compare:
sen iʰç-in-ti örçi tïr-ïm kör-itï-m?
you inside-POS3-LOC thing EX-Q see-DUB-Q
can you see whether there is a thing inside or not?
sen iʰç-in-ti-kï örçi-nï kör-itï-m kör-mistï-m?
you inside-POS3-LOC thing-ACC see-DUB-Q see-DUBN-Q
can you see the thing inside or not?

7.3.9. The indefinite/concessive particle (PCL3)

The indefinite/concessive particle *-ma* covers a number of functions, depending on the combination of it with different nouns, and verb forms.

The particle *-ma* following a noun expresses emphasis.
taɣïn men-ma par-in let me go tomorrow, I will go tomorrow
tomorrow I-PCL3 go-IMP1sg
tʰoumu antaɣ ti-ttï anïŋ kʰeln qayl-it-ïptï titï, o-ma uzï ki-ɣi-kïna anï pʰer-ïş-i titï
chief that/EQU say-PASTev that/GEN wife run-QUI-PASTev say/DUB that-PCL3 self come-CCO-INT that/ACC beat-FUT-COP say/DUB
the chief said his wife ran away and that he personally will come and beat her

The particle *-ma* expresses 'moreover, too, also'.
mïnï-ma tʰer-ïwal-ɣïla-yn let me go pick this up too
this/ACC-PCL3 gather-INC-PUR-IMP1sg
meŋ tïs-tï-ma pïr al-ïŋ-qʰar-ttï
me/GEN tooth-ACC-PCL3 one take-RFL-RES-PASTev
and he also took along my tooth (what's more, he took along my tooth)

The particle *-ma* following a verb form expresses a concessive.
kv ayïr-ɣaş-ma ki-ptï even though s/he was ill, s/he came
DEM be.ill-CCO-PCL3 come-PASTev
nayv qara-ɣanta-ma pïl-mi-ɣintï however much s/he looked, s/he did not know
how look-CTMP-PCL3 know-NEG-NARev

The combination of an interrogative and a conditional verb + the particle *-ma* expresses a concessive clause (see 7.5.).

nayʊ qara-sa-ma pïl-mistï however much s/he looks, s/he could not know
how look-COND-PCL3 know-DUBN

mïla-lar nayʊ tïli-si-ma paʰtïr-ïwat-qan qoy-nï taʰq-mintï
child-PL how look.for-COND-PCL3 lose-FIN-PP sheep-ACC find-PASTNev
however much the children looked for it, they did not find the lost sheep

mïla-lar nayïl-sa-ma paʰtïr-ïwat-qan qoy-nï taʰp-pastï
child-PL what.do-COND-PCL3 lose-FIN-PP sheep-ACC find-DUBN
whatever the children do, they would not find the lost sheep

The combination of an interrogative + the particle *-ma* and a negation expresses a negative pronoun (see 5.4.).

sen ayïl-ta kʰïm-nï köʰr-tï? men kʰïm-nï-ma kör-mi-ʰtï
you village-LOC who-ACC see-PAST I who-ACC-PCL3 see-NEG-PAST
whom did you see in the village? I did not see anyone

The combination of a noun + particle *-ma* and a negation expresses 'not even'.

koya men pïr qʰarʊ-ma tïz-ma-ʰtï I did not write even one letter to him/her
DEM/DAT I one letter-PCL3 write-NEG-PAST

sen seŋ kuziɣï-ɣi miça ïşkïş qʰayna-ʰtï-m? yaʰq, men miça-ma qʰantïr-ma-ʰtï
you you/GEN husband-DAT little food cook-PAST-Q no I little-PCL3 cook-NEG-PAST
did you cook some food for your husband? no, I did not even cook a bit

The reduplicatid use of *-ma* expresses 'and .. and, both .. and, as well as', or, with a negation, 'neither .. nor'.

uz-ir-ma kʰerek, iʰç-ir-ma kʰerek to sleep is necessary, and to eat is necessary
sleep-PFUT-PCL3 necessary, sleep-PFUT-PCL3 necessary,

mïla-ma yoq, qïztar-ma yoq [s/he had] neither son nor daughter
boy-PCL3 not.present girl-PCL3 not.present

7.3.10. The clause marker particles *-la, -ya* (PCL1, PCL2)

The particles *-la, -ya* mark the end of a noun phrase or verb phrase. The clause marker particles *-la* and *-ya* are interchangeable; in rapid speech, *-ya* is more common.

Examples of the clause particles *-la, -ya* marking the end of a noun phrase:

pu-ya tïs-ïş-ki kʰïr-ɣi uzï-ɣantï he entered the cauldron and slept
this-PCL1 cauldron-IN-DAT enter-CCO sleep-NARev

pu-ya tançin kïsï-tï! these are awesome people!
this-PCL1 awesome person-EV

o-la çorɣawaş orɣïl-ʊtï that is Chorghawash who is shouting
that-PCL2 Chorghawash shout-PROGev

yiŋ pʰornta mayа ti-ɣin-la kʊ-tï it was s/he who told me first
SUP before me/DAT say-PP-PCL2 DEM-EV

pu-ya pu pezïk qʰan-nïŋ kïʰçiq qïz-ï-tï
this-PCL1 this big khan-GEN small daughter-POS3-EV
it was she who was this big khan's youngest daughter
sen aɣïl-ta kʰïm-nï köʰr-tï? men pïr oşqa-ya (~ *oşqa-la*) *köʰr-tï*
you village-LOC who-ACC see-PAST I one old.man-PCL1 (~ old.man-PCL2) see-PAST
whom did you see in the village? I saw an old man, it was an old man I saw

The clause particles *-la, -ya* often follow adverbs and converbs.
o miça tur-yaş-ya ki-ştï s/he will come presently
that little stand-CCO-PCL1 come-FUTev
o amiʰkï (~ *amiʰkï-la*) *maŋ-qïştï* s/he will set off immediately
that immediately (~ immediately-PCL1) walk-FUTev
o am (~ *am-ya*) *maŋ-vtï* s/he is walking now
that now (~ now-PCL1) walk-PROGev
o puɣa ki-ɣï ti-v-ɣanta-ya men iʰt-tï
that this/DAT come-VNFUT say-AUX-CTMP-PCL2 I arrive-PAST
just as s/he was about to come here, I arrived

The clause particles *-la, -ya* follow a conditional.
kv miça tur-sa-ya ki-ştï s/he will come presently
that little stand-COND-PCL2 come-FUTev
meŋ aça-ŋ anï pïr tun pʰer-ɣin po-sa-la po-ştï
me/GEN father-POS1/2 that/ACC one beating beat-PP become-COND-PCL1 become-FUTev
it would be best if my father would have given him/her a beating
sen mïnta qʰal-sa-la senï yülïr-ïwat-kïştï
you this/LOC stay-COND-PCL2 you/ACC kill-FIN-FUTev
if you stay here, they will will you

7.3. Reported speech

Reported speech is usually introduced by a verb of speaking, most commonly a form of the verb *ti=* 'to say', which may precede or follow the quote, or both.

Below follow some examples of direct quotes:
sunçaŋ antaɣ titï: 'maɣa qoɣ-tan on per!' titï
chief that/EQU say/DUB me/DAT sheep-ABL ten give say/DUB
the chief says thus: 'Give me ten sheep!'
sunçaŋ ti-vtï: 'sen aɣa uzkit-ïttï, antaqanta o saɣa çʰïla-ttï'
chief say-PROGev you that/DAT lie-PASTev so that you/DAT be.angry-PASTev
the chief is saying: 'You lied to him/her, so s/he has become angry with you'
sunçaŋ maɣa titï: 'sen maɣa uzkit-ïttï, men saɣa tançin-qv çʰïla-ʰtï,' ti-ʰtï
chief me/DAT say/DUB you me/DAT lie-PASTev I you/DAT aweful-ADV be.angry-PAST say-PAST
the chief said to me: 'You lied to me, I am awefully angry with you'

antaqanta-ya pu yiɣït anï an-ïwal-ɣa: 'ayʊ! meŋ kʰeln, meŋ kʰeln taʰq-tï!' ti-ʊ oryïla-ɣantï
then-PCL1 this young.man that/ACC take/RFL-INC-CCO EXCL me/GEN wife me/GEN wife find-PAST say-CSIM shout-NARev
then this young man caught it: 'Ayo! My wife, I found my wife!' he shouted

Below follow some examples of indirect quotes. In these cases it is especially clear that evidentiality is aplied according to the control exercised by the subject, and does not follow the grammatical person.

men ti-ʰtï men ki-ş-i tiʰtï I said I would come
I say-PAST I come-FUT-COP say-PAST

sen ti-ʰtï sen ki-ş-i ti-ʰtï you said you would come
you say-PAST you come-FUT-COP say-PAST

sunçaŋ antaɣ titï men aɣa teylï on qoy per-ïştï
chief that/EQU say/DUB I that/DAT certainly ten sheep give-FUTev
the chief said that I should certainly give him/her ten sheep

In a quote uttered by a third person, the speaker may refer to himself with *uzï* 'self'. The verbal pattern is the same as in a direct quote. Note the difference in reference between *uzï* and a third person pronoun.

kolar antaɣ titï kolar ki-ştï titï they (A) say they (B) will come
DEM/PL that/EQU say/DUB DEM/PL come-FUTev say/DUB

kolar antaɣ titï uzï-lir ki-ş-i titï they (A) say they (A) will come
DEM/PL that/EQU say/DUB self-PL come-FUT-COP say/DUB

cʰunçaŋ antaɣ titï sen narsïnta uzkit-ïttï, antaqanta uzï saɣa çʰïla-ʰtï titï
chief that/EQU say/DUB you actually lie-PASTev so self you/DAT be.angry-PAST say/DUB
the chief said you actually lied, so he is very angry with you

pu qʰar kïsï antaɣ ti-ɣintï sen uzï-nï yülïr-mi! ti-ɣintï
this old person that/EQU say-NARev you self-ACC kill-NEG say-NARev
this old man said thus: 'Don't you kill me!'

meŋ aqïŋ maɣa antaɣ titï uzï aɣïʰr-tï titï
me/GEN elder.brother/POS1/2 me/DAT that/EQU say/DUB self become.ill-PAST say/DUB
my elder brother tells me that he has fallen ill

meŋ ana-ŋ antaɣ titï o aɣïr-mintï titï, arɣa et-ʊtï titï, meŋ açа-ŋ anï pïr tun pʰer-ɣin po-sa-la po-ştï
my mother-POS1/2 that/EQU say/DUB that be.ill-PASTnev say/DUB laziness do-PROGev say/DUB me/GEN father-POS1/2 that/ACC one beating beat-PP become-COND-PCL2 become-FUTev
my mother says that he is not ill, she says he is being lazy, [and that] it would be best if my father would have given him a beating

In reported speech, the plural is usually replaced by the singular, perhaps to express that each of the persons involved is saying something.

ïşkï qïztar: 'maɣa ïşkï per!' ti-ɣintï the two girls said: 'Give me two!'
two girl me/DAT two give say-NARev

Some speakers use the accusative case for the subject of the quote.
kʊ senï ki-ʂtï titï s/he says you will come
DEM you/ACC come-FUTev say/DUB
cʰunçaŋ antaɣ titï menï narsïnta-ya uzï-ɣi on qoy per-ïʂtï titï
chief that/EQU say/DUB me/ACC actually-PCL1 self-DAT ten sheep give-FUTev say/DUB
the chief says I should actually give him ten sheep

7.5. Clause order

Western Yugur has an SOV (subject-object-verb) clause order, typical of the Turkic languages. The order of the objects may vary. Compare:
selir maɣa menik-tï per give me the money
you/PL me/DAT money-ACC give
selir menik-tï maɣa per give the money to me
you/PL money-ACC me/DAT give
kʊ pïʰtïr ku-nïŋ nüʰker uçin ki-ptï s/he came with his/her friend last year
DEM last.year DEM/GEN friend with come-PASTev
kʊ ku-nïŋ nüʰker uçin pïʰtïr ki-ptï s/he came with his/her friend last year
DEM DEM/GEN friend with last.year come-PASTev
sen anï naɣʊ tuʰt-ïwal-ɣïʂ-i? how will you catch it?
you that/ACC how hold-INC-FUT-COP
sen naɣʊ anï tuʰt-ïwal-ɣïʂ-i? how will you catch it?
you how that/ACC hold-INC-FUT-COP
kʊ çʰïla-ɣa pïʰtïɣ-nï çozï waʂ-qa suwat-ïttï
DEM be.angry-CCO book-ACC table head-DAT put/FIN-PASTev
s/he angrily put down the book onto the table
kʊ pïʰtïɣ-nï çʰïla-ɣa çozï üsïŋ-ki tʰayt-uʰt-ïttï
DEM book-ACC be.angry-CCO table upside/POS3-DAT throw-COM-PASTev
s/he angrily threw the book onto the table
men çuaʂï kʊ ki-ʂ mi ki-ɣïmis mi pïl-in saqïn-atï
I very DEM come-FUT Q come-FUTN Q know-IMP1sg think-DUB
I would very much like to know whether s/he will come or not

Any argument of the verb may follow the verb of a clause as an afterthought.
antaqanta oʰsïrïq-ïn soʰt-qantï, törtiŋ
then fart-POS3ACC release-NARev wolf
then the wolf released a fart
sen pïr tʰulïm-ïʂ-ki sal-ïwat-qaʂ-ya, uzï-nï, sen maŋ,' ti-ɣintï
you one bag-IN-DAT put-FIN-CCO-PCL1 self-ACC you walk say-NARev
'just you put me in a bag and set off,' s/he said
e, am-la puɣa terik pol-ɣaq po-sa, yaŋyaŋ!
EXCL now-PCL2 this/DAT tree become-PHAB become-COND all.sorts
eh, if only there would be all sorts of trees here now!
men çuaʂï pïl-in saqïn-atï o ki-ʂ mi ki-ɣïmis mi
I very know-IMP1sg think-DUB that come-FUT Q come-FUTN Q
I would very much like to know whether s/he will come or not

Relative clauses, which consist of a noun phrase headed by a participle, maintain the same order as a main clause. The subject of the main clause usually occurs close to the verb, but it may precede the relative clause. Compare:

kuziɣï yoq pu-ɣan kʰempiş a woman whose husband is no more
husband not.present become-PP woman

sen maɣa tiat-qan qʰarʊ-nï men aʰl-tï I received the letter you sent me
you me/DAT send-PP letter I take-PAST

men sen maɣa tiatqan qʰarʊ-nï aʰltï I received the letter you sent me
I you me/DAT send-PP letter take-PAST

In the following instances, the object, expressed in the accusative case, is placed in front of the subject for emphasis.

pïʰçaq-tï weywu'ər kïsï-lir pʰerïs-ki imsa-ma-tï
knife-ACC Uygur person-PL fight-CCO use-VN-EV
knives are used by the Uygur to fight with

tʰuŋzï-nï mïz-tïŋ sunzï-ta-qï kʰempiştïɣ-lir su al-ma-tï
bucket-ACC we-GEN village-LOC-KI woman-PL water take-VN-EV
buckets are used by the women in our village to fetch water

pu tïs-tï mïla suʰt-ïptï
this cauldron-ACC child break-PASTev
this pot was broken by a child (lit. a child broke this pot)

yataɣ-nï pïr mïla yõr-uʰt-ïttï
rope-ACC one child untie-COM-PASTev
the rope was untied by a child (lit. a child untied the rope)

o kizkï-nï saɣa kʰïm peʰr-tï? who gave you those clothes?
that clothes-ACC you-DAT who give-PAST

kʰïm saɣa kʊ kizkï-nï peʰr-tï? who gave you those clothes?
who you/DAT DEM clothes-ACC give-PAST

Apparently, a conditional clause may occur between the subject and the verb of the main clause.

pu aʰka nio-sa-ma pïl-ɣik-i-tï this monk knew whatever happened
this monk what.be-COND-PCL3 know-HAB-COP-EV

pu naɣʊ tïli-si-ma yoq-tï however much I looked, it is not there
this how look.for-COND-PCL3 not.present-EV

7.5.1. Discourse

Zero anaphora are frequent.

sen tʰoɣïn menïŋ mïla-nï köʰr-t-ïm? men köʰr-tï (~ *men anï köʰr-tï*)
you yesterday me/GEN child-ACC see-PAST-Q I see-PAST (I that/ACC see-PAST)
did you see my child yesterday? I did (lit. I saw) (~ I saw him/her)

men saɣa tïz-ɣan qʰarʊ-nï aʰl-tï-m?
I you/DAT write-PP letter-ACC take-PAST-Q
did [you] receive the letter I wrote you?

In folk tales, the action of the preceding sentence is often repeated in the following sentence by means of a temporal converb. The adverb ***antaqanta*** 'then, thus, so', historically also a temporal converb, may fullfil this connective function as well.

tïli-w tïli-w taʰq-pa-ɣantï. taʰq-pa-ɣanta-ɣa tïs-tïŋ üzi-ki ɕʰoqe-ɣa pïşt tuʰt-qantï, törtiŋ. antaqanta oʰsïrïq-ïn soʰt-qantï, törtiŋ.
look.for-CSIM look.for-CSIM find-NEG-NAREv find-NEG-CTMP-PCL1 cauldron-GEN upside-DAT sit-CCO louse catch-NAREv wolf then fart-POS3ACC release-NAREv wolf
he searched and searched, [but] did not find them. when he did not find them, the wolf sat down on the cauldron, and caught lice. then the wolf released a fart

7.5.2. Code switching

The present material shows a few examples of code switching between Western Yugur and Chinese (the Chinese material has been underlined). Sometimes a Chinese and Western Yugur equivalent occur side by side.

Texts showing code switching usually contain nonce loans from Chinese as well, substituting for Western Yugur equivalents (e.g. ***xï*** for ***qol***, ***xo*** for ***yaʰş***), but other Chinese loanwords, e.g. ***tioɕɛn*** do not have a Western Yugur equivalent.

şï pa kï ɕozï-tï, saqïs-yiɣïrmï ɕozï-nïŋ-ya yiŋ soŋta-qï
ten eight piece sedan-EV eight-twenty sedan-GEN-PCL1 SUP later-KI
it is eighteen sedans, the last one of the eighteen sedans

antasa xo! pʰoqïr-har-sa yaˣş po-ttï
in.that.case good jump-RES-COND good become-PASTev
in that case, good! if she has jumped, it is good

antan soŋ-ya pu aɕa-sï cï iwei 'qïz-ï yoqqʰa-ttï' saqïn-qantï, 'pu xï-ş-ti'
that/ABL after-PCL1 this father-POS3 self think daughter-POS3 die-PASTev think-NAREv this river-IN-LOC
thereafter this father of hers thought by himself, he thought that his daughter had died in this river

men şɛn-la liaŋ kï tioɕɛn ɕaŋn-in let me first state two conditions
I first-PCL2 two piece condition state-IMP1sg

senïŋ kizkï-nï, ɕʰïnsan-nï uz-uʰt-ïttï it teared your clothes, shirt
you/GEN clothes-ACC shirt-ACC tear-COM-PASTev

1. The Old Woman and the Cow

told by XUÉLIĂN[1]

1. *pïʰtïrkï pïr anika par-i-tï, yaŋqïʗa par.*
2. *mïla-ma yoq, qïztar-ma yoq, tuaʂï qïlïʂ-i-tï.*
3. *taʰqï pïr enik par-i-tï. pu enik-ya xau pʰïŋyou-sï-i-tï.*
4. *kʰunsiːn taˣs-ïŋ-qa yaŋqïʗa ʐi-ɣïla-ɣaq-e-tï.*
5. *ʐi-ɣïla-ɣanta ayka-ma oˣqar-mas, na-p-pa nal-mas.*
6. *o uzï ki-ɣik-i-tï, yü-ʰsïŋ-ki.*
7. *antaqanta-ya pïr kʰuːn-ki eʰt-kinti pu enik taˣs-ïŋ-qa hanï-ɣa yoq pu-ɣantï.*
8. *antaqanta-ya yiŋïːr qara tus-kinti pu anika naɣʊ tïli-si-ma yoq-e-tï.*
9. *'pu naɣʊ tïli-si-ma yoq-tï. pu qar-ɣan-i?*
10. *men pïr tïli-ɣïla-yn,' ti-ɣi maŋ-qantï.*

1. once.upon.a.time one old.woman present-COP-EV alone/ADV present
2. boy-PCL3 not.present girl-PCL3 not.present really pitiable-COP-EV
3. also one cow present-COP-EV this cow-PCL1 good friend-POS3-COP-EV
4. every.day outside-POS3-DAT alone/ADV eat-PUR-HAB-COP-EV
5. eat-PUR-CTMP old.woman-PCL3 pasture-HABN what.do-CON-PCL3 what.do-HABN
6. that self come-HAB-COP-EV house-POS3-DAT
7. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP this cow outside-POS3-DAT go-CCO not.present become-NARev
8. then-PCL1 evening black descend-CTMP this old.woman how look.for-COND-PCL3 not.present-COP-NAR
9. this how look.for-COND-PCL3 not.present-EV this whither.go-NAR-COP
10. I one look.for-PUR-IMP1sg say-CCO walk-NARev

1. Once upon a time there was an old woman, she was alone.
2. She had neither son nor daughter, she was really pitiable.
3. There was also a cow. This cow was her good friend.
4. Every day it used to go outside alone to eat.
5. When it went to eat, the old woman did not pasture it, she did nothing at all.
6. It used to come home by itself.
7. Then one day, this cow went outside and disappeared.
8. Then, when in the evening it became dark, however much this old woman looked for [it], it was not there.
9. 'However much I looked for [it], it is not there. Whither has it gone?
10. Let me go to have a look for [it],' she said and set off.

[1] Recorded 13 September 1995 in Běijīng. For other versions, cf Tenišev 1976: 250-251 № 8, and Malov 1967: 99 № 101. The tale of the helpful objects is widespread: it occurs in Chinese and Tibetan, cf Ting № 210; in Mongolian, cf Lörincz № 106 (210); and in Salar, cf Tenišev 1964: 18-21 № 7, 1964: 61-63 № 25, and 1964: 114-117 № 56.

11. *mv: yol-ɣa eʰt-kinti-ya pïr ʐilan tʰer-ïwal-ɣantï.*
12. *'pu yilan-nï men tʰer-ɣi mayn,' tʰer-ïwal-ɣantï, eni maŋ-qantï.*
13. *maŋ-qanta-ya ïʂkï ɕitan toqïr-v-ɣantï.*
14. *'ey, mïnï-ma tʰer-ïwal-ɣïla-yn,' eni maŋ-qantï.*
15. *eni pïr mos tʰer-ïwal-ɣantï.*
16. *'ey, pu kus-tïŋ mos-ïn tʰer-ɣi mayn,' maŋ-qantï.*
17. *mv: nayv tïli-si-ma taˣq-ma-ɣantï.*
18. *'ey, am ʐü-ɣi mayn.*
19. *mïnï amsa törtiŋ ʐi-wat-qan po-ʂtv,' ti-ɣintï.*
20. *antaqanta yü-ʰsïŋ-ki ki-ɣintï.*
21. *ki-ɣinti-ya am pu kus-ma yoq-tï.*
22. *iˢɕikï-ʂ-ti aɕïs-qa: 'am mïntaqaʂ-ya uzï-yn. amsa nayʂ-e?' antaqaʂ-ya uzï-ɣantï.*
23. *uzï-ɣanta-ya yiŋï:r po-ɣanta pïr törtiŋ anika-nï ʐi-ɣïla ki-ɣintï.*
24. *'men puɣïn-ya pu ayka-nï ʐi-ɣïla-yn,' ti-ɣintï.*

11. walk/CSIM road-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 one snake gather-INC-NARev
12. this snake-ACC I gather-CCO walk/IMP1sg gather-INC-NARev again walk-NARev
13. walk-CTMP-PCL1 two egg fall-AUX-NARev
14. EXCL this/ACC-PCL3 gather-INC-PUR-IMP1sg again walk-NARev
15. again one horn gather-INC-NARev
16. EXCL this bovine-GEN horn-POS3ACC gather-CCO walk/IMP1sg walk-NARev
17. walk/CSIM how look.for-COND-PCL3 find-NEG-NARev
18. EXCL now house-DAT walk/IMP1sg
19. this/ACC anyway wolf eat-FIN-PP become-FUTev say-NARev
20. then house-POS3-DAT come-NARev
21. come-CTMP-PCL1 now this bovine-PCL3 not.present-EV
22. intestines-IN-LOC feel.anxious-CCO now then-PCL1 sleep-IMP1sg anyway what.do/FUT-COP then-PCL1 sleep-NARev
23. sleep-CTMP-PCL1 evening become-CTMP one wolf old.woman-ACC eat-CPUR come-NARev
24. I today-PCL1 this old.woman-ACC eat-PUR-IMP1sg say-NARev

11. While she was walking, along the way, she picked up a snake.
12. She picked it up: 'Let me go and pick up this snake,' and she walked on again.
13. When she walked, [she noticed that] two eggs had fallen.
14. 'Eh, let me go and pick these up too,' and she walked on again.
15. She picked up a horn too.
16. 'Eh, let me go and pick up this cow horn,' and she walked on.
17. While she was walking, however much she looked, she did not find [her cow].
18. 'Eh, now let me walk home.
19. Anyway, it is probable that a wolf has devoured it,' she said.
20. Then she came back to her house.
21. When she came back [home], this cow was not there now.
22. She felt anxiety gnaw at her heart: 'Now then let me sleep. Anyway, what to do?' and then she went to sleep.
23. When she slept it became evening, and a wolf came to eat the old woman.
24. 'Let me go and eat this old woman today,' he said.

25. *ɕïŋxo-ya ayka o ʑila:n, o ɕitan, o kus-tïŋ mos-ï iɕʰi appar-ɣa luzï-nïŋ üsïŋ-ki suwat-qantï.*
26. *antaqanta uzï-ɣantï.*
27. *pu törtiŋ kil-ʊ-ɣanta-ya pu ɕitan-ya luzï-nïŋ üzi-ti olïr-ɣantï.*
28. *pïs-ki olïr-ɣantï.*
29. *antaqanta-ya pu mos-ya qayla-p par-ɣa ayka-nïŋ paˣɕ-ïn-ta ɕʰoqe-q qʰa-ttï.*
30. *oh, taʰqï pu qʰayçi tʰer-ïwal-ɣantʊ.*
31. *o qʰayçi-ya qayla-p par-ɣa ayka-nïŋ azaq-ïn-ta ɕʰoqe-q qʰa-ɣantï.*
32. *antaqanta pu ʑilan-ya qayla-p par-ɣa keymïn sïk-ti ɕʰoqe-q qʰa-ɣantï.*
33. *ɕʰiʂï pu ʑilan-ya o kus-tïŋ iˢɕikï-sï-tʊ, mos-ya o kus-tïŋ mos-tï, o qʰayçi-ya o kus-tïŋ tïmsïɣ-tï.*
34. *antaqanta-ya pu törtiŋ-ya ɕa:ŋ sïk-tin kʰïr-ʊ-ɣanta-ya niɣïl-ɣantï, kʰïr-ïp par-ɣantï.*

25. just.in.time-PCL1 old.woman that snake that egg that bovine-GEN horn-POS3 altogether take.to-CCO stove-GEN upside/POS3-DAT put/FIN-NARev
26. then sleep-NARev
27. this wolf come-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 this egg-PCL1 stove-GEN upside-LOC stay-NARev
28. boil-CCO stay-NARev
29. then-PCL1 this horn-PCL1 run-CON go-CCO old.woman-GEN head-POS3-LOC sit-CON fall-PASTev
30. EXCL also this shears gather-INC-NARev
31. that shears-PCL1 run-CON go-CCO old.woman-GEN foot-POS3-LOC sit-CON fall-NARev
32. then this snake-PCL1 run-CON go-CCO gate door-LOC sit-CON fall-NARev
33. actually this snake-PCL1 that bovine-GEN intestines-POS3-EV horn-PCL1 that bovine-GEN horn-EV that shears-PCL1 that bovine-GEN mouth-EV
34. then-PCL1 this wolf-PCL1 just door-ABL enter-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 what.do-NARev enter-CON go-NARev

25. Just in time, the old woman had taken that snake, those eggs, and that cow horn and had put them altogether on the stove.
26. Then she went to sleep.
27. When this wolf came, these eggs were on the stove.
28. They were boiled.
29. Then this horn ran away and sat down at the old woman's head.
30. Oh, she had also picked up this pair of shears.
31. That pair of shears ran away and sat down at the old woman's feet.
32. Then this snake ran away and sat down at the gate door.
33. Actually this snake was that cow's gut, the horn was that cow's horn, that pair of shears was that cow's mouth.
34. Then just as this wolf entered through the door, he did whatsit, he entered.

35. *kʰïr-ïp par-ɣa çaŋ-ya ayka-nïŋ paʰç-ïn yi:-yn ti-ʊ çaŋ-ya paʰç-ïn ʑi-ɣï ti-ʊ-ɣanta pu kus-tïŋ mos sanç-ʊ sa-ɣantï.*
36. *ça:ŋ-ya azaq-ïn yi:-yn ti-ʊ azaq-ïŋ-qa os-qï ti-ʊ-ɣanta pu qʰayçi tïmsïɣ-ïn qʰayçil-ʊ sa-ɣantï.*
37. *'ay, am ʑi-ʊ yata-ʂtï, mayn!' ti-ɣi qayla-wat-qantï.*
38. *qayla-wat-qanta-ya pu luzï-nïŋ yaŋ-qa eʰt-kinti pu çitan pïs-ki çïnçïŋ paʰrs eʰt-ki köz-ïn yar-uʰt-qantï.*
39. *antaqanta-ya eni qayla-ɣantï.*
40. *qayl-ʊ keymïn sïk-ki eʰt-kinti pu ʑilan hora-q qʰa-ɣantï.*
41. *antaqanta yoqqʰa-ɣantï.*
42. *antaqanta-ya ayka-nï ʑi-ʊ yata-ɣantï.*

35. enter-CON go-CCO just-PCL1 old.woman-GEN head-POS3ACC eat-IMP1sg say-CSIM just-PCL1 head-POS3ACC eat-VNFUT say-AUX-CTMP this bovine-GEN horn stab-CSIM put-NARev
36. just-PCL1 foot-POS3ACC eat-IMP1sg say-CSIM foot-POS3-DAT grab-VNFUT say-AUX-CTMP this shears mouth-POS3ACC clip-CSIM put-NARev
37. EXCL now eat-CSIM cannot-FUTev walk/IMP1sg say-CCO run-FIN-NARev
38. run-FIN-CTMP-PCL1 this stove-GEN side-DAT arrive-CTMP this egg boil-CCO truly ONOM make.sound-CCO eye-POS3ACC smash-COM-NARev
39. then-PCL1 again run-NARev
40. run-CSIM gate door-DAT arrive-CTMP this snake coil-CON fall-NARev
41. then die-NARev
42. then-PCL1 old.woman-ACC eat-CSIM cannot-NARev

35. He entered and just while he said: 'Let me eat the old woman's head,' just when he was about to eat her head, this cow horn started to stab him.
36. Just while he said: 'Let me eat her feet,' when he was about to grab her feet, this pair of shears started to clip his mouth.
37. 'Ay, now I will not be able to eat, I'm off!' he said and he ran away.
38. When he ran away and got near the stove, this egg was boiled, and with a truly bursting sound, it smashed his eye.
39. Then again he ran.
40. When he got at the gate door while running, this snake strangled [him].
41. Then he died.
42. Then he could not eat the old woman.

2. Monster Grandmother

told by XUÉLIĂN[1]

1. *pïʰtïrkï pïr kʰempiştïɣ par-i-tï. kʰempiştïk-ki uş qïz par-i-tï.*
2. *pïr kʰun pu kʰempiştïɣ taʰs-ïŋ-qa ïşkïş tïli-ɣïla-ɣantï.*
3. *tïli-ɣïla-ɣanta pïr maŋqïs-qa tʰuktis-ïq qʰa-ɣantï.*
4. *maŋqïs-qa antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'men-ti uş qïztar par. ʐü-ti ïşkïş yoq pu-ttï.*
5. *mïz-tir xosï tʰorla-ppar-tï. sen maɣa ïşkïş-tin miça per!'*
6. *maŋqïs ayt-qantï: 'seŋ ʐü qanta par-i?'*
7. *kʰempiştïɣ xosïn ti-p per-ɣintï.*
8. *antaqanta maŋqïs pu kʰempiştïɣ-nï ʐi-wat-qantï.*
9. *maŋqïs kʰempiştïɣ-nïŋ kizkï-nï kiz-ki yü-ʰsïŋ-ki eʰt-ïp par-ɣantï.*
10. *maŋqïs sïk-ki eʰt-ki sïk-tï soq-qantï:*

1. once.upon.a.time one woman present-COP-EV woman-DAT three girl present-COP-EV
2. one day this woman outside-POS3-DAT food look.for-PUR-NARev
3. look.for-PUR-CTMP one monster-DAT meet-CON fall-NARev
4. monster-DAT that/EQU say-NARev I-LOC three girl present house-LOC food not.present become-PASTev
5. we-PL all be.hungry-PROG-EV you me/DAT food-ABL little give
6. monster ask-NARev you/GEN house where present-COP
7. woman all/POS3ACC say-CON give-NARev
8. then monster this woman-ACC eat-FIN-NARev
9. monster woman-GEN clothes-ACC dress-CCO house-POS3-DAT arrive-CON go-NARev
10. monster door-DAT arrive-CCO door-ACC knock-NARev

1. Once upon a time there was a woman. The woman had three daughters.
2. One day this woman went outside to look for food.
3. When she went to look for [it], she met with a monster.
4. She said thus to the monster: 'I have three daughters. In the house there is no food left.
5. We are all starving from hunger. Give me a little bit of food!'
6. The monster asked: 'Where is your house?'
7. The woman told everything.
8. Then the monster devoured this woman.
9. The monster got dressed in the woman's clothes and arrived at her house.
10. The monster arrived at the door and knocked at the door:

[1] Dictated 25 September 1995 in Běijīng. The tale is widespread: it occurs in Chinese, cf Ting № 333C; in Tibetan, cf Schuh 1973 № 1; in Mongolian, cf Lörincz № 104 (327H*); and in Salar, cf Tenišev 1964: 64-66 № 26.

11. *'qïztar-lir, sïk aʰʂ-qïla kel!'*
12. *kïʰçiq qïztar-ï: 'ana-ŋ ki-ttʊ!' sïk-tï aʰç-uʰt-qantï.*
13. *ïʂkï pezïk qïztar qara-ɣanta ana-sïn ïsta-ma-ɣantï.*
14. *ni-ma ti-mi-ɣintï.*
15. *maŋqïs antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'qïztar-lir, mïz-tir puʰrçaq qʰar-inï.'*
16. *antaqanta xosï qʰar-ɣantï. qʰar-ʊ-ɣanta ʐi-ɣi uzï-ɣantï.*
17. *kïʰçiq qïztar-ï: 'men ana-nïŋ qoyn-ta uzï-yn!'*
18. *ïʂkï pezïk qïztar kʰazaq-qa uzï-ɣantï.*
19. *uz-ʊ tʰörin eʰt-kinti maŋqïs anika pïrmi qïrïsl-it-ʊ ʐi-ʊ-ɣantï.*
20. *ïʂkï pezïk qïztar ayt-qantï: 'ana, ana, pu sat po-ttï, sen ni ʐi-ppe?'*
21. *'men puʰrçaq ʐi-ppar.'*
22. *ïʂkï qïztar: 'maɣa ïʂkï per!' ti-ɣintï.*
23. *antaqanta pïr kïsïŋ-ki ïʂkï puʰrçaq, pïr kïʰçiq qïz-tïŋ aʰtimaq per-ɣintï.*

11. girl-PL door open-CPUR come
12. small girl-POS3 mother-POS1/2 come-PASTev door-ACC open-COM-NARev
13. two big girl look-CTMP mother-POS3ACC resemble-NEG-NARev
14. what-PCL3 say-NEG-NARev
15. monster that/EQU say-NARev girl-PL we-PL bean bake-IMP1pl
16. then all bake-NARev bake-AUX-CTMP eat-CCO sleep-NARev
17. small girl-POS3 I mother-GEN bosom-LOC sleep-IMP1sg
18. two big girl kang.foot-DAT sleep-NARev
19. sleep-CON2 midnight arrive-CTMP monster grandmother something nibble-QUI-CSIM eat-AUX-NARev
20. two big girl ask-NARev mother mother this time become-PASTev you what eat-PROG/COP
21. I bean eat-PROG
22. two girl me/DAT two give say-NARev
23. then one person/POS3-DAT two bean one small girl-GEN little.finger give-NARev

11. 'Girls, come to open the door!'
12. The youngest girl opened the door: 'Our mother has come back!'
13. When the two big girls looked, [they noticed that] she did not resemble their mother.
14. They said nothing.
15. The monster said thus: 'Girls, let us bake beans.'
16. Then they all baked [beans]. When they had baked [them], they ate and went to sleep.
17. The youngest girl [said]: 'Let me sleep at mother's bosom!'
18. The two big girls slept along the foot end of the kang.
19. While they were sleeping, at midnight, Monster Grandmother was eating something, nibbling quickly.
20. The two big girls asked: 'Mother, mother, it is this late, what are you eating?'
21. 'I am eating beans.'
22. The two girls said: 'Give me two!'
23 Then she gave each one person two beans and one little finger of the young[est] girl.

24. *antaqanta ïşkï qïztar pïl-ɣintï: 'pu mïz-tïŋ ana emis-tï, pu maŋqïs-tï.'*
25. *antaqanta ïşkï qïztar: 'ana, men sïz-kïla-ş!' ti-ɣintï.*
26. *'yer-ti sïz!' ti-ɣintï.*
27. *'yer-ti yer pïʰrqan-tïr. naɣv sïz-kïş-e?'*
28. *'par! kv yünzï-ti sïz!' ti-ɣintï.*
29. *ïşkï qïztar antaɣ ti-ɣintï: yünzï-ş-ti yünzï pïʰrqan-tïr. naɣv sïz-kïş-e?'*
30. *maŋqïs antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'qoy qʰora-ş-ti sïz!'*
31. *'qoy qʰora-ş-ti qoy pïʰrqan-tïr. naɣv sïz-kïş-e?'*
32. *'antasa selir qanta sïz-kïş-e?'*
33. *'mïz-tir qurat-ta sïz-kik.'*
34. *'antasa sïz-kïla!' ti-ɣintï.*
35. *antaqanta ïşkï qïztar kizkï-nï al-n-it-v-ɣa qayla-ɣantï.*
36. *qurat-ta pïr örliɣ terik par-i-tï.*
37. *ïşkï qïztar terik-tïŋ üsïŋ-ki un-ki tiŋïr-nï qïti-ɣintï.*

24. then two girl know-NARev this we-GEN mother is.not-EV this monster-EV
25. then two girl mother I pee-PUR-FUT say-NARev
26. floor-LOC pee say-NARev
27. floor-LOC floor deity-EX how pee-FUT-COP
28. go DEM kitchen.garden-LOC pee say-NARev
29. two girl that/EQU say-NARev kitchen.garden-IN-LOC kitchen.garden deity-EX how pee-FUT-COP
30. monster that/EQU say-NARev sheep pen-IN-LOC pee
31. sheep pen-IN-LOC sheep deity-EX how pee-FUT-COP
32. in.that.case you/PL where pee-FUT-COP
33. we-PL behind.the.fence-LOC pee-HAB
34. in.that.case pee-PUR say-NARev
35. then two girl clothes-ACC take-RFL-QUI-AUX-CCO run-NARev
36. behind.the.fence-LOC one high tree present-COP-EV
37. two girl tree-GEN upside/POS3-DAT ascend-CCO heaven-ACC call-NARev

24. Then the two girls knew: 'This is not our mother, this is a monster.'
25. Then the two girls said: 'Mother, I have to go to pee!'
26. 'Pee on the floor!' she said.
27. 'On the floor is the deity of the floor. How could we pee?'
28. 'Go! Pee in this kitchen garden!' she said.
29. The two girls said thus: 'In the kitchen garden is the deity of the kitchen garden. How could we pee?'
30. The monster said thus: 'Pee in the sheep's pen!'
31. 'In the sheep's pen is the deity of the sheep. How could we pee?'
32. 'In that case, where will you pee?'
33. 'We are used to pee behind the fence.'
34. 'In that case, go to pee!' she said.
35. Then the two girls grabbed [their] clothes and ran.
36. Behind the fence was a high tree.
37. The two girls climbed up the tree and invoked Heaven.

38. *pu maŋqïs ʐü-ʂ-ti saq-ʊ-ɣantï. ïʂkï qïz kel-mi-ɣintï.*
39. *antaqanta ïʂkï qïztar qayl-it-qan-nï pïl-ɣintï.*
40. *maŋqïs qurat-qa tïli-k ki-ɣintï.*
41. *pezïk terik-tïŋ üsïŋ-ki un-ʊ yata-ɣantï.*
42. *antaqanta tïs uzin qaɕa-ɣantï.*
43. *ïʂkï qïztar qoʰrq-qa tiŋïr-nï ɕuaʂï qïti-ɣintï:*
44. *'tiŋïr, tiŋïr, sen ɕʰïntïr tʰayta-ʂ mi taʰqï qʰor tʰayta-ʂ mi?'*
45. *maŋqïs anika qaz-ʊ oyla-ɣantï.*
46. *pïr tʰulkï ki-ɣi: 'men saɣa qaz-in!' ti-ɣintï.*
47. *'sen tïs-tin pïr per!' ti-ɣintï.*
48. *antaqanta maŋqïs tïs-tin pïr per-ɣi antaqanta uzï-q qʰa-ɣantï.*
49. *tʰulkï miɕa qaz-ɣa qar-ʊ maŋqïs uzï-q qʰa-ɣantï.*
50. *uzï-q qʰa-ɣanta aʰrq-tan pisek pʰaqa-wat-qa qayl-it-qantï.*
51. *antaqanta maŋqïs ozɣan-ïk ki-ɣi taʰqï yoɣïn po-ɣa olïr-ɣantï.*
52. *eni qaz-ʊ oyla-ɣantï.*

38. this monster house-IN-LOC wait-AUX-NARev two girl come-NEG-NARev
39. then two girl run-QUI-PP-ACC know-NARev
40. monster behind.the.fence-DAT look.for-CON come-NARev
41. big tree-GEN upside/POS3-DAT ascend-CSIM cannot-NARev
42. then tooth with gnaw-NARev
43. two girl fear-CCO heaven-ACC vehemently call-NARev
44. heaven heaven you chain throw-FUT Q or girdle throw-FUT Q
45. monster grandmother dig-CSIM almost.finish-NARev
46. one fox come-CCO I you/DAT dig-IMP1sg say-NARev
47. you tooth-ABL one give say-NARev
48. then monster tooth-ABL one give-CCO then sleep-CON fall-NARev
49. fox little dig-CCO look-CSIM monster sleep-CON fall-NARev
50. sleep-CON fall-CTMP shit-ABL lump shit-FIN-CCO run-QUI-NARev
51. then monster wake.up-CON come-CCO still thick become-CCO stay-NARev
52. again dig-CSIM almost.finish-NARev

38. This monster was waiting in the house, [but] the two girls did not come.
39. Then she knew that the two girls had run away.
40. The monster came looking for [them] behind the fence.
41. She was not able to climb up the big tree.
42. Then she gnawed [at it] with a tooth.
43. The two girls were afraid and vehemently invoked Heaven:
44. 'Heaven, Heaven, will you throw a chain or will you throw a girdle?'
45. Monster Grandmother had almost finished digging.
46. A fox came and said: 'Let me dig for you!
47. Give one of your teeth!' he said.
48. Then the monster gave one of her teeth and then she fell asleep.
49. The fox dug a bit, and looked - the monster had fallen asleep.
50. When she had fallen asleep, he shitted a piece of shit and dashed off.
51. Then the monster woke up and the [tree] was still thick.
52. Again she had almost finished digging.

53. *eni qaz-v oyla-ɣanta pïr tusqan ki-ɣintï.*
54. *'men saɣa qaz-in, sen maɣa tïs-tin pïr per!' ti-ɣintï.*
55. *'pʰornta tʰulkï ki-ɣi aʰrq-tan pisek pʰaqa-wat-qa qayl-it-ïttï.*
56. *meŋ tïs-tï-ma pïr al-ïŋ-qʰar-ttï.'*
57. *tusqan antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'o tʰulkï-tï. men tusqan-tï.*
58. *men saɣa yaʰʂ-qv qaz-in,' ti-ɣintï.*
59. *antaqanta maŋqïs anika pïr tïs per-ɣi tusqan qaz-ɣanta maŋqïs eni uzï-q qʰa-ɣantï.*
60. *tusqan eni aʰrq-tan pïr pʰaqa-wat-qa qayl-it-qantï.*
61. *maŋqïs anika ozɣan-ïk ki-ɣinti eni aʰrq-tan pisek pʰaqa-wat-qantï.*
62. *antaqanta ɻʰïl-i ɻʰïl-i qaz-ɣantï.*
63. *terik-tï qaz-v oyla-ɣanta qïztar-lir qoʰrq-qa tiŋïr-nï eni qïti-ɣintï:*
64. *'kük tiŋïr! kük tiŋïr! sen ɻʰïntïr tʰayta-ʂ mi taʰqï qʰor tʰayta-ʂ mi?'*
65. *ʂayïr eʰt-kinti pïr ɻʰïntïr tʰayta-k ki-ɣintï.*

53. again dig-CSIM almost.finish-CTMP one hare come-NARev
54. I you/DAT dig-IMP1sg you me/DAT tooth-ABL one give say-NARev
55. before fox come-CCO shit-ABL lump shit-FIN-CCO run-QUI-PASTev
56. me/GEN tooth-ACC-PCL3 one take-RFL-RES-PASTev
57. hare that/EQU say-NARev that fox-EV I hare-EV
58. I you/DAT good-ADV dig-IMP1sg say-PAST-NAR
59. then monster grandmother one tooth give-CCO hare dig-CTMP monster again sleep-CON fall-NARev
60. hare too shit-ABL one shit-FIN-CCO run-QUI-NARev
61. monster grandmother wake.up-CON come-CTMP again shit-ABL lump shit-FIN-NARev
62. then be.angry-CREP be.angry-CREP dig-NARev
63. tree-ACC dig-CSIM almost.finish-CTMP girl-PL fear-CCO heaven-ACC again call-NARev
64. blue heaven blue heaven you chain throw-FUT Q or girdle throw-FUT Q
65. ONOM sound-CTMP one chain throw-CON come-NARev

53. When again she had almost finished digging, a hare came.
54. 'Let me dig for you, give me one of your teeth!' he said.
55. 'Before, a fox came, shitted a piece of shit and dashed off.
56. He has also taken along my tooth.'
57. The hare said thus: 'That was a fox. [But] I'm a hare.
58. I will dig well for you,' he said.
59. Then Monster Grandmother gave a tooth, and while the hare dug, the monster again fell asleep.
60. The hare too shitted a piece of shit and dashed off.
61. When Monster Grandmother woke up, he too had shitted a piece of shit.
62. Then she dug, becoming more and more angry.
63. When she had almost finished digging out the tree, the girls became afraid and again invoked Heaven:
64. 'Blue Heaven, Blue Heaven, will you throw a chain or will you throw a girdle?'
65. With a tinkling sound, it threw down a chain.

66. *ïşkï qïztar tuʰt-qa tiŋïrwaş-qa un-qʰanï-ɣantï.*
67. *maŋqïs anika orq-qa qïti-ɣintï:*
68. *'kük tiŋïr! sen ɕʰïntïr tʰayta-ş mi qʰor tʰayta-ş mi?'*
69. *antaqanta pu qʰor tʰayta-k ki-ɣintï.*
70. *maŋqïs anika un-v oʰrta-sïn-ta eʰt-kinti pïr qarɣa*[2] *ɕoɣ-nï ɕʰili-k ki-ɣi qʰor-nïŋ oʰrta-sïn-ta tʰamtïr-uʰt-qantï.*
71. *maŋqïs anika qʰa-k ki-ɣi yoqqʰa-ɣantï.*

66. two girl hold-CCO top.of.heaven-DAT ascend-TER-NARev
67. monster grandmother be.impatient-CCO call-NARev
68. blue heaven you chain throw-FUT Q or girdle throw-FUT Q
69. then this girdle throw-CON come-NARev
70. monster grandmother climb-CSIM middle-POS3-LOC arrive-CTMP one crow glowing.piece.of.dung-ACC hold.in.the.mouth-CON come-CCO girdle-GEN middle-POS3-LOC set.fire.to-COM-NARev
71. monster grandmother fall-CON come-CCO die-NARev

66. The two girls got hold [of it] and climbed up to Heaven's top.
67. Monster Grandmother became impatient and called:
68. 'Blue Heaven, will you throw a chain or will you throw a girdle?'
69. Then it throw down a girdle.
70. Monster Grandmother climbed up and when she arrived at its middle, a crow came, holding in its mouth a glowing piece of dung, and set fire at the middle of the girdle.
71. Monster Grandmother fell down and died.

[2] This is the mother of the two girls.

3. The Story of the Wolf, the Sheep and the Hare

told by XUÉLIĂN[1]

1. *pïʰtïrkï pïr saq par-i-tï. saq-ta ïʂkï qozï par-i-tï.*
2. *antaqanta-ya pu saq antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
3. *'mizir sizaŋ-qa pïr paʂ ʗal-ɣïla-ynï,' ti-ɣintï.*
4. *antaqanta-ya xuli-nï törtiŋ ïʂkï-sï aŋna-wat-qantï.*
5. *ʗa:ŋ pu qoy panlu-ɣa eʰt-kinti-ya törtiŋ-nï xuli ïʂkï-sï aɣït-it-qantï.*
6. *'he he, am senï ʑi-yn!' ti-ɣintï.*
7. *antaqanta-ya saq yilɣa-ɣantï.*
8. *'menï ʑi-mi:, men sizaŋ-tan paʰʂ-tï ʗal-ïk ki-ɣi am sen menï naɣv yi-ʰsi naɣv ʑi,' ti-ɣin.*
9. *antaqanta-ya pïr ʗïŋzï pol-ɣanta törtiŋ-ma saq-tï soʰt-qantï.*

1. once.upon.a.time one ewe present-COP-EV ewe-LOC two lamb present-COP-EV
2. then-PCL1 this ewe that/EQU say-NARev
3. we/PL Tibet-DAT one head knock-PUR-IMP1pl say-NARev
4. then-PCL1 fox-AND wolf two-POS3 hear-FIN-NARev
5. just this sheep halfway-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 wolf-AND fox two-POS3 stop-QUI-NARev
6. EXCL EXCL now you/ACC eat-IMP1sg say-NARev
7. then-PCL1 ewe cry-NARev
8. me/ACC eat-NEG I Tibet-ABL head-ACC knock-CON come-CCO now you me/ACC how eat-COND how eat say-NARev
9. then-PCL1 one moment become-CTMP wolf-PCL3 ewe-ACC release/COM-NARev

1. Once upon a time, there was a ewe. The ewe had two lambs.
2. Then this ewe said thus:
3. 'Let us go to Tibet to pray,' she said.
4. Then the fox and the wolf both overheard [it].
5. Just when this sheep had got halfway, the wolf and the fox both suddenly stopped [her].
6. 'Eh, eh, now I will eat you!' they said.
7. Then the ewe cried.
8. 'Don't eat me, after I have prayed and come back from Tibet, then you can eat me as you like,' she said.
9. Then after one moment had passed, the wolf released the ewe.

[1] Recorded by Zhōng Jìnwén, 1992 in Mínghuā. This tale is also known among the Eastern Yugur (Bolčuluu & J̌alcan 1988: 165 № 6). It further occurs in Mongolian, cf Lörincz № 11 (126D*); and in Tibetan, cf Ting № 122F and Schuh 1973 № 41.

10. *antaqanta-ya saq eni maŋ-qantï.*
11. *mʊ: ʂizaŋ-qa eʰt-ki paʂ-tï ɕal-ɣa maŋ-qantï.*
12. *maŋ-qanta-ya eni yilɣa-ɣantï.*
13. *qozï ayt-qantï: 'ana, ana, sen ni-ɣi yilɣa-ppe?'*
14. *antaqanta-ya saq antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
15. *'saɣa ti-si-ma yuŋɕʰu yoq-tï.'*
16. *pïr ɕïŋzï maŋ-qanta-ya pïr tusqan un-ïk ki-ɣintï:*
17. *'sen ni-ɣi yilɣa-ppe?' ti-ɣintï.*
18. *'men yilɣa-sa saɣa ti-si-ma yuŋɕʰu yoq-tï.'*
19. *'sen maɣa ti, am men saɣa ɕɛɕüɛl-in.' antaqanta-ya ti-ɣintï.*
20. *'pu xuli-nï törtiŋ ïʂkï-sï menï ʐi-ɣï ti-ppar-tʊ!*
21. *men paʰr-sa menï ʐi-wat-qïʂtï,' ti-ɣin.*
22. *antaqanta-ya tusqan antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
23. *'men saɣa naɣʊ ti-si sen naɣ-ʊtï.'*
24. *antaqanta-ya mʊ: pïr yoʰrt-qa eʰt-kintï.*

10. then-PCL1 ewe again walk-NARev
11. walk/CSIM Tibet-DAT arrive-CCO head-ACC knock-CCO walk-NARev
12. walk-CTMP-PCL1 again cry-NARev
13. lamb ask-NARev mother mother you what-DAT cry-PROG/COP
14. then-PCL1 ewe that/EQU say-NARev
15. you/DAT say-COND-PCL3 use not.present-EV
16. one moment walk-CTMP-PCL1 one hare come.out-CON come-NARev
17. you what-DAT cry-PROG/COP say-NARev
18. I cry-COND you/DAT say-COND-PCL3 use not.present-EV
19. you me/DAT say now I you/DAT solve-IMP1sg then-PCL1 say-NARev
20. this fox-AND wolf two-POS3 me/ACC eat-VNFUT say-PROG-EV
21. I go-COND me/ACC eat-FIN-FUTev say-NAR
22. then-PCL1 hare that/EQU say-NARev
23. I you/DAT how say-COND-PCL2 you what.do-PROGev
24. then-PCL1 walk/CSIM one abandoned.camp-DAT arrive-NARev

10. Then the ewe set off again.
11. While walking, she arrived in Tibet, prayed, and set off.
12. When walking, she cried again.
13. The lambs asked: 'Mother, mother, what are you crying for?' they said.
14. Then the ewe said thus:
15. 'Even if I tell you, it is of no use.'
16. When she had walked for a moment, a hare appeared:
17. 'What are you crying for?' he said.
18. 'If I cry, even if I tell you, it is of no use.'
19. '[Just] you tell me, then I will solve it for you.' Then she told [it].
20. 'This fox and this wolf both intend to eat me!
21. If I go, they will devour me,' she said.
22. Then the hare said thus:
23. 'You do whatever I tell you to do.'
24. Then, while they were walking, they arrived at an abandoned camp.

25. *eʰt-kinti pïr kuotiɛnzï taʰq-qantï.*
26. *tusqan antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'sen kunï tʰer-ïwal!'*
27. *saq tʰer-mis saqïn-qantï: 'kuntarmi-nï tʰer-ɣi ni kanna-ʂ-e?'*
28. *'tʰer-ïwal!' ti-ɣin.*
29. *antaqanta-ya saq tʰer-ïwal-ɣantï. enï maŋ-qantï.*
30. *enï mʊ pïr yoʰrt-qa eʰt-kintï.*
31. *pïr ɕʰayiteyzï tʰayt-ʊ-ɣan.*
32. *antaqanta-ya tusqan antaɣ ti-ɣintï, saq-qa: 'sen kunï tʰer-ïwal!'*
33. *saq eni tʰer-ɣi maŋ-qantï.*
34. *eni mʊ: pïr yoʰrt-qa eʰt-kintï.*
35. *antaqanta-ya pïr teyteyzï taʰq-qantï.*
36. *'mïnï-ma tʰer-ïwal!' ti-ɣintï. eni tʰer-ïwal-ɣantï.*
37. *mʊ: ɕaŋ-ya o törtiŋ-nïŋ yaŋ-qa eʰt-kinti törtiŋ közti-ʊ-ɣantï.*
38. *saq qoʰrq-qa ʑilɣ-uʰt-qantï: 'nal-ɣaq-e?'*

25. arrive-CTMP one potholder find-NARev
26. hare that/EQU say-NARev you DEM/ACC gather-INC
27. ewe gather-HABN think-NARev thing.like.this-ACC gather-CCO what do-FUT-COP
28. gather-INC say-NAR
29. then-PCL1 ewe gather-INC-NARev again walk-NARev
30. again walk/CSIM one abandoned.camp-DAT arrive-NARev
31. one tea.bag throw-AUX-NARev
32. then-PCL1 hare that/EQU say-NARev ewe-DAT you DEM/ACC gather-INC
33. ewe again gather-CCO walk-NARev
34. again walk/CSIM one abandoned.camp-DAT arrive-NARev
35. then-PCL1 one bag find-NARev
36. this/ACC-PCL3 gather-INC say-NARev too gather-INC-NARev
37. walk/CSIM just-PCL1 that wolf-GEN side-DAT arrive-CTMP wolf appear-AUX-NARev
38. ewe fear-CCO cry-COM-NARev what.do-HAB-COP

25. When they arrived [there], they found a potholder.
26. The hare said thus: 'Pick it up!'
27. The ewe did not intend to pick it up: 'Picking up a thing like this, what would [you] do [with it]?'
28. 'Pick it up!' he said.
29. Then the ewe picked it up. Again they set off.
30. While they were walking again, they arrived at an abandoned camp.
31. [Someone] had thrown away a tea bag.
32. Then the hare said thus to the ewe: 'Pick it up!'
33. The ewe picked it up too and [they] set off again.
34. While they were walking again, they arrived at an abandoned camp.
35. Then they found a bag.
36. 'Pick this up too!' he said. She picked it up too.
37. They set off, and just as they arrived near the wolf, the wolf appeared.
38. The ewe burst into tears for fear: 'What am I to do?'

39. *tusqan ʑixa yoq pu-ɣantï.*
40. *ɕaŋ törtiŋ ʑi-ɣï tiʋ-ɣanta tusqan eni un-ïk ki-ɣintï.*
41. *'sen taʰqï mïnta ni kanna-ppe?'*
42. *'kanɕiŋ menïŋ qoŋqïr-ɣa ɕʰïŋn-it!' ti-ɣintï.*
43. *kuotiɛnzï-nï ɕʰïŋn-it-qan.*
44. *maɣa pïʰtïɣ-nï akkʰer,' ti-ɣintï. ɕʰayiteyzï-nï kʰer-ttï.*
45. *'meŋ pʰerïk-tï man-tïr-it,' ti-ɣintï. antaqanta teyteyzï-nï man-tïr-it-qan.*
46. *antaqanta-ya tusqan oŋʂ-ʋ sal-ɣantï: 'am kuoɕa-ɣa menik kʰerik-tï.*
47. *pu xuli-nï törtiŋ-nïŋ tʰer-nï ʑimsa-ʂtï.*
48. *pu ïʂkï tʰer taʰqï pïʰt-kïmistï.'*
49. *antaqanta xuli-nï törtiŋ ïʂkï-sï qoʰrq-qa oʰsïrïq-tï sal-i sal-i qayl-it-qantï.*
50. *antaqanta tusqan uzï eni yoq pu-ɣantï.*
51. *qoy-nï qozï ïʂkï-sï eni yol-ɣa eʰt-ïk ki-ɣintï.*

39. hare all.of.a.sudden not.present become-NARev
40. just wolf eat-VNFUT say-AUX-CTMP hare again come.out-CON come-NARev
41. you still this/LOC what do-PROG/COP
42. immediately me/GEN buttock-DAT put.under-QUI say-NARev
43. potholder put.under-QUI-PNAR
44. me/DAT book-ACC bring say-NARev tea.bag-ACC bring-PASTev
45. me/GEN hat-ACC wear-CAUS-QUI say-NARev then bag-ACC wear-CAUS-QUI-PNAR
46. then-PCL1 hare read-CSIM put-NARev now country-DAT money need-EV
47. this fox-AND wolf-GEN skin-ACC use-FUTev
48. this two skin still suffice-FUTNev
49. then fox-AND wolf two-POS3 fear-CCO fart-ACC release-CREP release-CREP run-QUI-NARev
50. then hare self again not.present become-NARev
51. sheep-AND lamb two-POS3 again road-DAT arrive-CON come-NARev

39. The hare disappeared all of a sudden.
40. Just as the wolf was about to eat [the ewe], the hare appeared again.
41. 'What are you still doing here?' [said the hare to the wolf].
42. 'Put [the cushion] under my buttock at once,' [said the hare to the ewe].
43. She quickly put the potholder underneath [him].
44. 'Bring me the book,' he said. She brought the tea bag.
45. 'Put on my hat quickly,' he said. Then she quickly put on the bag.
46. Then the hare started to read: 'Now the country needs money.
47. They will use the skins of this fox and this wolf.
48. These two skins still do not suffice.'
49. Then the fox and the wolf both dashed off, farting for fear.
50. Then the hare itself disappeared again.
51. The sheep and the lamb[2] both continued their way.

[2] Actually, there were two lambs.

4. The Story of Inviting Uncle Wolf

told by ĀN XIŪZHĒNG[1]

1. *törtiŋ taqa-nï qïˣqïr-ɣan lomaq.*
2. *törtiŋ-ya qoy-nïŋ taqa-sï-i-tï.*
3. *antaqanta-ya pïr: qoy-ya ïʂkï qosïn niɣïl-ïwat-qantï, tïs-tïŋ aʰltïr-ïŋ-qa kʰula-wat-qa hanï-ɣantï.*
4. *antaqanta qoy-ya antaɣ ti-ɣintv, qosïŋ-qa: 'sen-la ni kïsï ki-si-ma sïk aʂ-ma!*
5. *amïr-ʂïmïr mïnïŋ aʰltïr-ïn-ta olïr,' ti-ɣintv.*
6. *teylï törtiŋ yi-ɣi ɕoq-v-ma-ɣantï.*
7. *antaqanta-la pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti tïs-tïŋ aʰltïr-ïŋ-qa kʰula-wat-qa hanï-ɣantï.*
8. *oʰt ʑi-ɣïla hanï-ɣantï.*
9. *törtiŋ ki-ɣintï. tïli-w tïli-w taˣq-pa-ɣantï.*

1. wolf uncle-ACC invite-PP story
2. wolf-PCL1 sheep-GEN maternal.uncle-POS3-COP-EV
3. then-PCL1 one sheep-PCL1 two lamb/POS3ACC what.do-FIN-NARev cauldron-GEN underside-POS3-DAT cover-FIN-CCO go-NARev
4. then sheep-PCL1 that/EQU say-NARev lamb/POS3-DAT you-PCL2 what person come-COND-PCL3 door open-NEG
5. quietly-JINGLE this/GEN underside-POS3-LOC stay say-NARev
6. of.course wolf eat-CCO accomplish-AUX-NEG-NARev
7. then-PCL2 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP cauldron-GEN underside-POS3-DAT cover-FIN-CCO go-NARev
8. grass eat-CPUR go-NARev
9. wolf come-NARev look.for-CSIM look.for-CSIM find-NEG-NARev

1. The story of inviting Uncle Wolf.
2. The wolf was the sheep's maternal uncle.
3. Then once the sheep did whatsit, she covered her two lambs under a cauldron and went away.
4. Then the sheep said thus to her lambs: 'Whatever person comes, don't you open the door!
5. Stay quietly under it,' she said.
6. Of course the wolf had never accomplished to eat [them].
7. Then one day, after she had covered the lambs under it, she went away.
8. She went away to eat grass.
9. The wolf came. He searched and searched, [but] did not find them.

[1] Recorded by Zhōng Jìnwén, 1992 in Mínghuā. For other versions, cf Malov 1967: 107-108 № 106, and 1967: 204-205 № 198.

10. *taˣq-pa-ɣanta-ya tïs-tïŋ üzi-ki: ɕʰoqe-ɣa pïʂt tuʰt-qantï, törtiŋ.*
11. *antaqanta oʰsïrïq-ïn soʰt-qantï, törtiŋ.*
12. *pu ïʂkï qozï antaɣ ti-ɣin: 'qïʐma-sïŋ-qa! tart soq-ʊ:!' ti-ɣintï.*
13. *antaqanta törtiŋ tïs-tï aʰsïr-it-qa qosïn ʐi-wat-qantï.*
14. *antaqanta-la ʐi-ɣiʂ hanï-ɣantï.*
15. *antaqanta qoɣ pül-ɣin-i-tï.*
16. *sosïkïn-ya qoɣ par-ɣantï:*
17. *'taqïŋ, sen maɣa ïˣrq-tan pïr qara.*
18. *meŋ qozï paʰt-ïq qʰa-ttï, qar-ɣan-i?'*
19. *'ay, senïŋ ïˣrq, ɕʰo:t, ɕʰo:t!*
20. *menï ïsta-q qʰa-ɣan kïsï ʐi-wat-tï,' ti-ɣin.*
21. *'antasa taqa-nï taɣïn taŋqar qïˣqïr-ïwat-in.*
22. *menïŋ-kï-ɣi paʂ azaq ʐi-ɣïla kel,' ti-ɣintï.*
23. *ya ti-ɣin. sosïkïn törtiŋ par-ɣantï.*

10. find-NEG-CTMP-PCL1 cauldron-GEN upside-DAT sit-CCO louse catch-NARev wolf
11. then fart-POS3ACC release-NARev wolf
12. this two lamb that/EQU say-PNAR cunt-POS3-DAT ONOM hit-CSIM say-NARev
13. then wolf cauldron-ACC overturn-QUI-CCO lamb/POS3ACC eat-FIN-NARev
14. then-PCL2 eat-CCO go-NARev
15. then sheep know-NAR-COP-EV
16. next.day-PCL1 sheep go-NARev
17. uncle/POS1/2 you me/DAT omen-ABL one look
18. me/GEN lamb be.lost-CON fall-PASTev whither.go-NAR-COP
19. EXCL you/GEN omen EXCL EXCL
20. me/ACC resemble-CON fall-PP person eat-FIN-PAST say-NAR
21. in.that.case uncle-ACC tomorrow morning invite-FIN-IMP1sg
22. me/GEN-KI-DAT head foot eat-CPUR come say-NARev
23. all.right say-NAR next.day wolf go-NARev

10. When he did not find [them], the wolf sat down on the cauldron, and caught lice.
11. Then the wolf released a fart.
12. These two lambs said thus: 'Fuck you! Squeezing a fart!' they said.
13. Then the wolf quickly overturned the cauldron and devoured the lambs.
14. Then, after he had eaten [them], he went away.
15. Then the sheep knew.
16. The next day the sheep went:
17. 'My Uncle, look for me at the omens.
18. My lambs got lost, whither have they gone?'
19. 'Ay, your omen, hail, hail!
20. A person resembling me has devoured [them],' he said.
21. 'In that case, let me invite Uncle tomorrow morning.
22. Come to my place to eat head and feet,' she said.
23. He agreed. The next day the wolf went.

24. *antaqanta-la pu qoy-ya kʰaŋ-ïn weyla-ɣa: qʰoryaq-ïn ɕuaʂï tuʰtit-ïwat-qaʂ-la qïzart-ïwat-qa-la inaq-ïn yaz-ya kʰaŋ-qa tʰelk aʂ-qa antaqanta-la paʰɕ-ïn azaq-ïn quʂqala-ɣa tʰul-ɣi olïr-ɣantɤ:.*
25. *taqïŋ-ma ki-ttɤ: 'kʰaŋ-qa ɕʰoqe!' ɕʰoqe-ttï.*
26. *'taqa, taqa, naqï-raq ɕʰoqe. men saɣa azaq per-in!*
27. *taqa, taqa, eni naqï-raq ɕʰoqe, men saɣa eni azaq per-in!'*
28. *tört azaq-ïn tuanna-ɣantï.*
29. *antaqanta-la: 'taqa, taqa, naqï-raq ɕʰoqe, men saɣa yaŋaq per-in!'*
30. *ïʂkï yaŋaq per-ɣin.*
31. *taqa, taqa, naqï-raq ɕʰoqe, men saɣa paˣʂ per-in!' ti-ɣintï.*
32. *antaqanta-la törtiŋ tʰelk-ïʂ-ki qʰal-xanï-ɣantï.*
33. *antaqanta-la: 'altam, altam, menï taʰrt-it!' ti-ɣintï.*
34. *'miɕa olïr, men ton-nï kiz-it-qa:,' ti-ɣin.*
35. *'altam, altam, tʰaŋna-ppar-tï, menï taʰrt-it!' ti-ɣintï.*

24. then-PCL2 this sheep-PCL1 kang-POS3ACC heat-CCO hot.dung-POS3ACC really kindle-FIN-CCO-PCL2 make.red-FIN-CCO-PCL2 felt.blanket-POS3ACC spread-CCO kang-DAT hole open-CCO then-PCL2 head-POS3ACC foot-POS3ACC singe-CCO cook-CCO stay-NARev
25. uncle/POS1/2-PCL3 come-PASTev kang-DAT sit sit-PASTev
26. uncle uncle yonder-COMP sit I you/DAT foot give-IMP1sg
27. uncle uncle again yonder-COMP sit I you/DAT again foot give-IMP1sg
28. four foot-POS3ACC hold.in.both.hands-NARev
29. then-PCL2 uncle uncle yonder-COMP sit I you/DAT jaw give-IMP1sg
30. two jaw give-PNAR
31. uncle uncle yonder-COMP sit I you/DAT head give-IMP1sg say-NARev
32. then-PCL2 wolf hole-IN-DAT fall-TER-NARev
33. then-PCL2 quick quick me/ACC pull-QUI say-NARev
34. little stay I garment-ACC dress-QUI-CCO say-NAR
35. quick quick burn-PROG-EV me/ACC pull-QUI say-NARev

24. Then this sheep heated her kang, really kindled its hot dung and made it red hot, spread her felt blanket, made a hole in the kang, then singed their head and feet, and cooked them.
25. And our Uncle came: 'Sit down on the kang!' He sat down.
26. 'Uncle, Uncle, sit down a little further. Let me give you a foot!
27. Uncle, Uncle, sit down a little further again, let me give you another foot!'
28. She offered their four feet.
29. Then: 'Uncle, Uncle, sit down a little further, let me give you a jaw!'
30. She gave two jaws.
31. 'Uncle, Uncle, sit down a little further, let me give you a head!' she said.
32. Then the wolf fell into the hole.
33. Then he said: 'Quick, quick, pull me out!'
34. 'Wait a little, while I slip into a garment,' she said.
35. 'Quick, quick, I'm burning awfully, pull me out!' he said.

36. *'miɕa olïr, men qʰor-nï qusan-it-qa.'*
37. *'altam, altam, menï taʰrt-it!' ti-ɣintï.*
38. *'miɕa olïr, qʰay-nï kiz-it-qa.'*
39. *'oy, taʰrt-it, tʰaŋna-ppar-tï!' ti-ɣintï.*
40. *antaqanta-la taʰrt-it-qantï.*
41. *ɕintʰou-la taʰrt-ïk ki-ɣinti-ya tʰerï-sïn soɣïl-uʰt-qantï.*
42. *'e:, am aɣïr-ïppar-tï, naɣş-e?' ti-ɣintï.*
43. *antaqanta tiʰkin par-i-tï, kunta.*
44. *'kʊ tiʰkin-ïş-ki aɣïna,' ti-ɣintï.*
45. *antaqanta-la ɕa: aɣïr-ɣa ɕoq-pa-ɣantï.*
46. *'am naɣş-e? aɣïr-ïppar-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
47. *antaqanta-ya: 'miɕa pïz-tïŋ üsïŋ-ki aɣïna,' ti-ɣintï.*
48. *pïz-ki pïr aɣïna-ɣanta-la tʰerï-sïn soy-uʰt-qantï.*
49. *antaqanta-la törtiŋ-nï yülïr-ïwat-qantï.*

36. little stay I girdle-ACC put.on.a.girdle-QUI-CCO
37. quick quick me/ACC pull-QUI say-NARev
38. little stay shoe-ACC dress-QUI-CCO
39. quick pull-QUI burn-PROG-EV say-NARev
40. then-PCL2 pull-QUI-NARev
41. by.the.time-PCL2 pull-CON come-CTMP-PCL1 skin-POS3ACC bake-COM-NARev
42. EXCL now hurt-PROG-EV what.do/FUT-COP say-NARev
43. then thorn present-COP-EV there
44. DEM thorn-IN-DAT roll say-NARev
45. then-PCL2 truly hurt-CCO accomplish-NEG-NARev
46. now what.do/FUT-COP hurt-PROG-EV say-NARev
47. then-PCL1 little ice-GEN upside/POS3-DAT roll say-NARev
48. ice-DAT one roll-CTMP-PCL2 skin-POS3ACC peel-COM-NARev
49. then-PCL2 wolf-ACC kill-FIN-NARev

36. 'Wait a little, while I quickly put on a girdle.'
37. 'Quick, quick, pull me out!' he said.
38. 'Wait a little, while I slip into [my] shoes.'
39. 'Quick, pull at once, I'm burning awfully!' he said.
40. Then she pulled him out.
41. By the time she pulled him out, she had baked his skin.
42. 'Eh, now it is hurting awfully, what to do?' he said.
43. Then there were thorns there.
44. 'Roll in those thorns,' she said.
45. Then he truly could not stand the pain.
46. 'Now what to do? It is hurting awfully,' he said.
47. Then she said: 'Roll a little on the ice.'
48. When he rolled once on the ice, he peeled off his skin.
49. Then she had killed the wolf.

5. The Raven

told by ĀN XIŪZHĒNG[1]

1. *qoŋqïri-ya*[2] *törtiŋ-ki par-ɣanta ti-ɣik-i-tï*:
2. *'am malçï uzï-q qʰa-ttï, uzï-q qʰa-ttï! oy maŋ! oy maŋ!'*
3. *malçï-nïŋ qaʰt-qa eʰt-ki qoŋqïri antaɣ ti-ɣik*:
4. *'kel-itï! kel-itï! törtiŋ kel-itï! kel-itï!' ti-ɣik-i-tï.*
5. *törtiŋ ki-ɣinti-ya*: *'sen-ya iˢt-ïn yi, men-ya iʰçikï-sïn ʑi-yn, qoruŋ, qoruŋ, qoruŋ, qoruŋ!' ti-ɣik-i-tï.*

1. raven-PCL1 wolf-DAT go-CTMP say-HAB-COP-EV
2. now herdsman sleep-CON fall-PASTev sleep-CON fall-PASTev quick walk quick walk
3. herdsman-GEN side-DAT arrive-CCO raven that/EQU say-HAB
4. come-DUB come-DUB wolf come-DUB come-DUB say-HAB-COP-EV
5. wolf come-CTMP-PCL1 you-PCL1 meat-POS3ACC eat I-PCL1 intestines-POS3ACC eat-IMP1sg ONOM ONOM ONOM ONOM say-HAB-COP-EV

1. The raven goes to the wolf and says thus:
2. 'Now the herdsman has fallen asleep, he has fallen asleep! Go quick, go quick!'
3. Arriving at the herdsman's side, the raven says thus:
4. 'He is coming, he is coming, the wolf is coming! He is coming!' he says.
5. When the wolf came, he says: 'You eat his meat, let me eat his intestines, korung, korung, korung, korung!'

[1] Recorded by Zhōng Jìnwén, 1992 in Mínghuā.

[2] The raven is the wolf's maternal uncle.

6. The Grateful Animals

told by XUÉLIĂN[1]

1. *men pïr lomaq ti-yn.*
2. *pïʰtïrkï piʰtior yiuti pïʰtïɣ yörɣin-mi mïla-lir par-i-tï.*
3. *pïr kʰun iˢɕ-in-ti pïr mïla taˣs-ïŋ-qa oyna-ɣïla-ɣantï.*
4. *oyna-ɣïla-ɣanta su qïzïɣ-ta pïr aq paqa tuʰt-ïwal-ɣantï.*
5. *tuaʂï aq-paq-i-tï.*
6. *antaqanta-ya aq paqa aŋ-qa-qïna oyn-in saqïn-qan.*
7. *kʰunsiːn aɣa porta-ɣaq-i-tï.*
8. *antaqanta-ya pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti faŋɕala-ɣanta yü-ʰsïŋ-ki maŋ-qantï.*
9. *yü-ʰsïŋ-ki maŋ-qanta-ya pu aq paqa-nï uzï-nïŋ arkan-ïʂ-ki suwat-qantï.*
10. *arkan-ïʂ-ki suwat-qanta-ya yiutiː ʐiʂ suwat-qantï.*

1. I one story tell-IPM1sg
2. once.upon.a.time quite many book learn-VN boy-PL present-COP-EV
3. one day in-POS3-LOC one boy outside-POS3-DAT play-PUR-NARev
4. play-PUR-CTMP water side-LOC one white frog hold-INC-NARev
5. really white-JINGLE-COP-EV
6. then-PCL1 white frog take/RFL-CCO-INT play-IMP1sg think-NAR
7. every.day that/DAT feed-HAB-COP-EV
8. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP have.holiday-CTMP house-POS3-DAT walk-NARev
9. house-POS3-DAT walk-CTMP-PCL1 this white frog-ACC self-GEN box-IN-DAT put/FIN-NARev
10. box-IN-DAT put/FIN-CTMP-PCL1 much food put/FIN-NARev

1. Let me tell a story.
2. Once upon a time, there were quite a lot of students.
3. One day, one boy went outside to play.
4. When he went to play, he caught a white frog at the water side.
5. It was really very white.
6. Then he intended to play [with it] and took the white frog along.
7. He used to feed it every day.
8. Then one day, when he had a holiday, he set off for home.
9. When he set off for home, he put this white frog in his own box.
10. When he put [it] in the box, he put a lot of food in it.

[1] Recorded 13 September 1995 in Běijīng. Other versions of this tale occur in Salar, cf Tenišev 1964: 83-86 № 45; and Tibetan, cf Schuh IV 1982: 69-72.

11. *antaqanta-ya hanï-ɣanta-ya toɣïr pïʰtïɣ yörɣin-mi mïla-lir iˢç-in-ti pïr kuzï pïr kuzï aq ïs közti-v-ɣantï.*
12. *antaqanta-ya loʂï antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
13. *'iˢç-in-ti ïs pïʰtïr-vtï. iˢç-in-ti ni war-i? pïl-mistï.'*
14. *antaqanta-ya pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya pu mïla yü-ʰsïŋ-ki par-ɣa ki-ɣin-i-tï.*
15. *ki-ɣinti-ya loʂï antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
16. *'iˢç-in-ti ïs pïʰtïr-vtï, arkan iˢç-in-ti.*
17. *kançiŋ çʰiol-uʰt-qa iˢç-in qara!' antaɣ ti-ɣin.*
18. *antaqanta-ya aʰɕ-uʰt-qantï.*
19. *aʰɕ-uʰt-qanta-ya aq paqa ɕïnçïŋ tʰorla-ɣa: olïr-ɣantï.*
20. *antaqanta-ya pu yiuti: ʑiʂ aŋ-qa-qïna aq paqa-nï yüɛn xuey tiat-ïwat-qantï, o su-nïŋ qïzïq-qa.*
21. *antaqanta-ya pïr kʰu:n-ki eʰt-kinti-ya kïsï-lir pu su qïzïɣ-ta yoz-sa-ya, niçi kïsï yoz-sa niçi kïsï yoq pu-ɣaq-e-tï.*

11. then-PCL1 go-CTMP-PCL1 other book learn-VN boy-PL inside-POS3-LOC one spiral one spiral white smoke appear-AUX-NARev
12. then-PCL1 teacher that/EQU say-NARev
13. inside-POS3-LOC smoke smoke-PROGev inside-POS3-LOC what present-COP know-DUBN
14. then-PCL2 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this boy house-POS3-DAT go-CCO come-PNAR-COP-EV
15. come-CTMP-PCL1 teacher that/EQU say-NARev
16. inside-POS3-LOC smoke smoke-PROGev box inside-POS3-LOC
17. immediately pry.open-COM-CCO inside-POS3ACC look that/EQU say-PNAR
18. then-PCL1 open-COM-NARev
19. open-COM-CTMP-PCL1 white frog truly be.hungry-CCO stay-NARev
20. then-PCL1 this much food take/RFL-CCO-INT white frog-ACC as.before time abandon-FIN-NARev that water-GEN side-DAT
21. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 person-PL this water side-LOC pass-COND-PCL1 how.many person pass-COND how.many person not.present become-HAB-COP-EV

11. Then, when he had left, spirals and spirals of white smoke appeared among the other students.
12. Then the teacher said thus:
13. 'Inside it is smoking. What is there inside? One would not know.'
14. Then one day, this boy went home and came back.
15. When he came back, the teacher said thus:
16. 'Inside, in the box, it is smoking.
17. Pry it open immediately and look at its inside!' thus he said.
18. Then he opened it.
19. When he opened it, the white frog had become truly hungry.
20. Then this [boy] took along a lot of food and let the white frog go again, at that water side.
21. Then one day, if people pass along this water side, whoever passes used to disappear.

22. *antaqanta-ya pu mülа antaɣ saqïn-qantï: 'men pïr yoz-ïq qar-in-ya.*
23. *iˢç-in-ti ni-sï menï ʐi-ʍat-qïʂ-i?' saqïn-qantï.*
24. *mʊ:-ya anïŋ yaŋ-qa eʰt-kinti-ya uzï sïsaŋna-k ki-ɣintï.*
25. *tiŋïr qarar-hanï-ɣanta-ya am sïsaŋna-k ki-ɣintʊ:*
26. *'men içʰɛn mïnta pïr aq paqa suʍat-qan-i, o qar-ɣan-i:!' saqïn-qantï.*
27. *pï:r saqïn-qanta-ya pu tiŋïr-ma aqar-ɣantï, aˣʂtï-ɣantï.*
28. *antaqanta-ya iˢç-in-ti pezï:k pïr aq paqa çïnçïŋ un-ïk kil-u-ɣantï, naqï tʰaɣ-nïŋ iˢç-in-tï*[2].
29. *un-ïk ki-ɣin-ti-ya mülа antaɣ ti-ɣin-i-tï:*
30. *'sen nati mïnïŋ pezïk pol-ɣan-i?' ti-ɣintï.*
31. *antaqanta-ya aq paqa: 'sen maɣa suʍat-qan ʐiʂ az muli-tï.*
32. *men tʰorl-ʊ: antaqanta-ya men kïsï ʐi-ˢtï, uzki men kïsï ʐi-ɣïmis.*
33. *men tʰorla-ppar-tï-ya, men kïsï ʐi-ˢtï,' ti-ɣintï.*
34. *antaqanta-ya mülа-ɣa eni antaɣ titʊ: 'sen meŋ iʰçikï-ʂ-ki kʰïr-ïp par.*

22. then-PCL1 this boy that/EQU think-NARev I one pass-CON look-IMP1sg-PCL1
23. inside-POS3-LOC what-POS3 me/ACC eat-FIN-FUT-COP think-NARev
24. walk/CSIM-PCL1 that/GEN side-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 self think-CON come-NARev
25. sky be.black-TER-CTMP-PCL1 now think-CON come-NARev
26. I previously this/LOC one white frog put/FIN-NAR-COP that whither.gone-NAR-COP think-NARev
27. one think-CTMP-PCL1 this sky-PCL3 be.light-NARev be.clear-NARev
28. then-PCL1 inside-POS3-LOC big one white frog truly come.out-CON come-AUX-NARev yonder mountain-GEN inside-POS3-LOC
29. come.out-CON come-CTMP-PCL1 boy that/EQU say-PNAR-COP-EV
30. you why this/GEN big become-PNAR-COP say-NARev
31. then-PCL1 white frog you me/DAT put/FIN-PP food few very-EV
32. I be.hungry-CSIM then-PCL1 I person eat-PAST otherwise I person eat-FUTN
33. I be.hungry-PROG-EV-PCL1 I person eat-PAST say-NARev
34. then-PCL1 boy-DAT again that/EQU say/DUB you me/GEN intestines-IN-DAT enter-CON go

22. Then this boy thought thus: 'Let me try to pass along once.
23. In it, what is it that will devour me?' he thought.
24. While walking, when he arrived near the [water], a thought occurred to himself.
25. When the sky became dark, at that moment a thought occurred [to him]:
26. 'Previously, I did release a white frog here: whither has it gone?' he thought.
27. [Just] when he was thinking [this], this sky became light, it became clear.
28. Then in it, [from with]in those mountains, a big white frog truly had come out.
29. When it came out, the boy said thus:
30. 'Why have you become so big?' he said.
31. Then the white frog: 'The food you put with me was very little.
32. I was [so] hungry, then I ate people, otherwise I would not eat people.
33. I was starving, [so] I ate people,' it said.
34. Then again it says thus to the boy: 'Just you enter my intestines.

[2] Apparently a mistake for *su-nïŋ* 'of the water' (water-GEN).

35. *kʰïr-ïp par-ɣa meŋ iˢçikï-ş-ti pïr aq nimi par.*
36. *sen maɣa anï untur-ïk ki!' antaɣ ti-ɣin-i-tï.*
37. *antaqanta-ya mïla iˢçikï-ş-ki kʰïr-ïp par-ɣantï.*
38. *kʰïr-ïp par-ɣa o aq örçü-nï akkʰer-ɣintï*[3].
39. *antaqanta-ya: 'sen-ya pu aq örçü-nï aŋ-qa qaɣa eʰt-si qanta ims-ʊ çïta-ş.*
40. *ʐukuo ʐïq kïsï seni ʐïli-si sen mïnï pïr töʰrsaqta-sa-ya o kïsï maşaŋ yoqqʰa-ştï.*
41. *sen-ya yaˣş kïsï kör-ɣi yül-ɣi olïr-ɣanta-ya pïr çola-sa o kïsï tïrlï-k ki-ştï,' ti-ɣintï.*
42. *antaqanta-ya pu mïla anï aŋ-qa-qïna o aq paqa-nï tʰayt-ïwat-qa maŋ-qantï.*
43. *miça maŋ-qanta-ya pïr kïsï yül-ɣi olïr-ɣantï.*
44. *kïsï yül-ɣi olïr-ɣanta kïsï-nïŋ pïr ʐikʰï-sï hora-*[..].

35. enter-CON go-CCO me/GEN intestines-IN-LOC one white thing present
36. you me/DAT that/ACC take.out-CON come that/EQU say-PNAR-COP-EV
37. then-PCL1 boy intestines-IN-DAT enter-CON go-NARev
38. enter-CON go-CCO that white thing-ACC bring-NARev
39. then-PCL1 you-PCL1 this white thing-ACC take/RFL-CCO whither arrive-COND where use-CSIM can-FUT
40. if bad person you/ACC harass-COND you this/ACC one turn.around-COND-PCL1 that person immediately die-FUTev
41. you-PCL1 good person see-CCO die-CCO stay-CTMP-PCL1 one reflect-COND that person revive-CON come-FUTev say-NARev
42. then-PCL1 this boy that/ACC take/RFL-CCO-INT that white frog-ACC leave-FIN-CCO walk-NARev
43. little walk-CTMP-PCL1 one person die-CCO stay-NARev
44. person die-CCO stay-CTMP person-GEN one rib-POS3 be.lacking-[..]

35. After you have entered, [you will notice that] there is a white thing in my intestines.
36. Get it out for me!' thus it said.
37. Then the boy entered its intestines.
38. He entered and brought that white thing along.
39. Then [the frog said]: 'Take this white thing along, and you will be able to use it wherever you get.
40. If a bad person harasses you, if you turn this around once, that person will die immediately.
41. If you reflect it once after you have seen a good person when he has died, that person will come back to life,' it said.
42. Then this boy took it along, left that white frog and set off.
43. When he had walked a little, [he noticed that] a person had died.
44. When [this] person had died, one rib of [this] person was lacking.

[3] The object is a mirror.

45. *antaqanta-ya yülyïn-nï sï-ɣa-qïna iˢç-iŋ-ki ɕʰala-ɣa antaqanta ʂopaq-tï piala-ɣa antaqanta iˢç-iŋ-ki sa-ɣa pïr ɕola-ɣantï.*
46. *pu kïsï türlï-ɣintï.*
47. *pu kïsï türlï-ɣi maŋ-ïwat-qantï. antaqanta-ya eni maŋ-qantï.*
48. *maŋ-qanta-ya yiuti: zona yül-ɣi olïr-ɣantï.*
49. *cona-nï-ma ɕola-ɣa türlï-t-ïwat-qantï.*
50. *antaqanta-ya eni maŋ-qanta-ya ʂorɣïʰlɕïn, ʂïɣan ɕïnɕïŋ alir-nï içʰi türlï-t-ïwat-qantï.*
51. *antaqanta eni maŋ-qantï.*
52. *mv: pïr ɕazï-nïŋ-kï-ɣi eʰt-kinti-ya pu ɕula-wat-qan kïsï qayla-p par-ɣa mïla-nïŋ pu toqïr nimi-sïn qʰoŋ-qantï.*
53. *antaqanta eni kola-ɣantï: 'ku kïsï meŋ mïnï ɕʰïmïkti-har-ttï.*
54. *antaqanta-ya meŋ örɕü yoq po-ttï,' ti-ɣintï.*
55. *pu ɕoula-ɣan kïsï kola-ɣa eni örɕü-sïn-ma qʰoŋ-qantï.*
56. *antaqanta-ya pu mïla-nï ɕɛnyü-ʂ-ki sola-wat-qantï.*

45. then-PCL1 tamarisk-ACC break-CCO-INT inside-POS3-DAT insert-CCO then mud-ACC paste-CCO then inside-POS3-DAT put-CCO one reflect-NARev
46. this person revive-NARev
47. this person revive-CCO walk-FIN-NARev then-PCL1 again walk-NARev
48. walk-CTMP-PCL1 many wasp die-CCO stay-NARev
49. wasp-ACC-PCL3 reflect-CCO revive-CAUS-FIN-NARev
50. then again walk-CTMP-PCL1 ant mouse truly that/PL-ACC altogether revive-CAUS-FIN-NARev
51. then again walk-NARev
52. walk/CSIM one family-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this rescue-FIN-PP person run-CON go-CCO boy-GEN this round thing-POS3ACC seize-NARev
53. then again sue-NARev DEM person me/GEN this/ACC steal-RES-PASTev
54. then-PCL1 me/GEN thing not.present become-PASTev say-NARev
55. this rescue-PP person sue-CCO again thing-POS3ACC-PCL3 seize-NARev
56. then-PCL1 this boy-ACC prison-IN-DAT lock-FIN-NARev

45. Then [the boy] broke a tamarisk, put it in him, then pasted mud [onto him], then put [it] in him, and reflected once.
46. This person revived.
47. After this person had revived, they set off. Then they walked on.
48. When they were walking, [he noticed that] a lot of wasps had died.
49. He also revived the wasps by reflecting.
50. When they walked on again, he revived ants, a mouse, truly all of them together.
51. Then they walked on again.
52. While they were walking, when they arrived at a family's [house], this person he had rescued seized this round thing of the boy and ran away.
53. Then he also sued [the boy]: 'This person has stolen this [thing] of mine.
54. Then my thing had disappeared,' he said.
55. This rescued person sued [him] and also got hold of his thing.
56. Then [they] locked this boy up in prison.

57. *sola-wat-qanta-ya pu ɕula-wat-qan cona, ɕula-wat-qan ʂiɣan, ɕula-wat-qan ʂoryïʰlɕïn ki-ɣi xosï paŋnas-qantʊ, sïk-tïŋ fïŋfïŋzï-tan kʰïr-i kʰïr-i.*
58. *pu ʂiɣan-ya par-ɣa-qïna kïsï-nïŋ-kï-ti semen iˢɕ-ʊ-ɣanta semen-ïn tuanna-k ki-ɣik-i-tï.*
59. *pu cona-ya qayla-p par-ɣa taˣs-ïn-ta ni ʂoʂi tïr-ïm antarmi aŋna-k ki-ɣi-kïna ti-ɣik-i-tï.*
60. *pu ʂoryïʰlɕïn-lir taˣs-ïn-ta mïnta miɕa anta miɕa iɕʰi tʰer-ïk ki-ɣik-i-tï.*
61. *pïr kʰu:n-ki eʰt-kinti-ya pu ʂiɣan-ya kïsï-nïŋ-kï-ɣi par-ɣantï.*
62. *kïsï-lir ɕa:ŋ iˢɕ-ʊ-ɣanta-ya pï:r qayla-ɣa liɛnpʰɛn-ïʂ-ki[4] kʰïr-ïq qʰa-ɣantï.*
63. *kïsï antaɣ saqïn-qantï: 'i, ʂiɣan-ma qʰal-xar-ttï! am ni ʑi-ppaɣ?' ti-ɣin.*
64. *ah, taˣs-ïŋ-qa untïr-it-qanta-ya ʂiɣan liɛnpʰïn tuanna-ɣa qayla-ɣantï.*
65. *qayla-k ki-ɣi mïla-ɣa iˢɕir-ɣik-i-tï.*

57. lock-FIN-CTMP-PCL1 this rescue-FIN-PP wasp rescue-FIN-PP mouse rescue-FIN-PP ant come-CCO all help-NARev door-GEN crevice-ABL enter-CREP enter-CREP
58. this mouse-PCL1 go-CCO-INT person-GEN-KI-LOC food eat-AUX-CTMP food-POS3ACC hold.in.both.hands-CON come-HAB-COP-EV
59. this wasp-PCL1 run-CON go-CCO outside-POS3-LOC what news EX-Q that.kind.of.thing hear-CON come-CCO-INT tell-HAB-COP-EV
60. this ant-PL outside-POS3-LOC this/LOC little that/LOC little altogether gather-CON come-HAB-COP-EV
61. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this mouse-PCL1 person-GEN-KI-DAT go-NARev
62. person-PL just drink-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 one run-CCO washbasin-IN-DAT enter-CON fall-NARev
63. person that/EQU think-NARev EXCL mouse-PCL3 fall-RES-PASTev now what eat-PROG/COP say-PNAR
64. EXCL outside-POS3-DAT take.out-QUI-CTMP-PCL1 mouse washbasin hold.in.both.hands-CCO run-NARev
65. run-CON come-CCO boy-DAT feed-HAB-COP-EV

57. When they had locked him up, these rescued wasps, rescued mouse, and rescued ants all came to help, always entering through the door's crevice.
58. This mouse used to go and, when they were eating at a person's [house], it used to come back carrying their food in both hands.
59. These wasps used to run away and, after having heard outside what news there was and things like that, used to tell [it].
60. These ants used to gather together a little here and a little there outside.
61. One day this mouse went to a person's [house].
62. Just when the people were about to eat, it ran and plunged into the washbasin.
63. The people thought thus: 'Eh, a mouse has fallen [in it]! What do we eat now?' they said.
64. Ah, when they quickly took [it] outside, the mouse ran off carrying the washbasin in both its hands.
65. It used to run back and feed the boy.

[4] *tïs* 'cauldron' is more appropriate.

66. *antaqanta-ya eni pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya pïr cona-ya taˣs-ïn-ta aŋn-ʊ mïnta aŋn-ʊ kïsï-lir ni ti-ʊtï antarmi aŋna-ɣaq-i-tï.*
67. *pïr kʰu:n-ki eʰt-kinti-ya o aŋna-k ki-ɣi ʐiɣït-ki ti-ɣintʊ.*
68. *am pu mïla pezï-har-ttï, ʐiɣït pu-ttï.*
69. *antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'men taʰs-ïn-ta aŋna-ʰtï.*
70. *qaysï qaysï kïsï-nïŋ, ɕouʂï, pïr ta:nɕin fu kïsï-nïŋ-kï-ti, pïr qïztar-nï kïsï-ɣi kʰeln per-ʊtï.*
71. *lou-nïŋ üsïn-ti qïztar pïr ɕʰiɕʰou[5] tʰayta-ʂ,' titï.*
72. *kʰïm-ya anï tʰer-ïwal-sa-ya kʰïm-ki kʰeln po-ʂtʊ,' antaɣ ti-ɣin.*
73. *antaɣ ti-ʊtï: 'men antaɣ saqïn-qan: sen pïr par-sa o-ʂtï,' antaɣ ti-ɣintï.*
74. *antaqanta-ya pu mïla-ma saqïn-qan: 'e, men pïr par-ʊ ɕïta-ɣaq pu-sa:!' ti-ɣin.*
75. *antaqanta-ya pu cona, ʂïɣan, ʂoryʰlɕïn, mïla xosï-ya pu sïk qara-ma kïsï-ɣi antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*

66. then-PCL1 again one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 one wasp-PCL1 outside-POS3-LOC listen-CSIM this/LOC listen-CSIM person-PL what say-PROGev that.kind.of.thing hear-HAB-COP-EV
67. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 that hear-CON come-CCO young.man-DAT tell-NARev
68. now this boy grow.up-RES-PASTev young man become-PASTev
69. that/EQU say-NARev I outside-POS3-LOC hear-PAST
70. which which person-GEN well one terrible rich person-GEN-KI-LOC one girl-ACC person-DAT wife give-PROGev
71. storied.building-GEN upside/POS3-LOC girl one balloon throw-FUT say/DUB
72. who-PCL1 that/ACC gather-INC-COND-PCL1 who-DAT wife become-FUTev that/EQU say-PNAR
73. that/EQU say-PROGev I that/EQU think-PNAR you one go-COND become-FUTev that/EQU say-NARev
74. then-PCL1 this boy-PCL3 think-PNAR EXCL I one go-CSIM can-PHAB become-COND say-NARev
75. then-PCL1 this wasp mouse ant boy all-PCL1 this door look-VN person-DAT that/EQU say-NARev

66. Then again one day, a wasp, while listening outside, while listening here, used to listen to what the people were saying and things like that.
67. One day it heard [something] and told it to the young man.
68. [For] now this boy had grown up, he had become a young man.
69. [The wasp] said thus: 'I listened outside.
70. At such and such a person's, well, at a terribly rich person's [house], they are giving a daughter into marriage.
71. At the upper store of the building, the girl will throw a balloon', it says.
72. 'Whoever picks it up, will have her as a wife,' thus it said.
73. [The wasp] says thus: 'I thought thus: it would be best if you go,' thus it said.
74. Then this boy also thought: 'Eh, if only I could go once!' he said.
75. Then these wasps, mouse, ants, and boy all said thus to this guard:

[5] Apparently a substitution for *ʂouɕʰou* 'an embroidered ball used as a wedding ornament.'

76. *'sen menï taʰs-ïŋ-qa pïr untur.*
77. *pïr kʰun-ya untur-ʊ-ɣanta uzï par-ɣa ke-yn!' ti-ɣintï.*
78. *antaqanta-ya pu kïsï: 'po-ʂtï, sen par!' ti-ɣintï.*
79. *antaqanta pu mïla maŋ-qantï, cona ezert-ki maŋ-ïttï.*
80. *mʊ: su qïzïq-qa eʰt-kinti ɕuaʂï uz-ʊ sa-ɣa ɕoq-pintï.*
81. *am mʊ yata-ʂtï, har-ɣa ɕoq-mastï.*
82. *'men pïr uzï-yn,' ti-ɣin.*
83. *ɕa:ŋ köz-tï ʐim-qa toqïra-q qʰa-ɣanta-ya köz-ki pïrmi közti-ʊ-ɣantï.*
84. *ɕʰiʂï tïsti-ttï.*
85. *pïr a:q paʂ awaka* [..] *ʂanzï-nï aŋ-qa antaɣ ti-ʊ-ɣantï:*
86. *'sen-la kʊ kʰïr su-ʂ-ki kʰïr-ɣi pï:r aɣïna-ɣa-qïna par.*
87. *antaqa* [..] *sen ɕïta-ʂtï,' ti-ɣin.*

76. you me/ACC outside-POS3-DAT one come.out-CAUS
77. one day-PCL1 come.out-CAUS-AUX-CTMP self go-CCO come-IMP1sg say-NARev
78. then-PCL1 this person become-FUTev you go say-NARev
79. then this boy walk-NARev wasp lead-CCO walk-PASTev
80. walk/CSIM water side-DAT arrive-CTMP really sleep-CSIM put-CCO accomplish-PASTNev
81. now walk/CSIM cannot-FUTev be.tired-CCO accomplish-DUBN
82. I one sleep-IMP1sg say-PNAR
83. just eye-ACC close.eye-CCO topple-CON fall-CTMP-PCL1 eye-DAT somebody appear-AUX-NARev
84. actually dream-PASTev
85. one white head old.man [..] fan-ACC take/RFL-CCO that/EQU say-AUX-NARev
86. you-PCL2 DEM dirty water-IN-DAT enter-CCO one roll-CCO-INT go
87. then [..] you succeed-FUTev say-PNAR

76. 'Let me go out once.
77. When [you] have let me go out for one day, I will go and return [by] myself!' he said.
78. Then this person said: 'All right, you go!'
79. Then this boy set off, the wasps led [him].
80. While he was walking, when he arrived at the water side, [the boy] could not help beginning to really fall asleep.
81. Now he could not walk, he could not help being tired.
82. 'Let me take a nap,' [the boy] said.
83. Just when he had closed his eyes and toppled down, somebody appeared on his eye.
84. Actually he was dreaming.
85. A white headed old man taking along a [..] fan said thus:
86. 'Just you enter that dirty water, have a roll in it and go.
87. Then [..] you will succeed,' he said.

88. *antaqanta-ya mïla uɸtïraqqa miça maŋ-qanta-ya çïntï-ya pisek kʰïr su olïr-ɣantï.*
89. *antaqanta-ya kʰïr su-ʂ-ki pï:r toqïra-ɣantï.*
90. *toqïra-ɣanta-ya poz-ï ʑiçʰi ʂopaq po-q qʰa-ɣantï.*
91. *antaqanta-ya eni cona-nï ezer-ɣi maŋ-qantï.*
92. *mʊ:-ya o kïsï-nïŋ lou-nïŋ aʰltïr-ïŋ-qa eʰt-kintʊ.*
93. *qara-ɣanta-ya toɣïr ʑiɣït-tir çïnçïŋ a::q qʰantampu kizkï kiz-ki olïr-ɣantï.*
94. *pu-ya kʰï:r ʂopaq paʰs-qa olïr-ɣantï.*
95. *antaqanta-ya toɣïr yiɣït-tir antaɣ saqïn-qantï:*
96. *'kʰïm-ya saɣa kʰeln po-ʂ-e? kʰïm qïztar-nï saɣa per-ïʂ-e?'*
97. *xosï-ya 'mïz çïta-ʂtï,' antaɣ saqïn-qantï.*
98. *antaqanta-ya yü-ʰsïn-tin çʰiçʰou-sïn tʰayt-ʊ-ɣanta-ya xosï pïr yer-ɣi çili-u-ɣanta-ya pu mïla oʰrta-sïŋ-qa kʰïr-it-qanta-ya poz-ï kʰïr muli o-ɣantï.*

88. then boy ahead/DAT little walk-CTMP-PCL1 really-PCL1 lump dirty water stay-NARev
89. then-PCL1 dirty water-IN-DAT one toplle-NARev
90. topple-CTMP-PCL1 body-POS3 altogether mud become-CON fall-NARev
91. then-PCL1 again wasp-ACC follow-CCO walk-NARev
92. walk/CSIM-PCL1 that person-GEN storied.building-GEN underside-POS3-DAT arrive-NARev
93. look-CTMP-PCL1 other young.man-PL truly white splendid clothes dress-CCO stay-NARev
94. this-PCL1 dirty mud stain-CCO stay-NARev
95. then-PCL1 other young.man-PL that/EQU think-NARev
96. who-PCL1 you/DAT wife become-FUT-COP who girl-ACC you/DAT give-FUT-COP
97. all-PCL1 we succeed-FUTev that/EQU think-NARev
98. then-PCL1 house-POS3-ABL balloon-POS3ACC throw-AUX-CTMP-PCL2 all one place-DAT jostle-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 this boy middle-POS3-DAT enter-QUI-CTMP-PCL1 body-POS3 dirty very become-NARev

88. Then, when the boy walked a bit ahead, there really was an amount of dirty water.
89. Then he toppled down once in the dirty water.
90. When he had toppled down, his body became mud all over.
91. Then again he set off following the wasps.
92. While he was walking, he arrived under that person's storied house.
93. When he looked, the other young men were dressed in truly splendid white clothes.
94. He [however] was stained with dirty mud.
95. Then the other young men thought thus:
96. 'Who would [agree to] be a wife to you? Who would give [his] daughter to you?
97. We will succeed,' so they all thought.
98. Then, when she had thrown her balloon from the house, when all had jostled into one place, when this boy suddenly entered into their midst, his body was very dirty.

99. *toɣïr ʑiɣït-tir qïzïq-qa qayla-s-ïwat-qantï: kʰïr muli-tï.*
100. *a:ntaqanta-ya pu ʑiɣït ʂopaq paʰs-qa kʰïr-xar-ɣa iˢç-iŋ-ki cuanna-ɣantï.*
101. *antaqanta pu cona eni pu çʰiçʰou-nï ɕua:nmïŋ pu ʑiɣït-tïŋ poz-ɣa qʰal-tïr-uʰt-qantï.*
102. *toɣïr kïsï-ɣi tek-si toɣïr kïsï-nï tïsti-ɣintï.*
103. *antaqanta-ya sɛnluŋsïnuŋ pu ʑiɣït-tïŋ ïlïk-ki eʰt-kintï.*
104. *antaqanta-ya pu ʑiɣït anï an-ïwal-ɣa: 'ayʊ! meŋ kʰeln, meŋ kʰeln taʰq-tï!' ti-ʊ oryïla-ɣantï.*
105. *antaqanta-ya pu aɕa-sï pïr qara-ɣanta pu yiɣït sueyʑan kʰïr-tï tanʂï taʰqï-ya ɕïta-ttï*[6].
106. *'men qïztar-nï saɣa per-in' ti-ɣintï.*
107. *antaqanta-ya pu amsa kuan-nïŋ qïz-ï-tï.*
108. *'am saɣa per-si sen teylï ɕɛnyü* [..] *ɕʰoqe-ɣïmistï, un-ïk ki-ʂtï.'*

99. other young.man-PL side-DAT run-REC-FIN-NARev dirty very-EV
100. then-PCL1 this young.man mud stain-CCO enter-RES-CCO inside-POS3-DAT make.one's.way.into-NARev
101. then this wasp again this balloon-ACC especially this young.man-GEN body-DAT fall-CAUS-COM-NARev
102. other person-DAT touch-COND other person-ACC sting-NARev
103. then-PCL1 gradually this young.man-GEN hand-DAT arrive-NARev
104. then-PCL1 this young.man that/ACC take/RFL-INC-CCO EXCL me/GEN wife me/GEN wife find-PAST say-CSIM shout-NARev
105. then-PCL1 this father-POS3 one look-CTMP this young.man although dirty-EV but yet-PCL1 succeed-PASTev
106. I girl-ACC you/DAT give-IMP1sg say-NARev
107. then-PCL1 this anyway official-GEN girl-POS3-EV
108. now you/DAT give-COND you certainly prison sit-FUTNev come.out-CON come-FUTev

99. The other young men had run together to the side: he was so dirty.
100. Then this young man, stained with mud, went in, he made his way to the inside.
101. Then again, these wasps made this balloon especially fall onto the young man's body.
102. If it touches another person, they stung [that] other person.
103. Then gradually it got into the hand of this young man.
104. Then this young man caught it: 'Ayo! My wife, I found my wife!' he said, shouting.
105. Then, when this father of hers took a look, [he noticed that] although this young man was dirty, yet he had succeeded.
106. 'Let me give [my] daughter to you,' he said.
107. Then, anyway, she was an official's daughter.
108. 'Now, if I give her to you, you certainly should not sit [in] prison, you should get out.'

[6] The Yugur equivalent is *pu ʑiɣït kʰïr-ïraq-tï, taʰqï-la cïta-ttï* (this young.man dirty-COMP-EV yet-PCL2 succeed-PASTev).

109. *antaqanta-ya per-ɣintï.*
110. *per-ɣinti-ya pu ʐiɣït am kuan ɕʰoqe-ttï.*
111. *antan eni qïztar-nï ezert-ki aɕa-sïn ezert-ki tüli-ɣïla maŋ-qantï.*
112. *pʰornta o aq nimi-nï qʰoŋ-qʰanï-ɣan kïsï-nï tüli-ɣïla maŋ-qantï.*
113. *antaqanta-ya mʊ: pïr ɕazï-nïŋ-kï-ɣi eʰt-kinti-ya o kïsï ɕïnɕï:ŋ aq nimi-nï aŋ-qa yiuti xuay ʂï kann-ʊ-ɣantï.*
114. *ʐïq ïs kann-ʊ-ɣantï, mïnï-ma ni-q qar-ʊ anï-ma ni-q qar-ʊ.*
115. *antaqanta-ya pu mïla par-ɣanta inaq-tïŋ aʰltïr-ïŋ-qa yaˣsïr-ïwat-qantï, taʰq-ma-ɣantï.*
116. *antaqanta-ya pu ʂïɣan par-ɣa taʰq-qantï.*
117. *ʂïɣan par-ɣa inaq-tïŋ aʰltïr-ïŋ-ta-qï toqïr aq nimi-nï ɕʰïmïkti-k ki-ɣintï.*
118. *ɕʰïmïkti-k ki-ɣinti-ya pu mïla, pu qïztar-nïŋ aɕa-sï, uzï, qïztar, yiuti kïsï-lir yü-ʰsïŋ-ki par-ɣantï.*

109. then-PCL1 give-NARev
110. give-CTMP-PCL1 this young.man now official sit-PASTev
111. that/ABL again girl-ACC lead-CCO father-POS3ACC lead-CCO look.for-CPUR walk-NARev
112. before that white thing-ACC seize-TER-PP person-ACC look.for-CPUR walk-NARev
113. then-PCL1 walk/CSIM one family-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-CTMP that person truly white thing-ACC take/RFL-CCO much bad matter do-NARev
114. bad work do-NARev this/ACC-PCL3 what.do-CON see-CSIM that/ACC-PCL3 what.do-CON see-CSIM
115. then-PCL1 this boy go-CTMP blanket-GEN underside-POS3-DAT hide-FIN-NARev find-NEG-NARev
116. then-PCL1 this mouse go-CCO find-NARev
117. mouse go-CCO blanket-GEN underside-POS3-LOC-KI round white thing-ACC steal-CON come-NARev
118. steal-CON come-CTMP-PCL1 this boy this girl-GEN father-POS3 self girl many person-PL house-POS3-DAT go-NARev

109. Then he gave [her].
110. When he gave [her], this young man got an official's post.
111. Thereupon, [the boy] set off again in order to search, bringing along the girl and bringing along her father.
112. He set off to search for the person who had taken away that white thing before.
113. Then, while he was walking, when he arrived at a family's [house], that person had truly done many bad things after he had taken that white thing.
114. He had done bad things, trying to do this and trying to do that.
115. Then when this boy had gone, [that person] had hidden [the thing] under the blanket, [the boy] did not find it.
116. Then this mouse went and found it.
117. The mouse went and stole the round white thing under the blanket.
118. When [the mouse] had stolen it, this boy, this girl's father, he himself, the girl, and many people went home.

119. *antaqanta-ya o aq nimi-nï tö^{h}rsaqta-ɣa pï:r ɕola-ɣantï.*
120. *o kïsï eni yoqq^{h}a-ɣantï.*
121. *yoqq^{h}a-ɣanta-ya i^{s}ɕikï-sïn-ti-kï yülyïn, ʑik^{h}ï, ʂopaq iɕ^{h}i közti-q q^{h}a-ɣantï.*
122. *antaqanta-ya pu mïla ta^{h}qï-ya ʂüɛ k^{h}ola-wal-ɣantï.*
123. *k^{h}ola-wal-ɣanta kuan ɕ^{h}oqe-ɣa k^{h}eln al-ɣa yaŋyaŋ pol-ɣantï.*
124. *antaqanta-ya yoq pu-ttï.*

119. then-PCL1 that white thing-ACC turn.around-CCO one reflect-NARev
120. that person again die-NARev
121. die-CTMP-PCL1 intestines-POS3-LOC-KI tamarisk rib mud altogether appear-CON fall-NARev
122. then-PCL1 this boy also-PCL1 school pass.exams-INC-NARev
123. pass.exams-INC-CTMP official sit-CCO wife take-CCO all.kinds become-NARev
124. then-PCL1 not.present become-PASTev

119. Then he turned this white thing around and reflected [it] once.
120. That person died again.
121. When he had died, the tamarisk, the rib and the mud that were inside all became visible.
122. Then this boy also passed his entrance examinations.
123. He passed his examinations, he got an official's post, he had taken a wife, all kinds [of good things] had happened.
124. Then there is nothing [more to tell].

7. The Story of the Three Girls

told by ĀN XIŪZHĒNG[1]

1. *pïr anika-ɣa uʰʂ qïz par-i-tï. yü-ʰsïn-ti niː-ma yoq-i-tï.*
2. *ah, pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya yümoː ïʂkï ker men yiɣ-ïppar-i-tï.*
3. *antaqanta-ya uʰʂ qïztar-ïŋ-qa pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya antaɣ ti-ɣintï, anika:*
4. *'sen puɣïn kʊː, niɣïl, xuar tïʰk-kïla,' ti-ɣintï.*
5. *ya ti-ɣintï. antaqanta-ya xuar tïʰk-kïla hanï-ɣantï.*
6. *antaqanta-ya anika-sï antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
7. *'puɣïn uʰʂ qïz-tï maŋ-tïr-uʰt-qa ïʂkï ker men-nï yazmaq yaz-ɣa ʐi-ynï.'*
8. *antaqanta-ya kïʰçiq qïz-ïŋ-qa oʰqa-l-ʊ-ɣantï:*
9. *'ana, ana, menïŋ misin peɣ-xar-ttï,' ti-ɣintï.*
10. *antaqanta puɣa sïŋar per-ɣintï:*

1. one old.woman-DAT three girl present-COP-EV house-POS3-LOC what-PCL3 not.present-COP-EV
2. EXCL one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 about two bowl flour collect-PROG-COP-EV
3. then-PCL1 three girl-POS3-DAT one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 that/EQU say-NARev old.woman
4. you today DEM what.do flower sew-PUR say-NARev
5. all.right say-NARev then-PCL1 flower sew-CPUR go-NARev
6. then-PCL1 old.woman-POS3 that/EQU say-NARev
7. today three girl-ACC walk-CAUS-COM-CCO two bowl flour-ACC pancake spread-CCO eat-IMP1pl
8. then-PCL1 small girl-POS3-DAT smell-RFL-AUX-NARev
9. mother mother me/GEN thread run.out-RES-PASTev say-NARev
10. then this/DAT half give-NARev

1. An old woman had three daughters. There was nothing at all in their house.
2. Ah, one day, she collected about two bowls of flour.
3. Then one day, the old woman said thus to the three girls:
4. 'Today, you whatsit, you go away to embroider,' she said.
5. They agreed. Then they went away to embroider.
6. Then his old woman said thus [to her husband]:
7. 'Today, I made the three girls go, let us prepare pancakes from the two bowls of flour and eat.'
8. Then the youngest girl smelled it:
9. 'Mother, mother, my thread has run out,' she said [as a pretext].
10. Then the [old woman] gave her half [a pancake]:

[1] Recorded by Zhōng Jìnwén, 1992 in Mínghuā. For similar versions, cf Tenišev 1976: 232-233 № 4 (an incomplete rendering) and Malov 1967: 99-102 № 102. The tale further occurs in Chinese and Tibetan, cf Ting № 327A; and in Mongolian, cf Lörincz № 105 (327A).

11. *'naqï ïʂkï qïz-ɣa ti-mi:!' ti-ɣintï. ya ti-ɣintï.*
12. *par-ɣaʂ-ya: 'aɕa-ŋ-nï ana-ŋ tatïɣ pïrmi ʑi-ʊtʊ,' ti-ɣintï.*
13. *ïʂkï-nɕï qïz-ï par-ɣantï: 'ana, meŋ ʑiŋni sï-ŋ-qʰar-ttï,' ti-ɣintï.*
14. *antaqanta ana-sï eni sïŋar per-ɣi: 'naqï-ɣa ti-mi, ya-m?' ti-ɣintï.*
15. *am-la pezïk qïz-ï qʰa-ptï-sa, eni par-ɣantï.*
16. *'ana, meŋ pïlisïk sï-ŋ-qʰar-ttï,' ti-ɣintï.*
17. *eni pïr sïŋar per-ɣintï.*
18. *ɕintʰou antaqanta-la pu ïʂkï-sïŋ-ki kuey nimi qʰal-ma-ɣantï.*
19. *antaqanta-ya awaka-sï ɕʰïla-ɣantï.*
20. *'pu qïztar-lir köʰp po-sa-ma ni-ma niɣ-ʊyoqtï.*
21. *kunï men tiat-qïla-yn,' ti-ɣintï.*
22. *antaqanta anika-sï: 'sen kunï nayʊ tiat-qïla-ʂ-i?'*
23. *'taŋqar-la mïz ɕiɣti tʰer-ɣïla-ynï, kʊ:: uzaq-qa.'*
24. *kïʰɕiq qïz-ïn suwat-qantï.*

11. yonder two girl-DAT say-NEG say-NARev all.right say-NARev
12. go-CCO-PCL1 father-POS1/2-AND mother-POS1/2 tasty something eat-PROGev say-NARev
13. two-ORD girl-POS3 go-NARev mother me/GEN needle break-RFL-RES-PASTev say-NARev
14. then mother-POS3 again half give-CCO yonder-DAT say-NEG all.right-Q say-NARev
15. now-PCL2 big girl-POS3 remain-PASTev-PCL5 too go-NARev
16. mother me/GEN thimble break-RFL-RES-PASTev say-NARev
17. again one half give-NARev
18. by.the.time.when then-PCL2 this two-POS3-DAT hardly thing remain-NEG-NARev
19. then-PCL1 old.man-POS3 be.angry-NARev
20. this girl-PL many become-COND-PCL3 what-PCL3 what.do-PROGNev
21. DEM/ACC I abandon-PUR-IMP1sg say-NARev
22. then old.woman-POS3 you DEM/ACC how abandon-PUR-FUT-COP
23. morning-PCL2 we jujube gather-PUR-IMP1pl DEM far-DAT
24. small girl-POS3ACC put/FIN-NARev

11. 'Do not tell yonder two girls!' she said. She agreed.
12. After she had gone, she said: 'Father and mother are eating something tasty.'
13. The second daughter went: 'Mother, my needle has broken,' she said.
14. Then her mother again gave a half: 'Do not tell yonder one, all right?' she said.
15. Now the eldest girl remained, she went too.
16. 'Mother, my thimble has broken,' she said.
17. Again she gave a half.
18. By that time then, there was hardly a thing left for these two [old people].
19. Then their old man became angry.
20. 'Even if these girls are many, they are not doing anything [at all].
21. Let me go and get rid of them,' he said.
22. Then his old woman [said]: 'How will you go and get rid of them?'
23. 'Let us go in the morning to gather jujubes, far, far away.'
24. They left the youngest girl [at home].

25. *ïʂkï qïz piɛnkʰuaŋ kümʰtïr-ɣi soŋkap al-ïŋ-qa maŋ-qantï.*
26. *mʊ::-ya pïr ɕiɣti terik yer-ɣi eʰt-kintï.*
27. *'sen ïʂkï-sï kʊ ɕiɣti tʰer, aʰɕïɣïr-nï yüz-ki qʰala-ɣa tʰer*[2].
28. *aʰɕïɣïr-nï al-ma,' ti-ɣintï. ya ti-ɣintï.*
29. *'men-la saɣa ɕiɣti pʰer-in,' ti-ɣintï.*
30. *'piɛnkʰuaŋ tʰol-ʊ-ɣanta-ya sen-ya aɕa-ŋ-nï qïti:*
31. *'aɕʊ! piɛnkʰuaŋ tʰol-ttï!' ti-ɣintï. ya ti-ɣintï.*
32. *am-la ïʂkï qïz aʰɕïɣïr-ïn qʰala-ɣa tʰer-ɣintï.*
33. *tʰer-ʊ: kʰun-ma oyla-ɣantï.*
34. *antaqanta piɛnkʰuaŋ tʰol-ʊ-ɣantï:*
35. *'aɕʊ:! piɛnkʰuaŋ tʰol-ttï!' ti-ɣintï.*
36. *antaqanta terik paʂ-ta taʰqï-la qʰars-qʰars pol-ʊ-ɣantï.*
37. *'aɕʊ:! piɛnkʰuaŋ tʰol-ttï!'*
38. *antaqanta ïʂkï-nɕï qïz-ï, ɕɛn isɛ, yüz-ti-kï aʰɕïɣïr-nï al-ɣa qara-sa:*

25. two girl basket carry-CCO hammer take-RFL-CCO walk-NARev
26. walk/CSIM-PCL1 one jujube tree place-DAT arrive-NARev
27. you two-POS3 DEM jujube gather scarf-ACC face-DAT cover-CCO gather
28. scarf-ACC take-NEG say-NARev all.right say-NARev
29. I-PCL2 you/DAT jujube hit-IMP1sg say-NARev
30. basket be.full-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 you-PCL1 father-POS1/2-ACC call
31. father/VOC basket be.full-PASTev say-NARev all.right say-NARev
32. now-PCL2 two girl scarf-POS3ACC cover-CCO gather-NARev
33. gather-CSIM sun-PCL3 set-NARev
34. then basket be.full-AUX-NARev
35. father/VOC basket be.full-PASTev say-NARev
36. then tree head-LOC still-PCL2 knock-knock become-AUX-NARev
37. father/VOC basket be.full-PASTev
38. then two-ORD girl-POS3 smart a.bit face-LOC-KI scarf-ACC take-CCO look-COND

25. The two girls set off, carrying a basket and taking along a hammer.
26. While they were walking, they arrived at a place with jujube trees.
27. 'You two, gather these jujubes, cover your face with a scarf and gather.
28. Do not take off the scarf,' he said. They agreed.
29. 'Let me hit the jujubes for you,' he said.
30. 'When the basket has become full, you call your father:
31. 'Father, the basket is full!' he said. They agreed.
32. Now the two girls covered [their faces] with the scarf and gathered.
33. While they were gathering, the sun set.
34. Then the basket had become full.
35. 'Father, the basket is full!' they said.
36. Then in the top of the tree, [the sound] 'knock-kcock' was still there.
37. 'Father, the basket is full!'
38. Then the second daughter, [who was] a bit smart, [said], as she took off the scarf on [her] face and looked:

[2] To avoid that the jujubes will fall in their eyes.

39. *'qayta-qï kïsï par-i?'*
40. *pu soŋkap tiola-l-ɣa olïr-ɣantï.*
41. *antaqanta-la ïʂkï qïz yilɣa-s-qantʊ: 'am qarʂ-e?'*
42. *kʰun-ma yaɣ-ïttï-nï.*
43. *antaqanta ïʂkï qïztar qayla-s-qantʊ.*
44. *maŋ-qa:nta pïr kʰun po-ttï.*
45. *iˢçikï-ma tʰorla-ɣa pïr tïp halɣar kör-ɣintï.*
46. *'mïnï mïz yiŋïr-ɣa qaɣa eʰt-si-ya qayta ot sal-ɣa çan-inï, al-ïŋ-qa maynï,' ti-ɣintï.*
47. *pïr azaq kaŋna-ɣanta-ya pïr kʰemzï un-ïk ki-ɣintï.*
48. *sïŋar-ïn-ya ïʂkï-sï ʐi-ɣi sïŋar-ïn-ya qoyŋ-qa qïstïr-ɣa maŋ-qantʊ.*
49. *'taɣïn taʰqï kïsï-lïɣ yer-ɣi eʰt-kïʂ mi eʰt-kïmis mi mïz taɣïn ʐi-ynï.'*
50. *antaqanta-ya pïrïk-ïq qʰal-ɣantï.*
51. *antaqanta qayla-s-ʊ piʰtior kiʂ pol-ɣanta pïr ayka-nïŋ-kï-ɣi eʰt-ïp par-ɣantï.*

39. where-KI person present-COP
40. this hammer suspend-RFL-CCO stay-NARev
41. then-PCL2 two girl cry-REC-NARev now whither.go/FUT-COP
42. sun-PCL3 set-PASTev-INT
43. then two girl run-REC-NARev
44. walk-CTMP one day become-PASTev
45. belly-PCL3 be.hungry-CCO one pad dung see-NARev
46. this/ACC we evening-DAT whither arrive-COND-PCL1 where fire put-CCO light.fire-IMP1pl take-RFL-CCO walk/IMP1pl say-NARev
47. one foot kick-CTMP-PCL1 one bun come.out-CON come-NARev
48. half-POS3ACC-PCL1 two-POS3 eat-CCO half-POS3ACC-PCL1 bosom-DAT store.in.the.bosom-CCO walk-NARev
49. tomorrow yet person-ADJ place-DAT arrive-FUT Q arrive-FUTN Q we tomorrow eat-IMP1pl
50. then-PCL1 agree-CON fall-NARev
51. then run-REC-CSIM quite late become-CTMP one old.woman-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-CON go-NARev

39. 'Where is everybody?'
40. [She noticed that] this hammer was hanging [there].
41. Then the two girls cried together: 'Now where to go?'
42. The sun had set too.
43. Then the two girls ran together.
44. When they walked, one day passed.
45. After [their] bellies had become hungry, they saw a pad of dried dung.
46. 'Let us walk and take it along, and wherever we arrive this evening, let us make a fire, light a fire there,' they said.
47. When they gave [it] a kick, a bun of bread came out.
48. The two of them ate half of it, stored half of it in [their] bosom, and walked on.
49. 'Let us eat [that] tomorrow, whether we will arrive at an inhabited place or not.'
50. So they agreed.
51. Then, while they ran together, quite late they arrived at an old woman's [house].

52. *antaqanta pu ayka-nïŋ-kï-ɣi eʰt-ïp par-ɣanta-ya anika-ɣa antaɣ ti-ɣintʊ, qïz:*
53. *'ayka, men senïŋ-kï-ti olïr-in?'*
54. *'e:, menïŋ-kï-ti olïr-ïp ɕ[..]-sa olïr-ïʂtʊ.*
55. *meŋ-kï-ti pïr kïsï ʑi-ɣik ʑiɣït par,' ti-ɣintï.*
56. *e:, am naɣʂ-e? 'meŋ pu ʑiɣït amiʰkï-la eʰt-ïk ki-ʂ-i-nï.'*
57. *antaqanta-la qïz antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
58. *'sen mïz-tï yaˣsïr-ïwat-i, kʊ liaŋxua-ɣa yaˣsïr-ïwat-i,' ti-ɣintï.*
59. *antaqanta-la liaŋxua-ɣa yaˣsïr-ïwat-qantï, ïʂkï qïz-tï.*
60. *antaqanta ʑiɣït-ï ki-ɣintï, piʰtior kiʂ pol-ɣanta.*
61. *pu ʑiɣït-ya ɕuanmï:ŋ kïsï iˢt ʑi-ɣik-i-tï.*
62. *antaqanta kʰïr-ïk ki-ɣiʂ-ya: 'ana, puɣïn ni-ɣi kïsï iʰt oʰqa-l-ïppe?' ti-ɣintï.*
63. *'e, maŋ ti-si, sen lotïla-ma!*
64. *sen uzï kïsï iʰt-tï ʑi-ʊ ʑi-ɣi saɣa kïsï iʰt oʰqa-ʰl-tï iʰkin.'*

52. then this old.woman-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-CON go-CTMP-PCL1 old.woman-DAT that/EQU say-NARev girl
53. old.woman I you/GEN-KI-LOC stay-IMP1sg
54. EXCL me/GEN-KI-LOC stay-CON [..]-COND stay-FUTev
55. me/GEN-KI-LOC one person eat-PHAB young.man present say-NARev
56. EXCL now what.do/FUT-COP me/GEN this young.man presently-PCL2 arrive-CON come-FUT-COP-INT
57. then-PCL2 girl that/EQU say-NARev
58. you we-ACC hide-FIN-COP DEM ceiling-DAT hide-FIN-COP say-NARev
59. then-PCL2 ceiling-DAT hide-FIN-NARev two girl-ACC
60. then young.man-POS3 come-NARev quite late become-CTMP
61. this young.man-PCL1 especially person meat eat-HAB-COP-EV
62. then enter-CON come-CCO-PCL1 mother today what-DAT person meat smell-RFL-PROG/COP say-NARev
63. EXCL walk say-COND you talk.nonsense-NEG
64. you self person meat-ACC eat-CSIM eat-CCO you/DAT person meat smell-RFL-PAST IHKIN

52. Then, when they arrived at this old woman's [house], the girls said thus to the old woman:
53. 'Grandmother, let me stay at your [place]?'
54. 'Eh, if you [want to] stay at my [place], you can stay.
55. [But] in my house is a man-eating young man,' she said.
56. Eh, now what to do? 'This son of mine will arrive presently.'
57. Then the girls said thus:
58. 'Please hide us, please hide [us] at that ceiling,' they said.
59. Then she hid the two girls at the ceiling.
60. Then her son came, quite late.
61. This young man was used to eat especially human meat.
62. Then he entered: 'Mother, why is it smelling of human meat today?' he said.
63. 'Eh, shut up, don't talk nonsense!
64. Because you eat human meat yourself all the time, you must have smelled human meat.'

65. *'ana, puɣïn teŋïr pɔˣsan-ʊtï-m, teŋïr aˣʂt-ʊtï-m?*
66. *poˣsan-ïp po-sa men temïr kʰaŋ-qa uzï-ʂ.*
67. *aˣʂtï-p po-sa men tʰukʰaŋ-qa uzï-ʂ,' ti-ɣintï.*
68. *ana-sï pïr qara-ɣïɕï ol-ɣa antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'teŋïr poˣsan-ʊtʊ!' ti-ɣintï.*
69. *pezï:k pïr tïs par-i-tï.*
70. *pu-ɣa tïs-ïʂ-ki kʰïr-ɣi uzï-ɣantï.*
71. *uz-ʊ:-la ɕuaʂï uzï-q qʰa-ɣanta ïʂkï qïz-tï tus-ïr-ïk ki-ɣi qʰapaq-ïn qʰala-ɣa tʰermin-nï tʰayla-k ki-ɣi antaqanta pu anika ot sal-ɣantï.*
72. *ah, ʑiɣït-ï: 'tʰaŋna-ppar-tï, tuʰtqïʂ-tï ɕʰïŋn-it!' ti-ɣintï.*
73. *'ana! oy! tʰaŋna-ppar-tï!' ti-ɣintï.*
74. *'yüɣïʂ-tï ɕʰïŋn-it!'*
75. *sɛnluŋsïnuŋ-ya tïs-ïʂ-ki* [..]*-ïwat-qantï.*
76. *sosïkïn taŋqar ïʂkï qïz tïs-tï aʰɕ-uʰt-qa qara-sa eme:n marçɛn pol-ɣa olïr-ɣantï.*

65. mother today sky be.cloudy-PROGev-Q sky be.clear-PROGev-Q
66. be.cloudy-CON become-COND I iron kang-DAT sleep-FUT
67. be.clear-CON become-COND I adobe.kang-DAT sleep-FUT say-NARev
68. mother-POS3 one look-VNAG become-CCO that/EQU say-NARev sky be.cloudy-PROGev say-NARev
69. big one cauldron present-COP-EV
70. this-PCL1 cauldron-IN-DAT enter-CCO sleep-NARev
71. sleep-CSIM-PCL2 really sleep-CON fall-CTMP two girl-ACC descend-CAUS-CON come-CCO lid-POS3ACC cover-CCO millstone-ACC lift-CON come-CCO then this old.woman fire put-NARev
72. EXCL young.man-POS3 burn-PROG-EV potholder-ACC put.under-QUI say-NARev
73. mother quick burn-PROG-EV say-NARev
74. cleaning.towel-ACC put.under-QUI
75. gradually-PCL1 cauldron-IN-LOC [..]-FIN-NARev
76. next.day morning two girl cauldron-ACC open-COM-CCO look-COND all.over coral become-CCO stay-NARev

65. 'Mother, is the sky today cloudy or is the sky clear?
66. If it has been cloudy, I will sleep on the iron kang.
67. If it has been clear, I will sleep on the adobe kang,' he said.
68. His mother pretended to take a look and said thus: 'The sky is cloudy!' she said.
69. There was a big cauldron.
70. He entered the cauldron and went to sleep.
71. When he slept and was soundly asleep, she made the two girls descend, covered [the cauldron] with its lid, lifted a millstone [on it], and then this old woman made a fire.
72. Ah, her son said: 'I am burning, put the potholder underneath quickly!
73. Mother, quick! I am burning awfully!' he said.
74. 'Put the cleaning towel underneath quickly!'
75. Gradually, in the cauldron [a crust formed].
76. As the girls opened the cauldron the next morning and looked, it had all over become coral.

77. *antaqanta-la ïʂkï qïz marçɛn-nï man-qa pu anika-ɣa qïz pol-ɣantï.*
78. *pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-la ïʂkï örçi sat-pa, xoulaŋzï, ki-ɣintï.*
79. *antaqanta-la anika-ɣa antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
80. *'men seŋ-kï-ti olïr-in?' ti-ɣintï.*
81. *'e, sen-ɕa menïŋ-kï-ti olïr-ïp* [..] *olïr-ïʂtʊ.*
82. *kʊ meŋ ïʂkï arkaŋ-qa teɣ-mi,' ti-ɣintï.*
83. *ɕʰiʂï o arkan-ïʂ-ki ʑiɣït kïsï-nïŋ qʰan-nï suwat-qantï.*
84. *pu ïʂkï xoulaŋzï: 'sen senïŋ aʰltïm-kumïs-tar-nï ʂukti-ɣi maŋ-qïmis.'*
85. *yiŋïr-ta uz-ʊ uzï-ɣa ïʂkï arkan-nï küʰtïr-ɣi qayla-s-qantï.*
86. *qayla-s-ʊ: teŋïr aqar-ɣanta arkan-nï aʰʂ-qa qara-ɣantï.*
87. *antaqanta pïr arkan qʰan olïr-ɣantï.*
88. *tʰayt-uʰt-qa yilɣa-s-a yilɣa-s-a hanï-ɣantï.*
89. *antaqanta-la pu anika, ïʂkï qïz pay po-ɣantʊ.*

77. then-PCL2 two girl coral-ACC wear-CCO this old.woman-DAT girl become-NARev
78. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL2 two thing sell-VN merchant come-NARev
79. then-PCL2 old.woman-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
80. I you/GEN-KI-LOC stay-IMP1sg say-NARev
81. EXCL you-PCL4 me/GEN-KI-LOC stay-CON [..] stay-FUTev
82. you me/GEN two chest-DAT touch-NEG say-NARev
83. actually that chest-IN-DAT young.man person-GEN blood-ACC put/FIN-NARev
84. this two merchant you you/GEN gold-silver-PL-ACC load-CCO walk-FUTN
85. evening-LOC sleep-CSIM sleep-CCO two chest-ACC carry-CCO run-REC-NARev
86. run-REC-CSIM sky be.light-CTMP chest-ACC open-CCO look-NARev
87. then one chest blood stay-NARev
88. throw-COM-CCO cry-REC-CREP cry-REC-CREP go-NARev
89. then-PCL2 this old.woman two girl rich become-NARev

77. Then the two girls wore the coral and became the daughters of this old woman.
78. One day, two traders, merchants, came.
79. Then they said thus to the old woman:
80. 'Let me stay at your [place]?' they said.
81. 'Eh, if you [want to] stay at my [place], you can stay.
82. [But] don't you touch those two chests of mine,' she said.
83. Actually, in those chests, she had put the young man's blood.
84. These two merchants [said to each other]: 'You will not go carrying your [own] gold and silver things.'
85. In the evening, when [all] were soundly asleep, they ran away together, carrying the two chests.
86. While they were running together - when it dawned, they opened the chests and looked.
87. Then it was one chest [full] of blood.
88. They threw it away, and went away, crying and crying together.
89. Then this old woman and the two girls were rich [having the merchants' gold].

8. The Story of Ahltamso, Kumpinso and Chorghawash (1)

told by ĀN XIŪZHĒNG[1]

1. *aʰltamso, kumpinso, ɕoryawaʂ-tïŋ lomaq.*
2. *pïr anika-ɣa uʰʂ qïz par-i-tʊ.*
3. *pïrsïŋ-ki-la ɕoryawaʂ, pïrsïŋ-ki kumpinso, pïrsïŋ-ki aʰltamso ti-ɣik-i-tʊ.*
4. *antaqanta-ya aʰltamso-ɣa aʰltïm pʰïraʂ par-i-tʊ.*
5. *kumpinso-ɣa kumïs pʰïraʂ, ɕoryawaʂ-qa yiɣaʂ pʰïraʂ par-i-tʊ.*
6. *antaqanta-la uʰʂ qïz enik saq-qïla-ɣantʊ.*
7. *enik-tï saɣ-ʊ saɣ-ʊ pu ɕoryawaʂ: 'mïz ɕiŋ-ïʂ-ki pʰïraʂ tʰayt-ʊ oyn-inï,' ti-ɣintʊ.*
8. *antaqanta pu kumïs-tï aʰltïm salïɣ-tï, tïw-ïŋ-ki qʰal-xanï-ɣantï.*
9. *yiɣaʂ pʰïraʂ üzi-sïn-ti pʰiola-wat-qantï.*
10. *ɕoryawaʂ: 'men ana-ŋ-qa ti-ɣïla-yn!' ti-ɣintï.*

1. Ahltamso Kumpinso Chorghawash-GEN story
2. one old.woman-DAT three girl present-COP-EV
3. one/POS3-DAT-PCL2 Chorghawash one/POS3-DAT Kumpinso one/POS3-DAT Ahltamso say-HAB-COP-EV
4. then-PCL1 Ahltamso-DAT gold jar present-COP-EV
5. Kumpinso-DAT silver jar Chorghawash-DAT wooden jar present-COP-EV
6. then-PCL2 three girl cow milk-PUR-NARev
7. cow-ACC milk-CSIM milk-CSIM-PCL2 this Chorghawash we well-IN-DAT jar throw-CSIM play-IMP1pl say-NARev
8. then this silver-AND gold heavy-EV base-POS3-DAT fall-TER-NARev
9. wooden jar upside-POS3-LOC float-FIN-NARev
10. Chorghawash I mother-POS1/2-DAT say-PUR-IMP1sg say-NARev

1. The story of Ahltamso, Kumpinso and Chorghawash.
2. An old woman had three daughters.
3. One of them was called Chorghawash, one of them Kumpinso and one of them Ahltamso.
4. Then Ahltamso had a golden jar.
5. Kumpinso had a silver jar, Chorghawash a wooden jar.
6. Then the three girls went to milk the cows.
7. While they were milking and milking the cows, this Chorghawash said: 'Let us play and throw the jars into the well.'
8. Then this silver and gold were heavy, and sank to the bottom of [the water].
9. The wooden jar was floating on it.
10. Chorghawash said: 'I will tell it our mother!'

[1] Recorded by Zhōng Jìnwén, 1992 in Mínghuā. For similar versions, cf Malov 1967: 65-66 № 78, and Ān et al. 1984: 45-53. The tale further occurs in Tibetan, cf Potanin II 1893: 186-189, and Schuh IV 1982: 163-166; and in Mongolian, cf Lörincz № 143 (403E*).

11. *antaqanta par-ɣanta ana-sï ti-ɣintʊ:*
12. *'o qʰa-sa qʰal-ɣe, ïʂkï qïz-ɣa kel ti, kumpinso-nï aʰltamso-ɣa kel ti.'*
13. *ah, pu par-it-qantï: 'qʰaqïŋqʰa! ana-ŋ saɣa qar-sa qaɣa par titʊ.*
14. *pʰïraʂ-tï lola-k ki-mi-si qar-sa qar titʊ.'*
15. *antaqanta pu ïʂkï qïz maŋ-qantï. maŋ-qanta-ya ɕorɣawaʂ antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
16. *'uzï senï ezert-ki maɣn!' antaqanta-ya man-qantï.*
17. *maŋ-ʊ:-ya pïr kïsï-nïŋ-kï-ɣi par-ɣantï.*
18. *pïr pʰeɣ-nïŋ-kï-ɣi eʰt-ïp par-ɣantï.*
19. *eʰt-ïp par-ɣanta-ya alar-ɣa mal oʰqar-ɣantï.*
20. *pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-la kumpinso-nï aʰltamso ʂaʐ tara-ɣantï.*
21. *ʂaʐ tara-ɣantaya aʰltamso-nïŋ aʰltïm aʰq-ʊ-ɣantï, paʰɕ-ïn-tan.*
22. *kumpinso-nïŋ paʰɕ-ïn-tan kumïs aʰq-ʊ-ɣantï.*
23. *antaqanta-la pu pʰeɣ minti-ʂ-ki pïrsïŋ-ki iʰɕiʰtik-tï uz-it-qa yaz-it-qantï.*

11. then go-CTMP mother-POS3 say-NARev
12. that remain-COND remain-IMP3 two girl-DAT come say Kumpinso-AND Ahltamso-DAT come say
13. EXCL this go-QUI-NARev EXCL mother-POS1/2 you/DAT whither.go-COND whither go say/DUB
14. jar-ACC dredge-CON come-NEG-COND whither.go-COND whither.go say/DUB
15. then this two girl walk-NARev walk-CTMP-PCL1 Chorghawash that/EQU say-NARev
16. self you/ACC lead-CCO walk/IMP1sg then-PCL1 walk-NARev
17. walk-CSIM-PCL1 one person-GEN-KI-DAT go-NARev
18. one beg-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-CON go-NARev
19. arrive-CON go-CTMP-PCL1 that/PL-DAT livestock pasture-NARev
20. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL2 Kumpinso-AND Ahltamso hair comb-NARev
21. hair comb-CTMP-PCL1 Ahltamso-GEN gold flow-AUX-NARev head-POS3-ABL
22. Kumpinso-GEN head-POS3-ABL silver flow-AUX-NARev
23. then-PCL2 this beg hurry-[..]-CCO one/POS3-DAT inner.skirt-ACC rip-QUI-CCO spread-QUI-NARev

11. When she had gone, her mother said:
12. 'If that [jar] remains, let it remain, tell the two girls to come, tell Kumpinso and Ahltamso to come.'
13. Ah, she quickly went: 'Qhaqıngqha! Our mother says to you: 'Go wherever you go.
14. If you don't dredge up the jar, go wherever you go.'
15. Then these two girls set off. When they went, Chorghawash said thus:
16. 'Let me go and lead you!' and they set off.
17. While they were going, they came to a person's [house].
18. They arrived at a beg's [house].
19. When they arrived, they tended livestock for them.
20. One day, Kumpinso and Ahltamso combed [their] hair.
21. When they were combing, gold flowed from the head of Ahltamso.
22. Silver flowed from the head of Kumpinso.
23. Then this beg hurried and quickly ripped and spread his inner skirt for the one.

24. *pïrsïŋ-ki-ya taˣs iʰtik-tï uz-it-qa yaz-it-qan-i-tï.*
25. *antaqanta-ya ɕorɣawaʂ-tan pïʂt aʰq-ʊ-ɣantï.*
26. *antaqanta-ya pu pʰek-ki qatïn pol-ɣantï, pu ɕorɣawaʂ amsa mal oʰqar-ʊ.*
27. *ah, antaqʊ: eni kueytiɛnzï ki-ɣintï, ɕorɣawaʂ-ta.*
28. *pïr kʰun eʰt-kinti-ya uʂ qïz qoy oʰqar-ɣïla-ɣantʊ.*
29. *qoy oʰqar-ɣïla-ɣanta kʊ ɕorɣawaʂ par-ya kumpinso-nï su-ʂ-ki ïʂt-uʰt-qantï.*
30. *su-ʂ-ki ïʂt-uʰt-qanta-ya aʰltamso yaŋqïɕa qʰa-ttï-sa.*
31. *antaqanta-ya pu-ya kʰunsen-la yilɣe yilɣe su-nïŋ qïzïq-qa par-ɣaq-i-tï.*
32. *pa-ɣanta-ya qïzaqa-sïn qïti-ɣik-i-tï.*
33. *antaqanta kumpinso su-ʂ-tin un-ïk ki-ɣiʂ-ya sïŋnï-sïŋ-ki miɕa ʑi:ʂ kʰer-ɣi iˢɕir-ɣi.*
34. *'sen ɕorɣawaʂ-qa ti-mi.*
35. *ɕorɣawaʂ-qa ti-si-la uzï-nï eni xayla-ʂtï.'*

24. one/POS3-DAT-PCL1 outside skirt-ACC rip-QUI-CCO spread-QUI-NAR-COP-EV
25. then-PCL1 Chorghawash-ABL louse flow-AUX-NARev
26. then-PCL1 this beg-DAT wife become-NARev this Chorghawash anyway livestock tend-CSIM
27. EXCL then again wicked.plan come-NARev Chorghawash-LOC
28. one day arrive-CTMP-PCL1 three girl sheep pasture-PUR-NARev
29. sheep pasture-PUR-CTMP DEM Chorghawash go-CCO Kumpinso-ACC water-IN-DAT push-COM-NARev
30. water-IN-DAT push-COM-CTMP-PCL1 Ahltamso alone/ADV remain-PASTev-PCL5
31. then-PCL1 this-PCL1 every.day-PCL2 cry/CREP cry/CREP water-GEN side-DAT go-HAB-COP-EV
32. go-CTMP-PCL1 elder.sister-POS3ACC call-HAB-COP-EV
33. then Kumpinso water-IN-ABL come.out-CON come-CCO-PCL1 younger.sister-POS3-DAT little food bring-CCO feed-CCO
34. you Chorghawash-DAT say-NEG
35. Chorghawash-DAT tell-COND-PCL2 self-ACC again murder-FUTev

24. He quickly ripped and spread his outer skirt for the other.
25. Then lice flowed from Chorghawash.
26. Then they became this beg's wives, but this Chorghawash tended livestock.
27. Ah, meanwhile again a wicked plan came in Chorghawash ['s mind].
28. One day, the three girls went to tend sheep.
29. When they went to tend sheep, this Chorghawash went, and pushed Kumpinso into the water.
30. When she had pushed her into the water, Ahltamso remained alone.
31. Then, every day she used to go to the waterside, crying and crying.
32. When she went, she used to call her elder sister.
33. Then Kumpinso came out of the water, and brought her younger sister a little food and fed her.
34. 'Don't you tell Chorghawash.
35. If you tell Chorghawash, she will murder me again.'

36. *antaqanta-ya pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya ɕorɣawaʂ pïr taˣs mïla*[2] *toq-qantï.*
37. *'oy, menïŋ mïla-nï ɕʰal-it,' ti-ɣintï.*
38. *qʰor-ïn yor-uʰt-qanta-ya pu per-ɣin yiʂ qʰal-xanï-ɣantï.*
39. *'e, qayta-qe:! maɣa tï?!' ti-ɣintï.*
40. *'e, maɣa ti-mi ti-ɣin.' antaqanta ti-ɣin-i-tï.*
41. *ti-ɣinti-ya pu ɕorɣawaʂ qïlïʂ-ïn aln-ʊ par-ɣantï.*
42. *par-ɣanta-ya ɕa:ŋ kumpinso un-ïk kil-ʊ-ɣanta pïr qïlïʂ paʰɕ-ïn kanna-ɣan.*
43. *su-ma qïzar-xanï-ɣantï.*
44. *antaqanta-la pu sïŋnï-sï eni yilɣe yilɣe: ʑitï kʰun pol-ɣantï.*
45. *ʑitï kʰun pol-ɣanta-ya kumpinso paʰɕ-ïn paŋna-ɣa eni un-ïk ki-ɣintï.*
46. *'am-la sen ti-mi! am-la ti-si amsa uzï-nï teylï yülïr-ïʂtï,' ti-ɣintï.*
47. *pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya yi-ɣin-nï pʰeɣ kör-xanï-ɣantï.*

36. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 Chorghawash one stone child give.birth-NARev
37. quick me/GEN child-ACC hold.child-QUI say-NARev
38. girdle-POS3ACC undo-COM-CTMP-PCL1 this give-PP food fall-TER-NARev
39. EXCL where-KI/COP me/DAT say say-NARev
40. EXCL me/DAT say-NEG say-NAR then say-NAR-COP-EV
41. say-CTMP-PCL1 then Chorghawash reed-POS3ACC take/RFL-CSIM go-NARev
42. go-CTMP-PCL1 just Kumpinso come.out-CON come-AUX-CTMP one reed head-POS3ACC hit-NAR
43. water-PCL3 be.red-TER-NARev
44. then-PCL2 this younger.sister-POS3 again cry/CREP cry/CREP seven day become-NARev
45. seven day become-CTMP-PCL1 Kumpinso head-POS3ACC bandage-CCO again come.out-CON come-NARev
46. now-PCL2 you say-NEG now-PCL2 say-COND anyway self-ACC certainly kill-FUTev say-NARev
47. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 eat-PP-ACC beg see-TER-NARev

36. Then one day, Chorghawash gave birth to a stone child[2].
37. 'Quick, hold my child,' she said.
38. When [Ahltamso] undid her girdle, the food this [Kumpinso] had given fell out.
39. 'Eh, where is it from, tell me?!' [Chorghawash] said.
40. 'Eh, she told [me] not to say.' [But] then [Ahltamso] told it.
41. When she had told it, this Chorghawash took along her reed and went.
42. When she had gone, just as Kumpinso came out of the water, she gave her a blow on the head with the reed.
43. And the water became red.
44. Then this younger sister of her again cried and cried, and seven days passed.
45. When seven days had passed, Kumpinso, having bandaged her head, came out.
46. 'Now don't you tell! If you tell now, she will certainly kill me,' she said.
47. One day, the beg saw what she was eating.

[2] According to Ān et al. 1984: 53, a 'stone child' is a Yugur term for a miscarriage.

48. *'sen qoɣ oʰqar-ma-tï, qayta-qï ʐiʂ ki-ɣin-i?*
49. *sen yü-ti-kï-nï ʈʰumïkti-ɣin!'*
50. *antaqanta-ya pu ti-ɣin-i-tʊ:*
51. *'ʈorɣawaʂ naɣʊ, menïŋ qïzaqïŋ-nï su-ʂ-ki ïʂt-uʰt-qa paʰʈ-ïn qïlïʂ uʈin azïr-ɣa..'*
52. *kʊ pʰeɣ taʰrtïɣ-ïn al-ïŋ-qa maŋ-qantï.*
53. *eni par-ɣa: eni un-ïk ki-ɣinti-la taʰrtïɣ-ïn tʰayta-ɣa untïr-ïk ki-ttï, kumpinso-nï.*
54. *aʰltamso-tï, kumpinso sïŋnï-sï-tï.*
55. *am-ya untïr-ïk ki-ɣiʂ-la yü-ʰsïŋ-ki ezert-ki par-ɣantï.*
56. *pʰeɣ ʈʰoʂïŋna-ɣïla maŋ-qantï, pïr ʐil.*
57. *antaqanta-ya pu kumpinso aʰltamso poz-ïŋ-qa pol-ɣantï, mïla ol-ɣantï.*
58. *antaqanta-ya üˢʂüsï qʰal-ɣanta pu-ya pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-la am-ya toq-qantï.*
59. *toq-qanta-ya pu ayt-qantï:*
60. *'qïzaqa mïla-nï naɣʊ toq-qaq-e?' ti-ɣintï.*

48. you sheep pasture-VN-EV where-KI food come-PNAR-COP
49. you house-LOC-KI-ACC steal-PNAR
50. then-PCL1 this say-NAR-COP-EV
51. Chorghawash how me/GEN elder.sister/POS1/2-ACC water-IN-DAT push-COM-CCO head-POS3ACC reed with split-CCO
52. DEM beg rope-POS3ACC take-RFL-CCO walk-NARev
53. again go-CCO again come.out-CON come-CTMP-PCL2 rope-POS3ACC throw-CCO take.out-CON come-PASTev Kumpinso-ACC
54. Ahltamso-EV Kumpinso younger.sister-POS3-EV
55. now-PCL1 take.out-CON come-CCO-PCL2 house-POS3-DAT lead-CCO go-NARev
56. beg go.on.pilgrimage-CPUR walk-NARev one year
57. then-PCL1 this Kumpinso Ahltamso body-POS3-DAT become-NARev child become-NARev
58. then-PCL1 three/POS3 remain-CTMP this-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL2 now-PCL1 give.birth-NARev
59. give.birth-CTMP-PCL1 this ask-NARev
60. elder.sister child-ACC how give.birth-HAB-COP say-NARev

48. 'You are [but] a shepherd, where has the food come from?
49. You [must] have stolen that which was in the house!'
50. Then she told [the beg]:
51. 'Chorghawash did such, she pushed my elder sister into the water, splitting her head with a reed...'
52. This beg took along his rope and set off.
53. When [Ahltamso] went again, and [Kumpinso] again came out, he threw his rope and got Kumpinso out [of the water].
54. It was Ahltamso, she was Kumpinso['s] younger sister.
55. Now, when they had taken her out, they brought her home.
56. [Then] the beg set out to go on a pilgrimage, for one year.
57. Then this Kumpinso and Ahltamso were pregnant, they were with child.
58. Then when the three of them remained behind, one day, these [two] gave birth.
59. When they gave birth, this [Chorghawash] asked:
60. 'How will [my] elder sisters give birth to [their] children?'

61. *köz-tï ilïm puçin ilïmni-ɣi ʂaʐ-tï liaŋxua-ɣa pʰoq-qa kïsï kʊ mïla-sïn toq-qantï.*
62. *pu kumpinso-ɣa pïr ala kïtïk soɣ-ɣa sal-ïwat-qantï.*
63. *aʰltamso-ɣa taŋ kïtïk soɣ-ɣa sal-ïwat-qantï.*
64. *antaqanta kïtïk-ïn-ma pezït-kin-i-tï.*
65. *pu sïk art-qa kʰöm-ïwat-qantʊ.*
66. *sïk art-ta pu çoryawaʂ-tïŋ iʰtik-ïn uz-ki yata-ɣantʊ.*
67. *appar-ɣaʂ-ya aʰt qʰora-ʂ-ki kʰöm-ïwat-qa aʰt uᵠk-ki yata-ɣantï.*
68. *eni pïr appar-ɣa tale-ʂ-ki tʰayt-uʰt-qantï.*
69. *antan-la pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya pʰeɣ kil-ɣintï.*
70. *pʰeɣ ki-ɣiʂ-la ayt-qantï: 'ni toɣ-ïttï?' ti-ɣintï.*
71. *'qʰaqïŋqʰa! taŋnaɣan taŋ kïtïk-tʊ, kisïlɣan kisïl kïtïk-tʊ,' ti-ɣintï.*
72. *'çuaʂï ïʂkï kïtïk toq-qan.'*
73. *antaqanta peɣ çʰïla-ɣantʊ: kueywu toɣ-ïttï saqïn-qantï.*

61. eye-ACC glue with glue-CCO hair-ACC ceiling-DAT tie-CCO person DEM child-POS3ACC give.birth-NARev
62. this Kumpinso-DAT one multicoloured puppy skin-CCO put-FIN-NARev
63. Ahltamso-DAT striped puppy skin-CCO put-FIN-NARev
64. then puppy-POS3ACC-PCL3 raise-NAR-COP-EV
65. this door backside-DAT bury-FIN-NARev
66. door backside-LOC this Chorghawash-GEN skirt-POS3ACC rip-CCO cannot-NARev
67. take.to-CCO-PCL1 horse pen-IN-DAT bury-FIN-CCO horse be.startled-CCO cannot-NARev
68. again one take.away-CCO sea-IN-DAT throw-COM-NARev
69. that/ABL-PCL2 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 beg come-NARev
70. beg come-CCO-PCL2 ask-NARev what be.born-PASTev say-NARev
71. EXCL striped/JINGLE striped puppy-EV light.bellied/JINGLE light.bellied puppy-EV say-NARev
72. really two puppy be.born-NAR
73. then beg be.angry-NARev monster be.born-PASTev think-NARev

61. After she had glued [their] eyes with glue, and had tied [their] hair to the ceiling, they gave birth to their children.
62. She skinned a multicoloured puppy and put it [under] Kumpinso.
63. She skinned a striped puppy and put it [under] Ahltamso.
64. Then they raised their puppies.
65. This [Chorghawash] buried [the children] behind the door.
66. Behind the door, they could not help ripping Chorghawash's skirt.
67. When she took them away and buried them in the horse pen, the horses could not help being startled.
68. When she took them away again, she threw them into the sea.
69. Thereupon, one day, the beg came back.
70. After the beg came back, he asked: 'What is born?' he said.
71. 'Qhaqıngqha! It is a very striped puppy, and a puppy with very light belly,' [Chorghawash] said.
72. 'Truly two puppies were born.'
73. Then the beg became angry: he thought a monster was born.

74. *pïr kʰun eʰt-kinti-ya pu pʰe:ɣ maŋ-qa su qïzïq-qa: niɣïl-ɣïla-ɣantï, pʰeɣ mʊ qara-ɣïla-ɣantï.*
75. *antaqanta ïʂkï mïla:, pïr yaʰsa-ɣan ïʂkï mïla ɕʰoqe-s-qa oyna-s-ʊ horiʂ oyn-ʊ-ɣantʊ.*
76. *'horiʂ, horiʂ! kumpinso menïŋ ana-ŋ! horiʂ! aʰltamso menïŋ ana-ŋ!*
77. *horiʂ! qara pʰeɣ menïŋ awa-ŋ!' antaqʊ oyna-s-ʊ-ɣantï.*
78. *antaqanta pʰeɣ antaɣ saqïn-qantï:*
79. *'e? pu ni? uzï-nïŋ at-tï pïl-ɣik-i? pu-lar-nï pïl-ɣik-i?'*
80. *eni sosïkïn par-ɣa pu ɕïŋʂï: yaʰs-qa qar-ʊ-ɣantï.*
81. *eni ïʂkï mïla antaqo oyna-s-ʊ-ɣantï.*
82. *ïʂkï mïla-nï tuʰt-ïwal-ɣantï.*
83. *tuʰt-ïwal-ɣanta-ya ɕa-ya aʰltamso-nïŋ aʰltïm köʰkïs-tïɣ mïla, kumpinso-nïŋ kumïs köʰkïs-tïɣ mïla ol-ɣantï.*
84. *antan-la akkʰer-ɣiʂ-la ɕoryawaʂ-qa taʰqï köʰküt-pi-ɣintï.*
85. *antaqanta ɕoryawaʂ-qa antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*

74. one day arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this beg walk-CCO water side-DAT what.do-PUR-NARev beg walk/CSIM look-PUR-NARev
75. then two child one be.a.year.of.age-PP two child sit-REC-CCO play-REC-CSIM sling play-AUX-NARev
76. sling sling Kumpinso me/GEN mother-POS1/2 Ahltamso me/GEN mother-POS1/2
77. sling black beg me/GEN father-POS1/2 thus play-REC-AUX-NARev
78. then beg that/EQU think-NARev
79. EXCL this what self-GEN name-ACC know-HAB-COP this-PL-ACC know-HAB-COP
80. again next.day go-CCO this really hide-CCO look-AUX-NARev
81. again two child thus play-REC-AUX-NARev
82. two child-ACC hold-INC-NARev
83. hold-INC-CTMP-PCL1 truly-PCL1 Ahltamso-GEN gold loin-ADJ child Kumpinso-GEN silver loin-ADJ child become-NARev
84. that/ABL-PCL2 bring-CCO-PCL2 Chorghawash-DAT yet show-NEG-NARev
85. then Chorghawash-DAT that/EQU say-NARev

74. One day, this beg set off to whatsit, the beg set off to look at the water side.
75. Then [he noticed that] two children, two children of one year old, sat and played together, they played with a sling.
76. 'Sling, sling! Kumpinso is my mother! Sling! Ahltamso is my mother!
77. Sling! Black beg is my father!' Thus they played together.
78. Then the beg thought thus:
79. 'Eh? What is this? They know my name? They know [all] this?'
80. He went again the other day, and he really hid himself and looked.
81. Again the two children played thus together.
82. He took hold of the two children.
83. They were truly Ahltamso's child with the golden loins, and Kumpinso's child with the silver loins.
84. Thereupon he brought [them home], but did not yet show [them] to Chorghawash.
85. Then he said thus to Chorghawash:

86. *'sen ana-ŋ-qa qara-ɣ̈la-ʂ mi? seŋ toqqan ʂarla-ʂ mi?' ti-ɣintï.*
87. *ɕorɣawaʂ: 'par-ma-ɣa?! qayta-qï ana-ŋ-nï qara-mas pïrmi ki-ʂ-i?'*
88. *'taŋqar-la sen-ya qoy oʰqar-ɣ̈la.*
89. *men-la saɣa taŋqar niɣ̈l-in, litaŋ-nï peʰk-in,' ti-ɣintï.*
90. *ya ti-ɣintï. antaqanta pïr poʰqɕa: kökiʂkïn tuʰt-ïwat-qantï.*
91. *'sen uʂ yil yoz-ɣan aq yorɣa-nï mïn-kïʂ mi uʂ yil yoz-ɣan qara puqa-nï mïn-kïʂ mi?' ti-ɣintï.*
92. *'qʰaqïŋqʰa! qara ʂïɣaq-tï, ni-sïn mïn-kïʂ-i?!*
93. *men uʰʂ yil yoz-ɣan aq yorɣa-nï mïn-kïʂ!'*
94. *'antasa mïn-ki maŋ: saɣa litaŋ-nï ɕunpeyla-wat-in.*
95. *uʰʂ tʰaɣ aʰs-qaʂ-la sen pu poʰqɕa-nï yör.'*
96. *pïr taʰrtïɣ per-ɣintï: 'pït-tï-ya sen kïpti-w pu ezeŋkï-ɣi paŋna.*
97. *paŋn-o untïr-ɣiʂ-la sen kʊ poʰqɕa-nïŋ aʰs-ïn aʰʂ-qaʂ-la ɕotta-ɣa ana-ŋ-qa eʰt!*

86. you mother-POS1/2-DAT see-PUR-FUT Q you/GEN old.home visit-FUT Q say-NARev
87. Chorghawash go-NEG-CCO where-KI mother-POS1/2-ACC see-PN somebody come-FUT-COP
88. morning-PCL2 you-PCL1 sheep pasture-PUR
89. I-PCL2 you/DAT morning what.do-IMP1sg present-ACC prepare-IMP1sg say-NARev
90. all.right say-NARev then one saddle.bag pigeon hold-FIN-NARev
91. you three year pass-PP white ambler-ACC mount-FUT Q three year pass-PP black bull-ACC mount-FUT Q say-NARev
92. EXCL black diarhoea-ACC what-POS3ACC mount-FUT-COP
93. I three year pass-PP white ambler-ACC mount-FUT
94. in.that.case mount-CCO walk you/DAT present-ACC prepare-FIN-IMP1sg
95. three mountain cross-CCO-PCL2 you this saddle.bag-ACC undo
96. one rope give-NARev leg-ACC-PCL1 you fasten-CSIM this stirrup-DAT tie
97. tie-CSIM take.out-CCO-PCL2 you that saddle.bag-GEN opening-POS3ACC open-CCO-PCL2 libate-CCO mother-POS1/2-DAT arrive

86. 'Will you go to see your mother? Will you visit your old home?' he said.
87. Chorghawash: 'Not going?! Would there be someone who would not see her [own] mother?'
88. 'In the morning you will go to tend sheep.
89. I will whatsit, prepare a present for you in the morning,' he said.
90. She agreed. Then he got hold of a saddle bag [full] of pigeons.
91. 'Will you mount a three-year-old white ambler, or will you mount a three-year-old black bull?' he said.
92. 'Qhaqıngqha! Will I mount a what, a black shit?!
93. [Of course] I will mount the three-year-old white ambler!'
94. 'In that case, mount it and set off: let me prepare a present for you.
95. After you have crossed three mountains, you undo this saddle bag.'
96. He gave a rope: 'You fasten your legs and tie them to the stirrups.
97. After you have finished tying [yourself] up, and after you have opened that saddle bag's opening, do a libation and get to your mother!

98. *antaqanta-la sen litaŋ pïs-kïʂ.' ya ti-ɣintï.*
99. *tʰeɣ-ʊ-la uʰʂ tʰaɣ-nï aʰs-it-qaʂ-ya ʨïnʨïŋ pït-ïn paŋn-ʊ kïpti-ɣi poʰqʨa-nïŋ aʰs-ïn aʰʨ-uʰt-qanta-la kökiʂkïn uɸk-ki pïʰtïrat-qanta-la aq yorɣa-sï uɸk-ki-la pï:r tʰaŋzï-ta qayl-ʊ pʰeɣ-nïŋ yü-ʰsïŋ-ki eʰt-ïk ki-ɣinti ʨorɣawaʂ-tïŋ pïr pït qʰal-ɣantï.*
100. *antaqanta ʨorɣawaʂ-tï yülïr-ïwat-ïttï.*
101. *antaqaʂ-la kʊ tʰaɣ-ïʂ-ti kïsï 'oy' ti-si xoyin-ya ʨorɣawaʂ-tïŋ on-ï titʊ!*
102. *o sat-ta mïz-tïŋ ana-ŋ-nar ti-si o-la ʨorɣawaʂ orɣïl-ʊtï, panlu-ta qʰal-ɣa.*
103. *antan-la pu pʰeɣ, kumpinso, aʰltamso uʂ kïsï-tï.*
104. *antaqanta pu pʰeɣ-la antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
105. *'e, am-la mïz-la ʨʰïŋʨʰaŋ-tan pïr soq-sa,' antaɣ ti-ɣintï.*
106. *antaqanta kumpinso aʰltamso: 'e, o-ma, kuey nimi emis-tʊ, soq-enï!' ti-ɣintï.*

98. then-PCL2 you present boil-FUT all.right say-NARev
99. gallop-CSIM-PCL1 three mountain-ACC cross-QUI-CCO-PCL1 really leg-POS3ACC tie-CSIM fasten-CCO saddle.bag-GEN opening-POS3ACC open-COM-CTMP-PCL1 pigeon fly-CCO raise.dust-CTMP-PCL2 white ambler-POS3 be.startled-CCO-PCL2 one once-LOC run-CSIM beg-GEN house-POS3-DAT arrive-CON come-CTMP Chorghawash-GEN one leg remain-NARev
100. then Chorghawash-ACC kill-FIN-PASTev
101. then-PCL2 DEM mountain-IN-LOC person EXCL say-COND echo-PCL1 Chorghawash-GEN voice-POS3 say/DUB
102. that time-LOC we-GEN mother-POS1/2-PL say-COND that-PCL2 Chorghawash shout-PROGev halfway-LOC remain-CCO
103. that/ABL-PCL2 this beg Kumpinso Ahltamso three person-EV
104. then this beg-PCL2 that/EQU say-NARev
105. EXCL now-PCL2 we-PCL2 city.wall-ABL one knock-COND that/EQU say-NARev
106. then Kumpinso Ahltamso EXCL that-PCL3 [..] thing is.not-EV knock-IMP1pl say-NARev

98. Then you can cook the present.' She agreed.
99. While galloping, she quickly crossed three mountains, and when she opened the saddle bag's opening, after she had tied and fastened her leg, the pigeons suddenly came out flying, and when they raised dust, her white ambler startled and quickly ran away, and when it arrived at the beg's house, [only] one leg of Chorghawash remained.
100. Then he had killed Chorghawash.
101. Then, if a person says 'oy' in these mountains, they say the echo is Chorghawash's voice!
102. At that time, as our mothers say, it is Chorghawash shouting, having remained halfway.
103. Thereupon this beg, Kumpinso and Ahltamso were three persons.
104. Then this beg said thus:
105. 'Eh, if [only] we construct a city wall now!' thus he said.
106. Then Kumpinso and Ahltamso said: 'Eh, that will not be a [special] thing, let's construct it!'

107. *kumpinso-nï aʰltamso ïʂkï-sï yiŋïr-ɣa pïr iʰtik turaq-tï iʰtikti-p par-ɣa yü-nï pïr yörli-ɣi quz-ïwat-qantï.*
108. *sosïkïn ɕïnɕï:ŋ qʰantampu palq soq-ïl-ɣa olïr-ɣantʊ:.*
109. *antaqanta pʰeɣ eni söyn-kintï: 'e, am-la puɣa terik pol-ɣaq po-sa, yaŋyaŋ.'*
110. *antaqanta kumpinso aʰltamso antaɣ ti-ttï: 'e, o-ma kueɣ nimi emis-tʊ!'*
111. *yiŋïr-ɣa qʰaq terik-tï tüɣ-ïwat-qantï.*
112. *ʂanzï uɕin pïr ʂanna-ɣanta kük terik pol-ɣantï.*
113. *antaqanta-la pʰeɣ-la eni antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
114. *'e, am-la puɣa yaŋyaŋ qus pol-ɣaq po-sa!' ti-ɣintï.*
115. *antaqanta pu ïʂkï kumpinso aʰltamso antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
116. *'e, o-ma ni-ma pezïk yatal emis-tʊ!'*
117. *antaqanta yaŋyaŋ kʰeti-nï-la yaŋyaŋ qus qʰayɕila-ɣantï.*
118. *qʰayɕila-ɣaʂ-la ʂanzï uɕin pïr ʂanna-ɣanta i:ɕʰi aqïla-s-qa terik-ki un-qʰanï-ɣantï.*

107. Kumpinso-AND Ahltamso two-POS3 evening-DAT one skirt earth-ACC carry.in.one's.skirt-CON go-CCO house-ACC one walk.around-CCO pour-FIN-NARev
108. next.day truly splendid wall build-PAS-CCO stay-NARev
109. then beg again be.glad-NARev EXCL now-PCL2 this/DAT tree become-PHAB become-COND all.sorts
110. then Kumpinso Ahltamso that/EQU say-PASTev EXCL that-PCL3 [..] thing is.not-EV
111. evening-DAT dry tree-ACC stick.into-FIN-NARev
112. fan with one wave.fan-CTMP blue tree become-NARev
113. then-PCL2 beg-PCL2 again that/EQU say-NARev
114. EXCL now-PCL this/DAT all.sorts bird become-PHAB become-COND say-NARev
115. then this two Kumpinso Ahltamso that/EQU say-NARev
116. EXCL that-PCL3 what-PCL3 big matter is.not-EV
117. then all.sorts paper-AND-PCL2 all.sorts bird clip-NARev
118. clip-CCO-PCL2 fan with one wave.fan-CTMP-PCL1 altogether twitter-REC-CCO tree-DAT ascend-TER-NARev

107. During the evening, Kumpinso and Ahltamso both went and carried a skirt [full] of earth in their skirts, walked once around the house and poured [it] out.
108. The next day a truly splendid wall had been built.
109. Then again the beg was glad: 'Eh, if [only] there would be all kinds of trees in it!'
110. Then Kumpinso and Ahltamso said thus: 'Eh, that is not a [special] thing!'
111. During the evening they stuck dry twigs [in the ground].
112. When they fanned their fan once, they became green trees.
113. Then the beg again said thus:
114. 'Eh, now, if [only] there would be all kinds of birds in it!' he said.
115. Then these two, Kumpinso and Ahltamso said thus:
116. 'Eh, this is not a big matter!'
117. Then they clipped all kinds of birds [from] all kinds of paper.
118. After they had clipped [them], when they fanned their fan once, they twittered altogether and went up into the trees.

119. *antaqanta pu pʰeɣ antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'sen ana-ŋ-nï qïʰqïr-ïk kil-inï.*
120. *qïʰqïr-ïk ki-ɣi am mïz-tïŋ-kï-ti olïr-ɣe,' ti-ɣintï.*
121. *antaqanta qïʰqïr-ɣïla-ɣantï. qïʰqïr-ɣïla-ɣanta-la antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
122. *'sen uzï-ɣi kʊ titʰan-nï yaz-ʊ uzï-nïŋ sïk-ki eʰt-kïr-ʊ uzï par-in,' ti-ɣïntï.*
123. *e:, pu pʰeɣ eni antaɣ saqïn-qantï: 'e, pu nal-ɣaq-e?'*
124. *eni ki-ɣi ayt-qantï: 'nal-ɣaq-e?'*
125. *antaqanta kumpinso aʰltamso: 'e, o-ma ni-ma pezïk yatal emis-tʊ,' ti-ɣintï.*
126. *yüŋ-nï qʰayçila-ɣaʂ-la kïsï ʂaʐ-ɣa:ʂ-ya ana-sï-nïŋ sïk-ïŋ-ki eʰt-ïp par-ɣantï.*
127. *pïr tʰuni-ti-la titʰan po-q qʰa-ɣantï.*
128. *antaqanta-la ana-sï ki-ɣin-i-tï, qïʰqïr-ïk ki-ɣintï.*
129. *qïʰqïr-ïk ki-ɣiʂ-ya olïr-t-qantï.*
130. *ayʊ, antaqanta pay ol-ɣantï.*

119. then this beg that/EQU say-NARev you mother-POS1/2-ACC invite-CON come-IMP1pl
120. invite-CON come-CCO now we-GEN-KI-LOC stay-IMP3 say-NARev
121. then invite-PUR-NARev invite-PUR-CTMP-PCL2 that/EQU say-NARev
122. you self-DAT DEM carpet-ACC spread-CSIM self-GEN door-DAT arrive-CAUS-CSIM self go-IMP1sg say-NARev
123. EXCL this beg again that/EQU think-NARev EXCL this what.do-HAB-COP
124. again come-CCO ask-NARev what.do-HAB-COP
125. then Kumpinso Ahltamso EXCL that-PCL3 what-PCL3 big matter is.not-PCL say-NARev
126. wool-ACC clip-CCO-PCL2 person scatter-CCO-PCL1 mother-POS3-GEN door-POS3-DAT arrive-CON go-NARev
127. one night-LOC-PCL2 carpet become-CON fall-NARev
128. then-PCL2 mother-POS3 come-NAR-COP-EV invite-CON come-NARev
129. invite-CON come-CCO-PCL2 stay-CAUS-NARev
130. EXCL then rich become-NARev

119. Then this beg said thus: 'Let us invite your mother.
120. After we have invited [her], may she stay at our [home],' he said.
121. Then he went to invite [her]. When he went to invite her, she said thus:
122. 'Let me come [if] you spread that carpet for me, and make it arrive at my door,' she said.
123. Eh, this beg thought thus again: 'Eh, how to handle this?'
124. Again he came and asked: 'How to handle it?'
125. Then Kumpinso and Ahltamso: 'Eh, this is not a big matter,' they said.
126. They clipped the wool, scattered it, and it arrived at their mother's door.
127. In one night, the carpet came into being.
128. Then their mother came, they had invited her.
129. They invited her and made her stay.
130. Ayo, then they were rich.

9. The Story of Ahltımso, Kumpinso and Chorghawash (2)

told by Zhōng Yùzhēn

1. *aʰltïmso-nï kumpinso par-i-tʊ, pïr ɕorɣawaʂ par-i-tʊ.*
2. *antaqanta-ya uʂ qïz su tʰila-ɣïla-ɣantï.*
3. *su tʰila-ɣïla-ɣanta ɕorɣawaʂ antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
4. *'mïz uʂ kïsï kʊ paɣaɕa-nï tʰayt-ʊ oyn-inï, su-ʂ-ki.'*
5. *antaqanta-ya aʰltïmso kumpinso-nïŋ aʰltïm paɣaɕa-nï kumïs paɣaɕa su-ʂ-ki qʰal-xanï-ɣantï.*
6. *antaqanta ɕorɣawaʂ yü-ʰsïŋ-ki par-ɣantï.*
7. *ana-sï ayt-qantï: 'ïʂkï qïz naɣ-ʊtï?'*
8. *'su tʰila-ɣa: ïʂkï qïz paɣaɕa-nï su-ʂ-ki qʰaltïr-uʰt-ïttï.'*
9. *ana-sï yaɣ tʰaqan-nï yoɣïr-ɣa: 'ïʂkï qïz-ɣa pïr tʰaqan-nï per-ɣi ʑi ti.*
10. *sen-ya pu tʰaqan-nï yi,' ti-ɣintï.*

1. Ahltımso-AND Kumpinso present-COP-EV one Chorghawash present-COP-EV
2. then-PCL1 three girl water fetch-PUR-NARev
3. water fetch-PUR-CTMP Chorghawash that/EQU say-NARev
4. we three person DEM bucket-ACC throw-CSIM play-IMP1pl water-IN-DAT
5. then-PCL1 Ahltımso Kumpinso-GEN gold bucket-AND silver bucket water-IN-DAT fall-TER-NARev
6. then Chorghawash house-POS3-DAT go-NARev
7. mother-POS3 ask-NARev two girl what.do-PROGev
8. water fetch-CCO two girl bucket-ACC water-IN-DAT drop-COM-PASTev
9. mother-POS3 oil parched.flour-ACC mix.dough-CCO two girl-DAT one parched.flour-ACC give-CCO eat say
10. you-PCL1 this parched.flour-ACC eat say-NARev

1. There were Ahltımso and Kumpinso, and there was a Chorghawash.
2. Then the three girls went to fetch water.
3. When they went to fetch water, Chorghawash said thus:
4. 'Let us three people play, throwing these buckets into the water.'
5. Then, the golden bucket and the silver bucket of Ahltımso and Kumpinso fell into the water.
6. Then Chorghawash went home.
7. Her mother asked: 'What are the two girls doing?'
8. 'The two girls fetched water and made the buckets fall into the water.'
9. Her mother mixed oil and parched flour: 'Give the two girls one parched flour [cookie] and tell [them] to eat it.
10. And you eat this parched flour [cookie],' she said.

[1] Recorded by Zhōng Jìnwén, 1992 in Mínghuā. For references, see the version by Ān Xiūzhēng.

11. *sïk art-qa eʰt-kinti uzï ʐi-wat-qa uzï miɕa nimi-sïn al-ïŋ-qa appar-ɣa antaɣ tiɣintï:*
12. *'ana-ŋ am selir-ɣi qar-sa qar titʊ.'*
13. *am naɣʂ-e? antaqanta-ya yilɣa-s-qantï.*
14. *'men senï ezert-ki mayn,' ti-ɣintï. eni maŋ-qantï.*
15. *mʊ: yol-ɣa eʰt-kinti ïʂkï qïz-tïŋ yüz-ïn-ya tiʰkin puɕin ʂual-ʊ: manïn-nï uzï kiz-ki maŋ-qantï.*
16. *antaqanta: 'qoyɕï aqʊ! qoyɕï aqʊ!*
17. *kʰïm-nïŋ manïŋ-kizkï yaʰʂ-tï, kʰïm-nïŋ qïʂwaʂ yaʰʂ-tï?' ti-ɣintï.*
18. *'aʰltïmso-nï kumpinso-nïŋ qïʂwaʂ yaʰʂ-tʊ, manïŋ-kizkï ʐïq-tʊ.*
19. *ɕoryawaʂ-tïŋ manïŋ-kizkï yaʰʂ-tʊ, qïʂwaʂ ɕar taʰqaɣï-nïŋ qoŋqïr-nï ïst-itï.'*
20. *antaqanta-ya eni maŋ-qantï.*
21. *eni maŋ-qanta-ya pïr kus oʰqar-ma-ɣa tʰuk pol-ɣantï.*
22. *'kusɕï aqʊ! kusɕï aqʊ!*

11. door behind-DAT arrive-CTMP self eat-FIN-CCO self little thing-POS3ACC take-RFL-CCO take.to-CCO that/EQU say-NARev
12. mother-POS1/2 now you/PL-DAT whither.go-COND whither.go say/DUB
13. now what.do/FUT-COP then-PCL1 cry-REC-NARev
14. I you/ACC lead-CCO walk/IMP1sg say-NARev again walk-NARev
15. walk-CSIM way-DAT arrive-CTMP two girl-GEN face-POS3ACC-PCL1 thorn with brush-CSIM headgear-ACC self dress-CCO walk-NARev
16. then shepherd elder.brother/VOC shepherd elder.brother/VOC
17. who-GEN headgear-dress good-EV who-GEN countenance good-EV say-NARev
18. Ahltımso-AND Kumpinso-GEN countenance good-EV headgear-dress bad-EV
19. Chorghawash-GEN headgear-dress good-EV countenance meagre chicken-GEN bottom-ACC resemble-DUB
20. then-PCL1 again walk-NARev
21. again walk-CTMP-PCL1 one bovine pasture-VN-DAT meeting become-NARev
22. cowherd elder.brother/VOC cowherd elder.brother/VOC

11. Stealthily she ate [them] herself, took a little something of it, brought it and said thus:
12. 'Our mother now says to you: 'Go wherever you go.'
13. Now what to do? Then they cried together.
14. 'Let me go and lead you,' said [Chorghawash]. And they set off.
15. While they were walking, along the way, [Chorghawash] brushed the faces of the two girls with thorns, put herself [their] headgear on, and walked on.
16. Then: 'Brother Shepherd! Brother Shepherd!
17. Whose headgear and dress are good, whose countenance is good?' she said.
18. 'The countenance of Ahltımso and Kumpinso is good, [their] headgear and dress are bad.
19. The headgear and dress of Chorghawash are good, [her] countenance resembles the buttock of a meagre chicken,' he said.
20. Then they walked on again.
21. When they walked on again, they met with a cowherd.
22. 'Brother Cowherd! Brother Cowherd!

23. *kʰïm-nïŋ qïʂwaʂ yaʰʂ-tï, kʰïm-nïŋ manïŋ-kizkï yaʰʂ-tï?' ti-ɣintï.*
24. *'aʰltïmso-nï kumpinso-nïŋ qïʂwaʂ yaʰʂ-trʊ, manïŋ-kizkï ʐïq-tʊ.*
25. *ɕorɣawaʂ-tïŋ manïŋ-kizkï yaʰʂ-trʊ, qïʂwaʂ-ï ɕar taʰqaɣï-nïŋ qoŋqïr-nï ïst-itʊ,' ti-ɣintï.*
26. *antaqanta-ya eni maŋ-qantï. pïr ɕʰiɕï-ɣi tʰuk po-ɣantï.*
27. *'ɕʰiɕï aqʊ! ɕʰiɕï aqʊ!*
28. *kʰïm-nïŋ qïʂwaʂ yaʰʂ-tï, kʰïm-nïŋ manïŋ-kizkï yaʰʂ-tï?' ti-ɣintï.*
29. *antaqanta-ya: 'aʰltïmso-nï kumpinso-nïŋ qïʂwaʂ yaʰʂ-tʊ, manïŋ-kizkï ʐïq-trʊ,' ti-ɣintï.*
30. *'ɕorɣawaʂ-tïŋ qïʂwaʂ ʐïq-tʊ,' ti-ɣintï.*
31. *antaqanta-ya eni maŋ-qantï. pïr aʰt oʰqar-ma-ɣa tʰuk po-ɣantï.*
32. *'aʰtɕï aqʊ! aʰtɕï aqʊ!*
33. *kʰïm-nïŋ qïʂwaʂ yaʰʂ-tï, kʰïm-nïŋ manïŋ-kizkï yaʰʂ-tï?' ti-ɣintï.*
34. *antaqanta-ya eni antaɣ tiɣintï:*

23. who-GEN countenance good-EV who-GEN headgear-dress good-EV say-NARev
24. Ahltımso-AND Kumpinso-GEN countenance good-EV headgear-dress bad-EV
25. Chorghawash-GEN headgear-dress good-EV countenance-POS3 meagre chicken-GEN bottom-ACC resemble-DUB say-NARev
26. then-PCL1 again walk-NARev one camelherd-DAT meeting become-NARev
27. camelherd elder.brother/VOC camelherd elder.brother/VOC
28. who-GEN countenance good-EV who-GEN headgear-dress good-EV say-NARev
29. then-PCL1 Ahltımso-AND Kumpinso-GEN countenance good-EV headgear-dress bad-EV say-NARev
30. Chorghawash-GEN countenance bad-EV say-NARev
31. then-PCL1 again walk-NARev one horse pasture-VN-DAT meeting become-NARev
32. horseherd elder.brother/VOC horseherd elder.brother/VOC
33. who-GEN countenance good-EV who-GEN headgear-dress good-EV say-NARev
34. then-PCL1 again that/EQU say-NARev

23. Whose countenance is good, whose headgear and dress are good?' she said.
24. 'The countenance of Ahltımso and Kumpinso is good, [their] headgear and dress are bad.
25. The headgear and dress of Chorghawash are good, her countenance resembles the buttock of a meagre chicken,' he said.
26. Then they walked on again. They met with a camelherd.
27. 'Brother Camelherd! Brother Camelherd!
28. Whose countenance is good, whose headgear and dress are good?' she said.
29. Then: 'The countenance of Ahltımso and Kumpinso is good, [their] headgear and dress are bad,' he said.
30. The countenance of Chorghawash is bad,' he said.
31. Then they walked on again. They met with a horseherd.
32. 'Brother Horseherd! Brother Horseherd!
33. Whose countenance is good, whose headgear and dress are good?' she said.
34. Then he too said thus:

35. *'ʨorɣawaʂ-tïŋ manïŋ-kizkï yaʰʂ-tʊ, qïʂwaʂ ʐïq-trʊ.*
36. *aʰltïmso-nï kumpinso-nïŋ qïʂwaʂ yaʰʂ-trʊ,' ti-ɣintï.*
37. *antaqanta-ya mʊ: pïr yol-ɣa eʰt-kinti aʰltïmso-ya kumpinso-ɣa antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
38. *'mïz kʊ su-ʂ-ki yüz-tï pïr ʨola-q qar-inï, kʰïm-nïŋ yüz yaʰʂ-tï, kʰïm-nïŋ manïŋ-kizkï yaʰʂ-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
39. *antaqanta ʨola-q qara-ɣanta-ya kumpinso-nï su-ʂ-ki ïʂt-uʰt-qantï.*
40. *antaqanta-ya pu sïŋnï-sïn ezert-ki maŋ-qantï.*
41. *mʊ:: pïr yaŋqïs yerin-nïŋ-kï-ɣi eʰt-ïp par-ɣantï.*
42. *eʰt-ïp par-ɣanta-ya pu yerin pʰeɣ-i-tï.*
43. *antaqanta-ya antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
44. *'sen ïʂkï-sï pïr kïsï pïr ʨinaq-tï alïŋ-qa kʊ keymïn sïk-ti örlï!*
45. *kʰïm-nïŋ ʨinaq-ïʂ-ki yerïŋ tek-se qatïn po-ʂtï.*
46. *kʰïm-nïŋ ʨinaq-ïʂ-ki kʰaʨikï tek-se kʰum[2] po-ʂtï.'*

35. Chorghawash-GEN headgear-dress good-EV countenance bad-EV
36. Ahltımso-AND Kumpinso-GEN countenance good-EV say-NARev
37. then-PCL1 walk/CSIM one road-DAT arrive-CTMP Ahltımso-DAT Kumpinso-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
38. we DEM water-IN-DAT face-ACC one reflect-CON look-IMP1pl who-GEN face good-EV who-GEN headgear-dress good-EV say-NARev
39. then reflect-CON look-CTMP-PCL1 Kumpinso-ACC water-IN-DAT push-COM-NARev
40. then-PCL1 this younger.sister-POS3ACC lead-CCO walk-NARev
41. walk-CSIM one alone man-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-CON go-NARev
42. arrive-CON go-CTMP-PCL1 this man beg-is-NAR
43. then-PCL1 that/EQU say-NARev
44. you two-POS3 one person one bowl-ACC take/RFL-CCO DEM gate door-LOC stand
45. who-GEN bowl-IN-DAT snot touch-COND queen become-FUTev
46. who-GEN bowl-IN-DAT spittle touch-COND ?servant become-FUTev

35. 'The headgear and dress of Chorghawash are good, [her] countenance is bad.
36. The countenance of Ahltımso and Kumpinso is good,' he said.
37. Then while they were walking, along the way, she said thus to Ahltımso and Kumpinso:
38. 'Let us take a look reflecting [our] face in that water [to see] whose face is good, [and] whose headgear and dress is good,' she said.
39. Then, when they looked while reflecting, she pushed Kumpinso into the water.
40. Then [Chorghawash] took her younger sister along.
41. While they were walking, they arrived at a single man's [house].
42. When they arrived, [it appeared that] this man was a beg.
43. Then he said thus:
44. 'The two of you take each a bowl, and go stand at this gate door!
45. Into whose bowl snot gets, she will be queen.
46. Into whose bowl spittle gets, she will be servant.'

[2] Unclear; Malov 1967: 65 reads *kun bop-tro* 'became jealous'. Perhaps rather *kun* 'female slave, servant' (Malov 1957: 70a) <CT **küŋ* 'female slave' (cf EDPT 726a)?

47. *ɕorɣawaʂ-tïŋ ɕinaq-ïŋ-qa kʰaɕikï tek-kintï.*
48. *pu kʰaɕikï-nï al-it-qa ɕinaq-ïn as-it-qantï.*
49. *antaqanta ɕorɣawaʂ qatïn pol-ɣantï.*
50. *antaqanta-ya pïr kʰu:n-ki eʰt-kinti-ya pu sïŋnï-sï su qïzïq-qa par-ɣantï:*
51. *'qïzaqʊ:! qïzaqa!' ti-ʊ qïti-ɣik-i-tï.*
52. *qïzaqa-sï pïr pʰɛnzï iʰt-tï al-ïŋ-qa: un-ïk ki-ɣintï.*
53. *'sen ɕorɣawaʂ-qa köʰkït-mi!' ya ti-ɣintï.*
54. *kʰunsin mïntaqʊ-ɣaq-i-tï.*
55. *antaqanta-ya pïr kʰun ɕorɣawaʂ taˣs mïla toq-qantï.*
56. *'altam, altam, qʰor-nï yör-it-qa mïla-nï quɕaqt-it!' ti-ɣintï.*
57. *qʰor-nï yör-it-qanta-ya iʰɕ-in-ti-kï qʰal-xanï-ɣantï.*
58. *'pu qayta-qe?!' ti-ɣintï.*
59. *pʰer-ɣi yata-ɣanta-ya: 'meŋ qïzaqïŋ peʰr-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
60. *ɕorɣawaʂ antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'taɣïn men-ma par-in.'*

47. Chorghawash-GEN bowl-POS3-DAT spittle touch-NARev
48. this spittle-ACC take-QUI-CCO bowl-POS3ACC exchange-QUI-NARev
49. then Chorghawash queen become-NARev
50. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this younger.sister-POS3 water side-DAT go-NARev
51. elder.sister/VOC elder.sister say-CSIM call-HAB-COP-EV
52. elder.sister-POS3 one plate meat-ACC take-RFL-CCO come.out-CON come-NARev
53. you Chorghawash-DAT show-NEG all.right say-NARev
54. every.day thus.do/AUX-HAB-COP-EV
55. then-PCL1 one day Chorghawash stone child give.birth-NARev
56. quick quick girdle-ACC undo-QUI-CCO child-ACC embrace-QUI say-NARev
57. girdle-ACC undo-QUI-CTMP-PCL1 inside-POS3-LOC-KI fall-TER-NARev
58. this where-KI/COP say-NARev
59. beat-CCO cannot-CTMP-PCL1 me/GEN elder.sister/POS1/2 give-PAST say-NARev
60. Chorghawash that/EQU say-NARev tomorrow I-PCL3 go-IMP1sg

47. Spittle got into the bowl of Chorghawash.
48. She quickly took the spittle out and exchanged her bowl.
49. Then Chorghawash became queen.
50. Then one day this younger sister of hers went to the water side:
51. 'Elder sister, elder sister!' she used to call.
52. Her elder sister came out, taking along a plate of meat.
53. 'Don't you show [this] to Chorghawash,' [said Kumpinso]. [Ahltımso] agreed.
54. Every day she used to do thus.
55. Then one day, Chorghawash gave birth to a stone child.
56. 'Quick, quick, undo [your] girdle and embrace the child,' she said.
57. When [Ahltımso] undid her girdle, the contents fell out.
58. 'Where is this from?' [Chorghawash] said.
59. When [Ahltımso] could not stand the beating, she said: 'My elder sister gave it.'
60. Chorghawash said thus: 'Let me go tomorrow.'

61. *aʰltïmso ya ti-ɣintï. eni maŋ-qantï, su qïzïq-qa eʰt-kintï.*
62. *pel-ïŋ-ki qïlïʂ-tï pili-ɣi: naqï maŋ-qantï.*
63. *antaqaʂ-ya 'qïti!' ti-ɣintï.*
64. *qïti-ɣi eni ɕa:ŋ pïr pʰɛnzï iˢt-tï aln-ʊ: un-ïk kil-ʊ-ɣanta-ya paʰɕ-ï quzï pïr qïlïʂ sal-ɣantï.*
65. *aʰltïmso eni yilɣa-ɣantï.*
66. *pïr kʰun pʰeɣ ɕorɣawaʂ-qa antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
67. *'sen puɣïn yü-ti olïr, sen puɣïn ɕʰi youpiŋzï tʰala.'*
68. *antaqanta pʰeɣ tʰiɛnɕʰuaŋ-ta yaʰs-qa qar-ʊ-ɣantï:*
69. *'altam, altam, kʊ kïsï kil-itï.'*
70. *ɕorɣawaʂ uzï-nïŋ-kï-nï kʊ kʰuŋ-ïʂ-ki suwat-qa: pʰeɣ-nïŋ-kï-nï ʂïrma-ʂ-ki tïʰq-ïwat-qantï.*
71. *'am untïr-ïk kel,' ti-ɣintï.*
72. *ɕorɣawaʂ uzï-nïŋ-kï-nï kʰuŋ-ïʂ-tin untïr-ïk kil-ʊ: yerin-nïŋ-kï-nï ʂïrma-ʂ-tin untïr-ïk kil-ʊ-ɣantï.*

60. Ahltımso all.right say-NARev again walk-NARev water side-DAT arrive-NARev
62. waist-POS3-DAT reed-ACC stick.in-CCO yonder walk-NARev
63. then-PCL1 call say-NARev
64. call-CCO again just one plate meat-ACC take/RFL-CSIM come.out-CON come-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 head-POS3 down one reed put-NARev
65. Ahltımso again cry-NARev
66. one day beg Chorghawash-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
67. you today house-LOC stay you today camel oil.cake prepare.food
68. then beg skylight-LOC hide-CCO look-AUX-NARev
69. quick quick DEM person come-DUB
70. Chorghawash self-GEN-KI-ACC DEM basket-IN-DAT put/FIN-CCO beg-GEN-KI-ACC rubbish-IN-DAT stick.into-FIN-NARev
71. now take.out-CON come say-NARev
72. Chorghawash self-GEN-KI-ACC basket-IN-ABL take.out-CON come-CSIM man-GEN-KI-ACC rubbish-IN-ABL take.out-CON come-AUX-NARev

60. Ahltımso agreed. They set off again, and arrived at the water side.
62. That one had stuck a reed into her waist [girdle] and went.
63. Then she said: 'Call!'
64. [Ahltımso] called, and just when [Kumpinso] had come out again, taking along a plate of meat, [Chorghawash] gave her a blow on her head with the reed.
65. Ahltımso cried again.
66. One day, the beg said thus to Chorghawash:
67. 'Today, you stay at home. Today, you prepare camel oil-cakes.'
68. Then the beg hid himself at the skylight and looked:
69. 'Quick, quick, this person is coming!'
70. Chorghawash put hers into the basket, she stuck the beg's into the rubbish.
71. 'Now get it out,' he said.
72. While Chorghawash took out hers from the basket, she took out [her] husband's from the rubbish.

73. *sosïkïn aʰltïmso-nï qʰal-tïr-ïwat-qantï:*
74. *'sen pïr ɕʰi youpiŋzï tʰala,' ti-ɣintï. ya ti-ɣintï.*
75. *'altam, altam, kʊ kïsï kil-itï,' ti-ɣintï.*
76. *aʰltïmso uzï-nïŋ-kï-nï ʂïrma-ʂ-ki tïʰq-ïwat-qa pʰeɣ-nïŋ-kï-nï kʰuŋ-ïʂ-ki suwat-qantï.*
77. *'am untïr-ïk kel,' ti-ɣintï.*
78. *'pu taʰqï pïr arïɣ pïrmi-tʊ,' saqïn-qantï.*
79. *antaqanta-ya aʰltïmso sïk art-ta: yilɣe yilɣe ʂaʐ tar-ʊ-ɣantï.*
80. *pu tʰiɛnɕʰuaŋ-tan qar-ʊ-ɣantï.*
81. *ʂaʐ-tïŋ sïŋar-ïn-ta aʰltïm aʰq-ʊ-ɣantï, sïŋar-ïn-ta kumïs aʰq-ʊ-ɣantï.*
82. *pu tʰiɛnɕʰuaŋ-tan pʰoqïr-ïk ki-ɣi iʰtik-ïn uz-it-qantï.*
83. *'sen nati yilɣa-ppaɣ?' ti-ɣintï.*
84. *'meŋ qïzaqïŋ su-ʂ-ti par.*
85. *ɕorɣawaʂ paʰɕ-ïn kʰanna-ɣa no-ɣan-i pïl-mistï.'*
86. *'taɣïn mïz ïʂkï-sï par-inï,' ti-ɣintï. ya ti-ɣintï.*

73. next.day Ahltımso-ACC remain-CAUS-FIN-NARev
74. you one camel oil.cake prepare.food say-NARev all.right say-NARev
75. quick quick DEM person come-DUB say-NARev
76. Ahltımso self-GEN-KI-ACC rubbish-IN-DAT stick.into-FIN-CCO beg-GEN-KI-ACC basket-IN-DAT put/FIN-NARev
77. now take.out-CON come say-NARev
78. this yet one clean somebody-EV think-NARev
79. then-PCL1 Ahltımso door behind-LOC cry/CREP cry/CREP hair comb-AUX-NARev
80. this skylight-ABL look-AUX-NARev
81. hair-GEN half-POS3-LOC gold flow-AUX-NARev half-POS3-LOC silver flow-AUX-NARev
82. this skylight-ABL jump-CON come-CCO skirt-POS3ACC rip-QUI-NARev
83. you why cry-PROG/COP say-NARev
84. me/GEN elder.sister/POS1/2 water-IN-LOC present
85. Chorghawash head-POS3ACC hit-CCO what.be-NAR-COP know-DUBN
86. tomorrow we two-POS3 go-IMP1pl say-NARev all.right say-NARev

73. The next day he made Ahltımso remain:
74. 'Prepare a camel oil-cake,' he said. She agreed.
75. 'Quick, quick, this person is coming!' he said.
76. Ahltımso stuck hers into the rubbish, she put the beg's into the basket.
77. 'Now take it out,' he said.
78. He thought: 'This is quite a clean thing.'
79. Then Ahltımso stealthily combed her hair, crying and crying.
80. He looked from the skylight.
81. On one half of her hair gold flowed, on [the other] half silver flowed.
82. He came jumping from the skylight and quickly ripped his skirt.
83. 'Why are you crying?' he said.
84. 'My elder sister is in the water.
85. Chorghawash hit her on the head, I would not know what has become [of her].'
86. 'Let the two of us go tomorrow,' he said. She agreed.

87. *su qïzïq-qa eʰt-ki eni antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'qïzaqʊ:! qïzaqʊ! sen un-ïk kel!'*
88. *kumpinso paʰç-ïn paŋna-ɣa: eni pïr pʰɛnzï iˢt-tï tuanna-ɣa un-ïk ki-ɣintï.*
89. *antaqa kumpinso-nï yü-ɣi ezert-ïk ki-ɣintï.*
90. *antaqanta pu ïşkï-ɣi mïla pol-ɣantï.*
91. *çorɣawaş antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'am naɣʊ toq-qïş-i?'*
92. *kumpinso aʰltïmso çaŋ toɣ-ʊ-ɣanta pïrsï-nïŋ aʰltïr-ïŋ-qa pïr taŋ kütïk sal-it-qa pïrsï-nïŋ aʰltïr-ïŋ-qa pïr qara kütïk sal-it-qa mïla-sïn appar-ɣa qoɣ qʰora-ş-ti kʰöm-ïwat-qantï.*
93. *antaqanta kʰunsi:n qozï soçï-ɣa yata-ɣantï.*
94. *appar-ɣaş-ya aʰt qʰora-ş-ki kʰöm-ïwat-qanta aʰt soçï-ɣa yata-ɣantï.*
95. *eni appar-ɣa çiŋ-ïş-ki tʰayt-uʰt-qantï.*
96. *pʰeɣ ça:ŋ qoɣ suɣar-ʊ-ɣanta ïşkï mïla tiola-l-ɣa un-ïk ki-ɣintï.*

87. water side-DAT arrive-CCO again that/EQU say-NARev elder.sister/VOC elder.sister/VOC you come.out-CON come
88. Kumpinso head-POS3ACC bandage-CCO again one plate meat-ACC hold.in.both.hands-CCO come.out-CON come-NARev
89. then Kumpinso-ACC house-DAT lead-CON come-NARev
90. then this two-DAT child become-NARev
91. Chorghawash that/EQU say-NARev now how give.birth-FUT-COP
92. Kumpinso Ahltımso just give.birth-AUX-CTMP one.of-GEN underside-POS3-DAT one striped puppy put-QUI-CCO one.of-GEN underside-POS3-DAT one black puppy put-QUI-CCO child-POS3ACC take.to-CCO sheep pen-IN-LOC bury-FIN-NARev
93. then every.day lamb be.startled-CCO cannot-NARev
94. take.to-CCO-PCL1 horse pen-IN-DAT bury-FIN-CTMP horse be.startled-CCO cannot-NARev
95. again take.to-CCO well-IN-DAT throw-COM-NARev
96. beg just sheep water-AUX-CTMP two child hoist-RFL-CCO come.out-CON come-NARev

87. They arrived at the waterside and she again said thus: 'Elder sister, elder sister, come out!'
88. Kumpinso had bandaged her head, and came out holding again a plate of meat with both hands.
89. Then they took Kumpinso home with them.
90. Then these two became pregnant.
91. Chorghawash said thus: 'Now how will they give birth?'
92. Just as Kumpinso and Ahltımso had given birth, she quickly put a striped puppy under the one, and a black puppy under the other, she took their children and buried them in the sheep's pen.
93. Then the lambs could not help being startled every day.
94. When she took [them] and buried [them] into the horse pen, the horses could not help being startled.
95. Again she took [them] and threw them into the well.
96. Just as the beg was watering his sheep, the two children got hoisted out.

97. *pïr kumïs köʰkïs-tïɣ mïla:, pïr aʰltïm köʰkïs-tïɣ mïla un-ïk ki-ɣintï.*
98. *'seŋ ana-ŋ-qa ni ti-ɣik-i?'*
99. *'meŋ ana-ŋ-qa kumpinso ti-ɣik. meŋ ana-ŋ-qa aʰltïmso ti-ɣik.'*
100. *pu ïʂkï mïla-nï yü-ɣi ezert-ïk ki-ɣintï.*
101. *antaqanta-la pu ɕoryawaʂ-tï xayl-in saqïn-qantï.*
102. *'sen uʂ yil-nïŋ tuki-nï mïn-kïʂ mi: uʂ yil-nïŋ sïp-tï mïn-kïʂ mi?'*
103. *'ay, men sïp-tï mïn-kïʂtï-nï. antaɣ tuki-ɕer-nï kʰïm mïn-ïppe?'*
104. *'antasa kʊ poʰqɕa-ʂ-ti litaŋ par.*
105. *pu litaŋ-nï sen aʰt-qa tala-ɣa maŋ-ʊ-la tʰaɣ paʂ-qa eʰt-kinti sen azaq-tï ezeŋkï-ɣi kïpti-ʊ poʰqɕa-nïŋ aʰs-tï aʰɕ-uʰt-i.'*
106. *tʰaɣ-nïŋ paʰɕ-ïŋ-qa eʰt-ki aʰs-ïn yör-uʰt-qanta, qur qur qur, pïr poʰqɕa kukiʂkïn un-qʰanï-ɣantï.*
107. *antaqanta aʰt soɕï-ɣa ɕoryawaʂ-tïŋ pïr put-tï ʂozïr-ɣi yü-ɣi eʰt-ïk ki-ɣintï.*

97. one silver loin-ADJ child one gold loin-ADJ child come.out-CON come-NARev
98. you/GEN mother-POS1/2-DAT what say-HAB-COP
99. me/GEN mother-POS1/2-DAT Kumpinso say-HAB me/GEN mother-POS1/2-DAT Ahltımso say-HAB
100. this two child-ACC house-DAT lead-CON come-NARev
101. then-PCL2 this Chorghawash-ACC murder-IMP1sg think-NARev
102. you three year-GEN calf-ACC mount-FUT Q three year-GEN foal-ACC mount-FUT Q
103. EXCL I foal-ACC mount-FUTev-INT that/EQU calf-DIM-ACC who mount-PROG/COP
104. in.that.case DEM bag-IN-LOC present present
105. this present-ACC you horse-DAT carry-CCO walk-CSIM-PCL2 mountain top-DAT arrive-CTMP you foot-ACC stirrup-DAT fasten-CSIM bag-GEN opening-ACC open-COM-COP
106. mountain-GEN top-POS3-DAT arrive-CCO opening-POS3ACC undo-COM-CTMP ONOM ONOM ONOM one bag pigeon come.out-TER-NARev
107. then horse be.startled-CCO Chorghawash-GEN one leg-ACC drag-CCO house-DAT arrive-CON come-NARev

97. One child with silver loins and one child with golden loins came out.
98. 'What is your mother called?'
99. 'My mother is called Kumpinso. My mother is called Ahltımso.'
100. He took these two children home with him.
101. Then he intended to murder Chorghawash.
102. 'Will you mount a three-year-old calf or will you mount a three-year-old foal?'
103. 'Ay, I sure will mount the foal. Who would ever ride such a calf?'
104. 'In that case, there is a present in this bag.
105. Carry this present on horseback, go, and when you arrive at the mountain top, fasten [your] feet to the stirrup, and just open the bag's opening.'
106. When she arrived at the top of the mountain, and undid its opening, 'flap flap flap,' one bag of pigeons came out.
107. Then the horse startled, and it arrived home, dragging [only] one leg of Chorghawash.

10. The Clever Monk

told by Guō Jīnlán[1]

1. *pïr qʰan-ya pezïk qʰan-nïŋ pïr ʐiŋ kïʰçiq qïz-ïn kʰeln al-ɣïʂ-i-tï.*
2. *mïnï-ya kʰïm-ma tanï-mas-i-tï*[2].
3. *pïr tançin, pïr liopuçʰi aʰka par-i-tʊ.*
4. *aʰka-la, kʊ antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
5. *'e, anta taʰqï pïr ni ni kïsï, o-la pïl-ɣïʂtï.'*
6. *puɣa ayt-sa o antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'e:ɣ, men pïl-ɣïʂ, men saɣa ti-p pol-ɣïmistï-nï.*
7. *ti-si kïsï pakua-nï*[3] *pïr suanna-sa-la kʊ menï ti-ɣin-nï pïl-si-la teɣlï meŋ paʰʂ-tï al-uʰt-qïʂtï-nï.*
8. *uzï ti-p pol-ɣïmistʊ, ti-ɣïmis,' ti-ɣintï.*

1. one khan-PCL1 big khan-GEN one SUP small girl-POS3ACC wife take-FUT-COP-EV
2. this/ACC-PCL1 who-PCL3 recognize-HABN-COP-EV
3. one awesome one extraordinary monk present-COP-EV
4. monk-PCL2 DEM that/EQU say-NARev
5. EXCL that/LOC yet one what what person that-PCL2 know-FUTev
6. this/DAT ask-COND that that/EQU say-NARev EXCL I know-FUT I you/DAT say-CON become-FUTNev-INT
7. say-COND person eight.diagrams-ACC one count-COND-PCL2 DEM me/ACC say-PP-ACC know-COND-PCL2 certainly me/GEN head-ACC take-COM-FUTev-INT
8. self say-CON become-FUTNev say-FUTN say-NARev

1. A khan wanted to take a big khan's youngest daughter as a wife.
2. However, nobody could recognize her.
3. There was an awesome, extraordinary monk.
4. The monk, he said thus:
5. 'Eh, there is yet such and such person, he will know.'
6. As he asks him, that one said thus: 'Eh, I know, [but] I really cannot tell you.
7. If I tell, if someone[4] counts the Eight Diagrams, and if he knows that I told it, he will really take my head off.
8. I cannot tell, I won't tell,' he said.

[1] Recorded by Zhōng Jìnwén, 1992 in Mīnghuā. A similar version appears in Tenišev 1976: 252-257 № 9. Other versions of this tale occur in Chinese, cf Ting № 851A*; in Tibetan, cf Bräutigam 1977: 7-13; and in Mongolian, cf Lörincz №s 175, 215 (855, 313A*). The elaborate riddle occurs inbedded in many other Mongolian tales (cf Bawden 1960: 7).

[2] Nobody knew who was the youngest among the daughters.

[3] A taoist divination device. Tenišev's version mentions *łoŋstan* T253, T190b, *łoŋïstan* T191a 'prophecy, divination,' a loanword from Tibetan, cf LT luṅ-bstan Das1216a.

[4] The girl's father, the big khan.

9. *antaqanta pu aʰka antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
10. *'sen ti! men saɣa panfa saŋn-in, o pïl-mis panfa.'*
11. *uʂ taˣs-tï ɕala-ɣaʂ-ya anïŋ üsïŋ-ki pïr tïs tïʰk-ïk ki-ɣi tïs-ïʂ-ki pïr tïs su-nï quz-ɣa su-nïŋ üsïŋ-ki kʊ yiɣaʂ qʰapaq-tï qʰala-ɣa anïŋ üsïŋ-ki-la pu kïsï-nï ɕʰoqe-t-qaʂ-la qoyn-ïŋ-qa ɕʰïntïr-tin pisek qoyɣantïr-ɣa antaqaʂ-ya kʊ ïrɕalïŋ puɕin pʰuti-t-ʊ ti-tïr-ïk ki-ɣintï.*
12. *antaqanta pu ïrɕalïŋ puɕin pʰuti-ʍ-ya antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
13. *'ʂï pa kï ɕozï-tï, saqïs-yiɣïrmï ɕozï-nïŋ-ya ʑiŋ soŋ-ta-qï pïr samtïq ɕo-ya, pu-ya pu pezïk qʰan-nïŋ kïʰɕiq qïz-ï-tʊ.*
14. *sen mïnï-ya kʰeɣïr-si-ya yer-tʊ,' ti-ɣintï.*
15. *antaqanta-ya pu am pïl-ttï.*
16. *antaqanta-ya al-ɣïla-ɣan-i-tï.*
17. *al-ɣïla-ɣanta-ya yol-ta-ya kʊ ʊ̈ˢɕʊ̈z kïsï maŋ-qan-i-tï.*

9. then this monk that/EQU say-NARev
10. you say I you/DAT method think-IMP1sg that know-PN method
11. three stone-ACC erect-CCO-PCL1 that/GEN upside/POS3-DAT one cauldron erect-CON come-CCO cauldron-IN-DAT one cauldron water-ACC pour-CCO water-GEN upside/POS3-DAT DEM wood lid-ACC cover-CCO that/GEN upside/POS3-DAT-PCL2 this person-ACC seat-CCO-PCL2 bosom-POS3-DAT chain-ABL lump let.store.in.the.bosom-CCO then-PCL1 DEM flute with blow-CAUS-CSIM say-CAUS-CON come-NARev
12. then this flute with blow-CSIM-PCL1 that/EQU say-NARev
13. ten eight piece sedan-EV eight-twenty sedan-GEN-PCL1 SUP after-LOC-KI one tattered sedan-PCL1 this-PCL1 this big khan-GEN small girl-POS3-EV
14. you this/ACC-PCL1 bring-COND-PCL1 right-EV say-NARev
15. then-PCL1 this now know-PASTev
16. then-PCL1 take-PUR-NAR-COP-EV
17. take-PUR-CTMP-PCL1 way-LOC-PCL1 DEM three.hundred person walk-NAR-COP-EV

9. Then this monk said thus:
10. 'Tell it! Let me think of a method for you, a method that he cannot know.'
11. He erected three stones, on top of that he put up a cauldron, into the cauldron he poured a cauldron full of water, on top of the water he put a wooden lid as a cover, on top of that he made this person sit down, he made him store a piece of chain in his bosom, and after that he made him blow on a flute and made him tell it.
12. Then, while he was blowing on the flute, he said thus:
13. 'There are eighteen sedans, the very last of the eighteen sedans is a tattered sedan, this is the big khan's youngest daughter.
14. If you bring this [one], it is right,' he said.
15. So now he knew.
16. Then [the monk] went to take [her].
17. When he went to take [her], those three hundred people went [with him] on the journey.

18. *tʰuŋsï-ya neraqïnta-ma eni pïr kïsï, eni pïr ʂazï-ma, kʊ toʰqïs-yüz aʰt mïn-kin kïsï mʊ-ya oruɣ ti-ɣïla ti-ɣintï.*
19. *par-ɣanta-la pu qʰan antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
20. *'puɣa eʰt-kinti selir xosï-la menïŋ kʰeɕʰin-tï.*
21. *men sɛn-la liaŋ kï tioɕɛn ʂaŋn-in.*
22. *uʂ kïsï-ɣi-ma men pïr qoɣ per-in.*
23. *maɣa qoɣ-nïŋ iˢt-tï ʐi-ɣi tʰer-ïn imsart-ïk kel.*
24. *uʂ kïsï-ɣi-ma pïr qoɣ, pïr kïsï-ɣi-ma pïr qoɣ per-in.*
25. *mïnïŋ iˢt-ïn ʐi-ɣi tʰer-ïn imsart-ïk kel,' ti-ɣintï.*
26. *antaqanta pu aʰka-nïŋ ʊ̈ˢɕʊ̈z kïsï-la pïr kïsï-ɣi-ʂa pïr qoɣ yit-ïptï.*
27. *mïnïŋ-ya iˢt-ïn ʐi-ɣiʂ-la qoɣ-nï yülïr-ɣiʂ-la tʰenaɣ-ïn tʰer-ïŋ-ki surt-kiʂ-la pïr kïsï pu tʰer-nï* [..] *imsart-qaʂ-la tiat-ïp par-ɣantï.*

18. at.the.same.time-PCL1 yonder.side/LOC-PCL3 again one person again one family-PCL3 DEM nine.hundred horse mount-PP person walk/CSIM-PCL1 relatives say-CPUR say-NARev
19. go-CTMP-PCL2 this khan that/EQU say-NARev
20. this/DAT arrive-CTMP you/PL all-PCL2 me/GEN guest-EV
21. I first-PCL2 two piece condition state-IMP1sg
22. three person-DAT-PCL3 I one sheep give-IMP1sg
23. me/DAT sheep-GEN meat-ACC eat-CCO skin-POS3ACC make.soft-CON come
24. three person-DAT-PCL3 one sheep one person-DAT-PCL3 one sheep give-IMP1sg
25. this/GEN meat-POS3ACC eat-CCO skin-POS3ACC make.soft-CON come say-NARev
26. then this monk-GEN three.hundred person-PCL2 one person-DAT-PCL4 one sheep lead-PASTev
27. this/GEN-PCL1 meat-POS3ACC eat-CCO-PCL2 sheep-ACC kill-CCO-PCL2 fat-POS3ACC skin-POS3-DAT smear-CCO-PCL2 one person this skin-ACC [..] make.soft-CCO-PCL2 send-CON go-NARev

18. At the same time, on the other side, another person, another family said to ask [for her] in marriage, while this nine hundred mounted people went [with him].
19. When they had gone [there], this [big] khan said thus:
20. 'As you have arrived here, you are all my guests.
21. First let me state two conditions.
22. Let me give one sheep to [a group of] three people.
23. Eat the sheep's meat and make its skin soft for me.
24. Let me give one sheep to [a group of] three people [of the nine hundred], and one sheep to one person [of the three hundred].
25. Eat its meat and make its skin soft,' he said.
26. Then this monk's three hundred people led one sheep to one person.
27. After he had eaten its meat and killed the sheep, and smeared its fat on its skin, and after [this] one person had made this skin soft [..], he send it back.

28. *naqï kïsï-nïŋ uʂ kïsï-ya pïr qoy tʰer-nï paʰs-qaʂ-la sen taʰrt-ʊ men taʰrt-ʊ-ya tʰer-nï-ma ʊz-ki ʂart-ïs-tïr-uʰt-qan-i-tï.*
29. *antaqanta-la eni pïrsïŋ-ki pïr pïra per-ɣin-i-tï.*
30. *uʂ kïsï-ɣi-ma pïr pïra, pïr kïsï-ɣi-ma pïr pïra per-ɣin.*
31. *'mïnï-ya maɣa kʰuʂin puɕin ɕʰuanna-k kel,' ti-ɣintï.*
32. *pu uʂ kïsï-ya pïr pïra-nï tuʰt-qaʂ-ya uʂ qʰonïq po-ɣan-i-tï.*
33. *ɕʰuann-ʊ yata-ɣan-i-tï.*
34. *pu aʰka-nïŋ ïlïɣ aʰltïr-ta-qï kïsï-ya pïr kïsï pïr pïra-nï-ya kʰuʂin puɕin-ya kʊ soryïlɕïn-tan pïr tuʰt-qaʂ-ya soryïlɕïn-nïŋ pel-ïŋ-ki pïr iˢp-tï pʰoq-qaʂ-ya pïr pʰuti-ɣinti-ya* [..] *ɕʰuanna-wal-ɣan-i-tï.*
35. *tiat-ïp par-ɣantï.*
36. *antaqanta-ya pu: 'uzï-nïŋ qïz-tï per-in' ti-ɣintï.*
37. *'sen tanï-sa-la per-in!' ti-ɣin-i-tï.*
38. *antaqanta-ya pu saqïs-yiɣïrmï ɕozï pïr pïr-tin un-ïk kel-ɣin-i-tï.*

28. yonder person-GEN three person-PCL1 one sheep skin-ACC press-CCO-PCL1 you pull-CSIM I pull-CSIM-PCL1 skin-ACC-PCL3 rip-CCO break-REC-CAUS-COM-NAR-COP-EV
29. then-PCL2 again one/POS3-DAT one conch give-NAR-COP-EV
30. three person-DAT-PCL3 one conch one person-DAT-PCL3 one conch give-PNAR
31. this/ACC-PCL1 me/DAT thread with pass.through-CON come say-NARev
32. this three person-PCL1 one conch-ACC hold-CCO-PCL1 three day.and.night become-NAR-COP-EV
33. pass.through-CSIM cannot-NAR-COP-EV
34. this monk-GEN hand under-LOC-KI person-PCL1 one person one conch-ACC-PCL1 thread with-PCL1 DEM ant-ABL one hold-CCO-PCL1 ant-GEN waist-POS3-DAT one thread-ACC tie-CCO-PCL1 one blow-CTMP-PCL1 [..] pass.through-INC-NAR-COP-EV
35. send-CON go-NARev
36. then-PCL1 this self-GEN girl-ACC give-IMP1sg say-NARev
37. you recognize-COND-PCL2 give-IMP1sg say-NAR-COP-EV
38. then-PCL1 this eight-twenty sedan one one-ABL come.out-CON come-NAR-COP-EV

28. After the three people of yonder person had pressed the one sheep skin, they together had ripped the skin, like you-pull-and-I-pull, into shreds.
29. Then again [the khan] gave each one of them a conch.
30. He gave three people one conch, and one person one conch.
31. 'Pass this through with a thread for me,' he said.
32. After these three people got this one conch, three days and nights passed.
33. They were not able to pass [the thread] through.
34. This person under the authority of the monk - after he had caught an ant and had tied the thread to the waist of the ant, and when he gave a blow, the one person passed through the one conch with a thread.
35. He send it back.
36. Then the [khan] said: 'Let me give my daughter.'
37. 'Let me give her if you recognize her,' he said.
38. Then these eighteen sedans came out one after the other.

39. *antaqanta un-ïk ki-si-ya antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
40. *'pu-la sey iˢɕ-ʊ-ɣan qïz-tʊ! sey oʰqa-l-ʊtrʊ!'*
41. *'pu tïrma iˢɕ-ʊ-ɣan qïz-tʊ! tïrma oʰqa-l-ʊtʊ!'*
42. *üʰɕ-inɕï un-ïk ki-si: 'xuaço iˢɕ-iptrʊ, xuaço oʰqa-l-ʊtʊ!' antaɣ ti-ʊtï.*
43. *cueyxoutï pïr samtïq ço un-ïk ki-ɣinti-la 'pu-ya yer-tï,' ti-ɣi os-ïq qʰa-ɣan-i-tï.*
44. *antaqanta-ya pu qʰan antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'mïnï-la kʰïntiŋ kïsï ti-ttï.*
45. *ti-mi-si no-p pol-ɣïʂ-i?' ti-ɣiʂ-la suanna-ɣan-i-tï.*
46. *pïr pakua par-i-tï.*
47. *pakua-sïn-ta mïntaqʊ suanna-ɣan-i-tï:*
48. *'kʊ uʰʂ tʰaɣ-nïŋ üsïn-ti temïr ɕʰuan, temïr ɕʰuan-nïŋ üsïn-ti kʊ tali, tali-nïŋ üsïn-ti yiɣaʂ ɕʰuan, yiɣaʂ ɕʰuan-nïŋ üsïn-ti temïr iˢɕikï-lïɣ, qola tïmsïɣ-lïɣ mïntaɣ kïsï ti-ttï.'*

39. then come.out-CON come-COND-PCL1 that/EQU say-NARev
40. this-PCL2 vegetable eat-AUX-PP girl-EV vegetable smell-RFL-PROGev
41. this turnip eat-AUX-PP girl-EV turnip smell-RFL-PROGev
42. three-ORD come.out-CON come-COND Chinese.prickly.ash eat-PASTev Chinese.prickly.ash smell-RFL-PROGev that/EQU say-PROGev
43. at.last one tattered sedan come.out-CON come-CTMP-PCL2 this-PCL1 right-EV say-CCO seize-CON fall-NAR-COP-EV
44. then-PCL1 this khan that/EQU say-NARev this/ACC-PCL2 certainly person say-PASTev
45. say-NEG-COND what.be-CON become-FUTev-COP say-CCO-PCL2 count-NAR-COP-EV
46. one eight.diagram present-COP-EV
47. eight.diagram-POS3-LOC thus count-NAR-COP-EV
48. DEM three mountain-GEN upside/POS3-LOC iron ship iron ship-GEN upside/POS3-LOC DEM sea sea-GEN upside/POS3-LOC wooden ship wooden ship-GEN upside/POS3-LOC iron intestines-ADJ copper mouth-ADJ this/EQU person say-PASTev

39. Then, as they come out, [the monk] said thus:
40. 'This is girl who has been eating vegetables! She is smelling of vegetables!'
41. 'This is girl who has been eating turnips! She is smelling of turnips!'
42. As the third one came out: 'She ate Chinese prickly ash, she is smelling of Chinese prickly ash!' thus he is saying.
43. At last, when a tattered sedan came out, he said: 'This is [the] right [one],' and seized it.
44. Then this khan said thus: 'Somebody certainly told this.
45. If nobody had told, what could have happened?' and after having said it, he counted.
46. There was an Eight Diagrams [device].
47. In his Eight Diagrams he counted thus:
48. 'On these three mountains is an iron ship, on the iron ship this sea, on the sea a wooden ship, on the wooden ship an iron-bellied, copper-mouthed, such a person told it.'

49. *'ʂïɕɛ-ta qayta-qï mïntak kïsï par-i?' ti-ɣiʂ-ya pakua-sï iŋna-mintï ti-ɣi su-ʂ-ki tʰayt-uʰt-qan-i-tï.*
50. *suŋsï ʐixou-ya pakua yoq po-ɣantï.*
51. *'mïz-tïŋ kʊ pïrmi kïŋpïŋ suanpuɕʰulai.'*
52. *antaqaʂ-la pu oruɣ-nï ti-ɣiʂ-ya pu qïz-tï al-ïŋ-qa maŋ-qan-i-tï.*
53. *mʊ-ya pïr zan-*[..] *yol-ɣa eʰt-kinti-la antaɣ ti-ɣin-i-tï:*
54. *'mïz-ya pïr kïsï-ya uʂ kʊtʰou ɕala-ɣaʂ-ya qʰantïr-ʊ iˢɕ-inï.'*
55. *antaqanta-ya kïsï-lir xosï-ya pïr kïsï uʂ tïs tïʰk-ïk ki-ʂ-ya uʂ kʊtʰou ɕala-ɣa qʰantïr-ʊ ïʂ-kin-i-tï.*
56. *antaqanta-ya pu soŋ-tan-ya kïsï maŋ-tïr-ɣan-i-tï, qʰun-qïla-ʂ-i-tï.*
57. *soŋ-ta-qï kïsï-ya qïʂt-ʊ-ya pïr zan-*[..], *pu olïr-ɣan yer-ɣi eʰt-ki pïr qara-ɣanta-ya antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
58. *'neraqïn-ta-ya eni kïsï tʰoz-ɣïla ki-ptʊ.*

49. world-LOC where-KI this/EQU person present-COP say-CCO-PCL1 eight.diagram-POS3 answer-PASTNev say-CCO water-IN-DAT throw-COM-NAR-COP-EV
50. henceforth afterwards-PCL1 eight.diagram not.present become-NARev
51. we-GEN DEM thing at.all it.cannot.figure.out
52. then-PCL2 this relatives-ACC say-CCO-PCL1 this girl-ACC take-RFL-CCO walk-NAR-COP-EV
53. walk-PCL1 one station-[..] road-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL2 that/EQU say-NAR-COP-EV
54. we-PCL1 one person-PCL1 three trivet erect-CCO-PCL1 cook-CSIM eat-IMP1pl
55. then-PCL1 person-PL all-PCL1 one person three cauldron erect-CON come-CCO-PCL1 three trivet erect-CCO cook-CSIM eat-NAR-COP-EV
56. then-PCL1 this after-ABL-PCL1 person walk-CAUS-NAR-COP-EV seize-PUR-FUT-COP-EV
57. after-LOC-KI person-PCL1 chase-CSIM-PCL1 one station-[..] this stay-PP place-DAT arrive-CCO one look-CTMP-PCL1 that/EQU say-NARev
58. yonder.side/LOC-PCL1 again person meet-CPUR come-PASTev

49. After he said: 'Where on the world is there such a person?,' he said his Eight Diagrams had not given an answer, and he threw it away into the water.
50. After that the Eight Diagrams were no more.
51. 'Well, that thing of us cannot figure it out at all.'
52. Then, after the [monk] had asked for [her] in marriage, he set off taking this girl along.
53. While he was walking, [at] a station along the way, he said thus:
54. 'Let us cook and eat after [each] one person has erected three trivets.'
55. So, after all the people each had put up three cauldrons and erected three trivets, they cooked and ate.
56. Then this [khan] made people go after [them], to go seize [the girl].
57. While the pursuers were chasing, they arrived at the place where this [monk] had stayed, the station, took a look, and said thus:
58. 'Over yonder, another person has come to meet them.

59. *o uʂ kïsï pïr tïs tïʰk-si-ma pu kïsï-tin mïntur ki-ttï-nï.*
60. *mïz-tir teylï puɣa teɣ-ïwal-ɣïmistʊ,' ti-ɣiʂ-ya qaʰtar hanï-ɣan-i-tï.*
61. *hanï-ɣanta-la pu ɕʰin-nï al-ïŋ-qaʂ-la maŋ-qan-i-tï.*
62. *mʊ yol-ɣa eʰt-ki kïsï antaɣ ti-ɣintï, ey, mïz-tïŋ pu aʰka antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
63. *'pu qʰan toɣïr-lar xosï yaʰʂ-tï,*
64. *[..]-la qa:rq-ïn-la pïr kan ʐi-wal-ttï.*
65. *pukuo sen miɕa ɕuyila-sa-la ni-ma ol-ɣïmistʊ.*
66. *sen yükʰïɕʰer-ya miɕa tïmsïɣ-nï miɕa qʰal-ʊ!' ti-ɣintï.*
67. *antaqanta-ya pu ya ti-ɣintï.*
68. *antaqaʂ-ya toyɕï yü-ɣi eʰt-ïk kil-ʊ-ɣanta kïsï uzï pʰornta par-ɣan-i-tï.*
69. *par-ɣaʂ-la: 'am-ya kʰeɣïʰr-tï.*
70. *toɣïr-lar xosï yaʰʂ-tʊ.*
71. *[..]-la sey iˢɕ-ʊ-ɣan qïz-tï, miɕa sey oʰqa-l-ʊtï.*

59. that three person one cauldron erect-COND-PCL3 this person-ABL this.many come-PASTev-INT
60. we-PL certainly this/DAT vanquish-INC-FUTNev say-CCO-PCL1 backwards go-NAR-COP-EV
61. go-CTMP-PCL2 this bride-ACC take-RFL-CCO-PCL2 walk-NAR-COP-EV
62. walk/CSIM road-DAT arrive-CCO person that/EQU say-NARev EXCL we-GEN this monk that/EQU say-NARev
63. this khan other-PL all good-EV
64. [..]-PCL2 nose-POS3ACC-PCL2 one venereal.disease eat-INC-PASTev
65. but you little pay.attention-COND-PCL2 what-PCL3 become-FUTNev
66. you often-PCL1 little mouth-ACC little cover-CSIM say-NARev
67. then-PCL1 this all.right say-NARev
68. then-PCL1 wedding.guest house-DAT arrive-CON come-AUX-CTMP person self before go-NAR-COP-EV
69. go-CCO-PCL2 now-PCL1 bring-PAST
70. other-PL all good-EV
71. [..]-PCL2 vegetable eat-AUX-PP girl-EV little vegetable smell-RFL-PROGev

59. As three people [must] have erected one cauldron, so many of these people [must] have come.
60. We will certainly not be able to overpower these,' and after they had said thus, they went back.
61. When they had left, this [monk] set off taking the bride along.
62. While walking, along the way, the man said thus, eh, this monk of us said thus:
63. 'This khan - all other things [of him] are good.
64. [Only] a venereal disease has eaten his nose away.
65. But if you pay a little attention, nothing will happen.
66. Just you often cover [your] mouth a little!' he said.
67. Then she agreed.
68. Then, when the wedding guests were arriving home, he himself went first.
69. He went [and said to the khan]: 'Now I have brought her.
70. All other things [of her] are good.
71. [But] she is a girl who has been eating vegetables, she smells a bit of vegetables.

72. *sen yükʰïçʰer-ya qarq-tï miça nili-ʊ!' ti-ɣintï.*
73. *antaqanta pu qʰan-la emen-la qarq-ïn-la nili-ʊ-ɣaq-i-tï.*
74. *o kʰer-ɣin yaŋï kʰeln-ï emen-la tïmsïɣ-ïn qʰala-ɣa olïr-ɣaq-i-tï.*
75. *antaqanta-la mïnta-qï ʑisï çouʂï liaŋkʰuzï-nï* [..] *pu ço tʰa* [..] *ʑitali çʰi!*
76. *pïrsï amsa sey vʰqa-l-ir-tan qoʰrq-qa pïrsï amsa qarq-ïn-ta-qï kan-tan qoʰrq-qa.*
77. *antaqaʂ-ya pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti pu qʰan pu kʰeln-ï mïʂ-ti par-nï pïl-mi-ɣintï.*
78. *kʰïr-ïk ki-ɣinti ni-ma sey oʰqa-l-ma-ɣantï.*
79. *pu qʰan-ma kʰeln-ï mïʂ-ti par-nï pïl-mi-ɣiʂ-ya kʊ qarq-ïn-ma nili-mi-ɣintï.*
80. *antaqanta pu kʰeln-ï pïr qara-ɣanta pu qarq-ïn-ta ni-ma kan ʑi-mi-ɣin-i-tï.*
81. *antaqanta-ya pu qʰan pïl-ɣin-i-tï.*
82. *pu aʰka ni-ɣi mïntaqʊ uzkit-ïk ki-ɣi?*

72. you often-PCL1 nose-ACC little pinch-CSIM say-NARev
73. then this khan-PCL2 often-PCL2 nose-POS3ACC-PCL2 pinch-AUX-HAB-COP-EV
74. that bring-PP new wife-POS3 often-PCL2 mouth-POS3ACC cover-CCO stay-HAB-COP-EV
75. then-PCL2 this/LOC-KI meaning well husband.and.wife-ACC [..] not let s/he [..] together go
76. one/POS3 anyway vegetable smell-RFL-PFUT-ABL fear-CCO one/POS3 anyway nose-POS3-LOC-KI venereal.disease-ABL fear-CCO
77. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP this khan this wife-POS3 this/IN-LOC present-ACC know-NEG-NARev
78. enter-CON come-CTMP what-PCL3 vegetable smell-RFL-NEG-NARev
79. this khan-PCL3 wife-POS3 this/IN-LOC present-ACC know-NEG-CCO-PCL1 DEM nose-POS3ACC-PCL3 pinch-NEG-NARev
80. then this wife-POS3 one look-CTMP this nose-POS3-LOC what-PCL3 venereal.disease eat-NEG-NAR-COP-EV
81. then-PCL1 this khan know-NAR-COP-EV
82. this monk what-DAT thus lie-CON come-CCO

72. You just often pinch [your] nose a little!' he said.
73. Then this khan used to pinch his nose often.
74. His wife, whom the [monk] had brought, kept on covering her mouth often.
75. Then the meaning of this was, well, to not let husband and wife get together!
76. Because anyway one of them feared the smell of vegetables, the other feared the venereal disease on the nose.
77. Then one day, this khan did not know this wife of his was in here.
78. When he entered, it was not smelling like vegetables at all.
79. And because this khan did not know this wife of his was in here, he did not pinch his nose either.
80. Then, when this wife of his took a look, on this nose of his - no venereal disease had eaten [it] at all.
81. Then this khan realized [it all].
82. 'Why had this monk told such a lie?'

83. *antaqaʂ-ya pu aʰka-nï amsa ɕʰïŋfala-ɣan po-ʂtʊ.*
84. *kʊ uzaq yaʰqa tʰaɣ-ïʂ-ki tiat-ïwat-qan-i-tï.*
85. *yaʰqa tʰaɣ-ïʂ-ti-ya pïr yotuŋ qaz-ɣaʂ-ya anïʂ-ki kïsï-ma pʰeyla-ɣan-i-tï, pu aʰka-nï sïxoul-ir-ɣa.*
86. *ïʂkï köz-ïn wal-uʰt-qaʂ-ya kʊ yaʰqa: tʰaɣ-ïʂ-ki tiat-ïwat-qan-i-tï.*
87. *pu aʰka teylï nio-sa-ma pïl-ɣik-i-tï.*
88. *antaqanta ïʂkï köz-ïn wal-uʰt-qaʂ-ya kʊ yaʰqa tʰaɣ-ïʂ-ki pïr yotuŋ qaz-ɣaʂ-ya aɣa eni pïr sïxoul-ir kïsï-ma per-ɣin-i-tï.*
89. *antaqanta-ya yaŋqïɕa yaʰqa tʰaɣ-ïʂ-ti-ya ɕʰoq-ʊ-ɣaq-i-tï, taʰqï pïr kïsï sïxoul-ʊ-ya.*
90. *antaqanta pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya suɕou ɕʰïŋ-nï qʰala-ppar-i-tï.*
91. *iˢɕ-in-ti-kï-lir-nï iɕʰi qʰal-ʊ un-kin-i-tï.*
92. *o pïr tamïŋ sïk-ïn-la uʂ xor qʰala-ɣaʂ-ya uʂ xor toqïra-xanï-ɣan-i-tï-ya.*
93. *antaqanta-ya: 'pu aʰka-nï tïli-ɣi puɣa ayt!' ti-ɣintï.*

83. then-PCL1 this monk-ACC anyway punish-PP become-FUTev
84. DEM far southern mountain-IN-DAT send-FIN-NAR-COP-EV
85. southern mountain-IN-DAT one cave dig-CCO-PCL1 that/IN-DAT person-PCL3 assign-NAR-COP-EV this monk-ACC attend-PFUT-DAT
86. two eye-POS3ACC gouge-COM-CCO-PCL1 DEM southern mountain-IN-DAT send-FIN-NAR-COP-EV
87. this monk certainly what.be-COND-PCL3 know-HAB-COP-EV
88. then two eye-POS3ACC gouge-COM-CCO-PCL1 DEM southern mountain-IN-DAT one cave dig-CCO-PCL1 that/DAT again one attend-PFUT person-PCL3 give-NAR-COP-EV
89. then-PCL1 alone/ADV southern mountain-IN-LOC-PCL1 sit-AUX-HAB-COP-EV yet one person attend-CSIM-PCL1
90. then one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 Sùzhōu city-ACC build-PROG-COP-EV
91. inside-POS3-LOC-KI-PL-ACC altogether build-CSIM come.out-NAR-COP-EV
92. that one gate door-POS3ACC-PCL2 three time build-CCO-PCL1 three time fall-TER-NAR-COP-EV-PCL1
93. then-PCL1 this monk-ACC look.for-CCO this/DAT ask say-NARev

83. Then it would be best anyway to punish this monk.
84. He sent him into the far southern mountains.
85. After having dug a cave in the southern mountains, he also dispatched a person into that, to attend this monk.
86. After he had gouged out his two eyes, he sent [him] into the southern mountains.
87. This monk certainly knew whatever happened.
88. Then [the khan] gouged out his two eyes, dug a cave in the southern mountains, and also give [him] a person to attend him.
89. Then he lived alone in the southern mountains, with one person attending him.
90. Then one day they were building the city of Sùzhōu.
91. They had finished building all which was inside of it.
92. As they built that one gate door of it three times, three times it fell down.
93. So [the khan] said: 'Look for this monk, and ask him [about it]!'

94. *antaqanta-ya pʰornta ɨʂkɨ kɨsɨ maŋ-tɨr-ɣan-i-tɨ.*
95. *par-ɣanta-la niɣɨl-ɣin-i-tɨ.*
96. *kʊ yaʰqa tʰaɣ-ɨʂ-ki mʊ-ya pu aʰka-nɨŋ ʐü-ʰsɨn tɨli-ʍ-la pɨr anika-nɨŋ-kɨ-ɣi eʰt-si taŋqar eʰrti enik saɣ-ʊ-ɣantɨ.*
97. *antaqanta pu anika-ɣa ayt-qan-i-tɨ:*
98. *'pʊ qaysɨ* [..] *yer-ti pɨr köz kör-mis aʰka par-i-tɨ.*
99. *sen pu qayta par-nɨ pɨl-ɣɨʂ mi?'*
100. *pu anika enik saɣ-ʊ-ɣantɨ, ni-ma ti-mi-ɣintɨ.*
101. *enik-tɨ saɣ-ʊ un-kiʂ pɨr oʰrsaŋ untɨr-ɣiʂ sut-tin pɨr tʰük-ki pʰorn-ɨŋ-qa pɨr tʰük-ki pɨr oʰrsaŋ untɨr-ɣi..*
102. *antaqaʂ kʊ yaʰqa tʰaɣ-ɨʂ-ki ɕɨla-ɣan-i-tɨ:*
103. *'o qaysɨ qaysɨ tʰaɣ-nɨŋ tɨp-ti pu aʰka anta-tɨr,' antaɣ ti-ɣintɨ.*
104. *antaqanta pu ɨʂkɨ kɨsɨ yol-ɣa eʰt-ki antaɣ ti-ɣin-i-tɨ:*

94. then-PCL1 before two person go-CAUS-NAR-COP-EV
95. go-CTMP-PCL2 what.do-NAR-COP-EV
96. DEM southern mountain-IN-DAT walk/CSIM-PCL1 this monk-GEN house-POS3ACC look.for-CSIM-PCL2 one old.woman-GEN-KI-DAT arrive-COND morning early cow milk-AUX-NARev
97. then this old.woman-DAT ask-NAR-COP-EV
98. this which [..] place-LOC one eye see-PN monk present-COP-EV
99. you this where present-ACC know-FUT Q
100. this old.woman cow milk-AUX-NARev what-PCL3 say-NEG-NARev
101. cow-ACC milk-CSIM come.out-CCO one incense.stand take.out-CCO milk-ABL one pour-CCO front-POS3-DAT one pour-CCO one incense.stand take.out-CCO
102. then DEM southern mountain-IN-DAT point-NARev
103. that which which mountain-GEN base-LOC this monk that/LOC-EX that/EQU say-NARev
104. then this two person road-DAT arrive-CCO that/EQU say-NAR-COP-EV

94. So [the khan] first made two people go.
95. When they went, they did whatsit.
96. While they were walking into the southern mountains, looking for this monk's house, as they arrived at an old woman's house, she was milking cows early in the morning.
97. Then they asked this old woman:
98. 'At this whichever place, there is a monk of whom neither eye can see.
99. Do you know where he is?'
100. This old woman was milking cows, she said nothing at all.
101. After she had finished milking the cow, she took out an incense stand, poured some milk, poured once ahead, she took out an incense stand..
102. And then she pointed to the southern mountains:
103. 'At the foot of that such and such mountain, there is this monk,' thus she said.
104. Then, along the road, these two people said thus:

105. *'pu anika taʰqï pïr yol ayt-sa-ma taʰqï oʰrsaŋ untïr-ʊ paʰʂ ɕal-ʊtï.*
106. *mïz ïʂkï kïsï par-ɣa kʰïm-ma paʰʂ ɕal-mintï.'*
107. *ya ti-ɣintʊ, 'xosï paʰʂ ɕal-mintï,' ti-ɣintï.*
108. *antaqanta ɕa:ŋ pu yotuŋ-ïʂ-ki kör-si anta pïr qïzïl iˢp taʰrt-qa olïr-ɣantï.*
109. *pïrsï-nïŋ pʰerïk-ïn kʊ qïzïl iˢp pïr kuala-ɣanta qʰal-tïr-uʰt-qantï.*
110. *antaqanta naqï-sï-ma kançiŋ ɕʰük-ki ɕal-ïk kʰïr-ɣin-i-tï.*
111. [..] *pu amsa pʰerïk-ïn-ma al-min-ya ɕal-ïk kʰïr-ɣin-i-tï.*
112. *antaqanta kʰïr-ïp par-ɣaʂ-ya ïʂkï kïsï ɕʰoqe-q qʰa-ɣanta-ya pu aʰka antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
113. *'sen qaytan keʰl-tï?' ti-ɣintï.*
114. *'uzï-lir ni ni oy-tan qantan mïntan keʰl-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
115. *antaqanta-ya pu aʰka antaɣ pïr pïʰtïɣ sal-ɣa qara-s-tïr-ʊ-ɣantï.*
116. *qar-ʊ qara-ɣaʂ taʰs-ïŋ-qa un-qʰanï-ɣantï.*
117. *taʰs-ïŋ-qa un-ki maŋ-qanta pu pïʰtïɣ-nï pïr pʰili-ɣi un-qʰanï-ɣantï.*

105. this old.woman yet one road ask-COND-PCL3 yet incense.burner take.out-CSIM head pray-PROGev
106. we two person go-CCO who-PCL3 head pray-PASTNev
107. all.right say-NARev all head pray-PASTNev say-NARev
108. then just this cave-IN-DAT see-COND that/LOC one red rope pull-CCO stay-NARev
109. one/POS3-GEN hat-POS3ACC DEM red rope one hang-CTMP fall-CAUS-COM-NARev
110. then yonder-POS3-PCL3 at.once kneel-CCO pray-CON enter-NAR-COP-EV
111. [..] this anyway hat-POS3ACC-PCL3 take-CN-PCL1 pray-CON enter-NAR-COP-EV
112. then enter-CON go-CCO-PCL1 two person sit-CON fall-CTMP-PCL1 this monk that/EQU say-NARev
113. you whence come-PAST say-NARev
114. self-PL what what plain-ABL whence this/ABL come-PAST say-NARev
115. then-PCL1 this monk that/EQU one book put-CCO look-REC-CAUS-AUX-NARev
116. look-CSIM look-CCO outside-POS3-DAT come.out-TER-NARev
117. outside-POS3-DAT come.out-CCO walk-CTMP this book-ACC one shoot.a.glance-CCO come.out-TER-NARev

105. 'Even though we asked the way, this old woman still took out an incense burner and was praying.
106. We two people went, and none prayed.'
107. They agreed: 'None prayed,' they said.
108. Then just as they see into this cave, there is a red rope put up.
109. When he put it up, this red rope made the hat of one of them fall down.
110. Then yonder one of them at once knelt down and started praying.
111. [..] Anyway, without taking his hat he started praying.
112. Then, when the two people had entered and sat down, this monk said thus:
113. 'Whence have you come?' he said.
114. They said that they had come from such and such plain, from somewhere.
115. Then this monk put down such a book and was browsing [in it].
116. After he had looked and looked, he went outside.
117. When he went outside, he shot a glance at this book and went out.

118. *antaqanta hanï-ɣanta pu ïʂkï kïsï antaɣ saqïn-qantï:*
119. *'mïz pu pïʰtïɣ-nï yaʰʂ-qʊ pïr qar-in!' ti-ɣintï.*
120. *aʰsïr-ïq qara-sa pïr-ma pïʰtïɣ yoq po-ɣantï.*
121. *içʰi antaɣ kʰeti ol-ɣan-i-tï.*
122. *antaqaʂ-ya soŋta eni ïʂkï kïsï pʰayla-ɣa maŋ-tïr-ɣan-i-tï.*
123. *maŋ-tïr-ɣanta-la kʊ par-ɣaʂ-ya pu niɣïl ti-ɣintï.*
124. *par-ɣaʂ-ya ayt-qan-i-tʊ: 'sen qaytan keʰl-tï?' ti-ɣintï.*
125. *'oh, mïz pu suçou-tan keʰl-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
126. *antaqanta antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
127. *'suçou çʰïŋmïŋ-nï qʰal-ʊ un-ïttï-m?' ti-ɣintï.*
128. *'un-ïptʊ!' ti-ɣintï.*
129. *pïŋlay un-mintï-sa, tʰaŋʂa ayt-qïla-ttï-sa, kïsï 'un-ïptʊ,' ti-ɣintï.*
130. *antaqanta pïrsï ayt-vtï, pïr pïʰtïɣ tïz-ma-sï.*
131. *pïʰtïɣ-nï tïz-ɣan oy muli ol-ɣantï.*

118. then go-CTMP this two person that/EQU think-NARev
119. we this book-ACC good-ADV one look-IMP1pl say-NARev
120. turn.over-CON look-COND one-PCL3 letter not.present become-NARev
121. altogether that/EQU paper become-COP-EV
122. then-PCL1 later again two person dispatch-CCO walk-CAUS-COP-EV
123. walk-CAUS-CTMP-PCL2 DEM go-CCO-PCL1 this what.do say-NARev
124. go-CCO-PCL1 ask-NAR-COP-EV you whence come-PAST say-NARev
125. EXCL we this Sùzhōu-ABL come-PAST say-NARev
126. then that/EQU say-NARev
127. Sùzhōu city.gate-ACC build-CSIM come.out-PASTev-Q say-NARev
128. come.out-PASTev say-NARev
129. actually come.out-PASTNev-PCL5 advice ask-PUR-PASTev-PCL5 person come.out-PASTev say-NARev
130. then one/POS3 ask-PROGev one letter write-VN-POS3
131. writing-ACC write-PP quick very become-NARev

118. Then, when he had left, these two people thought thus:
119. 'Let us take a good look at this book!' they said.
120. As they thumb through it, there is no letter at all.
121. It all was such [blank] paper.
122. Then later [the khan] again dispatched two people and made them go.
123. When he made them go, they went and this [monk] said whatsit.
124. They went, and this monk asked: 'Whence have you come?' he said.
125. 'Oh, we have come from this [city of] Sùzhōu,' they said.
126. Then he said thus:
127. 'Have they finished building the city gate of Sùzhōu?' he said.
128. 'They have!' they said.
129. Actually, they had not, they came to ask advice, they [just] said: 'They have.'
130. Then one of them is asking, one is the writer.
131. He wrote letters very quick.

132. *naqï ʂueypi eʰt-kin aŋna-l-ɣan-i-tï.*
133. *antaqanta: 'eʰt-ʊ-ma ni-tï?' ti-ɣintï.*
134. *pu ïʂkï kïsï qoʰrq-qa qayla-wat-qan-i-tï.*
135. *qayla-wat-qanta-ya naqï pïr ʂouʂa kïsï-sïŋ-ki 'sur!' ti-ɣin-i-tï.*
136. *pïr ɕïŋzï sur-ɣi eʰt-ïs-ïwal-ma-ɣa eni ki-ɣin-i-tï.*
137. *'pu kïsï-lir ni qʰaltïr-ïwat-ïttï-m?' ti-ɣin-i-tï.*
138. *'mïnta pïr ɕumaq-ya, toɣïr ni-ma yoq-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
139. *'ɕumaq-tï kʰer! men qar-in!' ti-ɣintï.*
140. *pu ɕumaq-tï kʰer-si: 'pu pïr aʰltïm ɕumaq-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
141. *'suɕou ɕʰïŋ-nïŋ tamïŋ sïk-ïn qʰal-ʊ un-mintʊ.*
142. *pu-la maɣa tʰaŋʂa ayt-qïla ki-ɣin kïsï-tï.*
143. *pu am hanï-sa teylï pu suɕou ɕʰïŋ-nïŋ tamïŋ sïk-tï ʐixou qʰal-ʊ un-kïmistï,' ti-ɣin-i-tï.*

132. yonder pen make.sound-PP hear-RFL-NAR-COP-EV
133. then make.sound-AUX-VN what-EV say-NARev
134. this two person fear-CCO run-FIN-NAR-COP-EV
135. run-FIN-CTMP-PCL1 yonder one under.the.authority.of person-POS3-DAT pursue say-NAR-COP-EV
136. one moment pursue-CCO arrive-REC-INC-NEG-CCO again come-NAR-COP-EV
137. this person-PL what drop-FIN-PASTev-Q say-NAR-COP-EV
138. this/LOC one stick-PCL1 other what-PCL3 not.present-EV say-NARev
139. stick-ACC bring I look-IMP1sg say-NARev
140. this stick-ACC bring-COND this one gold stick-EV say-NARev
141. Sùzhōu city-GEN gate door-POS3ACC build-CSIM come.out-PASTev
142. this-PCL2 me/DAT advice ask-CPUR come-PP person-EV
143. this now go-COND certainly this Sùzhōu city-GEN gate door-ACC afterwards build-CSIM come.out-FUTNev say-NAR-COP-EV

132. The sound yonder pen made was audible.
133. 'What is it making sound?' [the monk] said.
134. These two people ran away together for fear.
135. When they had run away, he said to the person under [his] authority: 'Pursue [them]!'
136. After he pursued [them] for a moment, he was not able to overtake them and came back again.
137. 'What did these people drop?' [the monk] said.
138. 'Here is a stick, there is no other thing at all,' he said.
139. 'Bring the stick! Let me look!' he said.
140. As he brings the stick: 'This is a golden stick,' he said.
141. 'They have not finished building the gate door of the city of Sùzhōu.
142. They were people who came to ask me advice.
143. As they have gone away now, they will certainly not finish building this gate door of Sùzhōu afterwards,' he said.

11. The Smart Boy (1)

told by GUŌ JĪNLÁN[1]

1. *kilʊ: pïr yüɛnwey par-i-tï.*
2. *pu yüɛnwey, ʂouʂï, yüɛnwey üsïn-ti taʰqï pïr qʰan par-i-tï.*
3. *pu-ya qʰan aʰltïr-ïn-ta-qï yüɛnwey, qʰan-qa kanʂï-tï.*
4. *pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya pu yüɛnwey-nïŋ sïk-tïŋ uʰtïr-ïn-ta pïr pezïk süɛso par-i-tï.*
5. *süɛso-ta pïr yaˣs-kïʰçiɣ loʂï aɣïr-ɣa yoq po-ɣantï.*
6. *antaqanta eni pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya o fïŋyüɛn-ta pïr xuar, yaˣʂ közti-ɣik pïr tuo xuar un-ïk ki-ɣintï.*
7. *antaqanta pu yüɛnwey-nïŋ qïz-ï pu xuar-nï çümü-k ki-ɣi paˣʂ-qa qaˣʂ qʰonïq çʰala-ɣantï.*
8. *paˣʂ-qa qaˣʂ qʰonïq man-qan-i-tï.*
9. *man-qanta pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya pu qïztar mïla ol-ɣantï.*
10. *mïla ol-ɣanta pu yüɛnwey ila-ma-ɣantï:*

1. once.upon.a.time one oficial present-COP-EV
2. this official well official upside/POS3-LOC yet one khan present-COP-EV
3. this-PCL1 khan underside-POS3-LOC-KI official khan-DAT secretary-EV
4. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this official-GEN door-GEN frontside-POS3-LOC one big school present-COP-EV
5. school-LOC one young teacher be.ill-CCO not.present become-NARev
6. then again one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 that grave-LOC one flower good appear-PHAB one piece flower come.out-CON come-NARev
7. then this official-GEN girl-POS3 this flower-ACC pluck-CON come-CCO head-DAT few day.and.night insert-NARev
8. head-DAT few day.and.night wear-NAR-COP-EV
9. wear-CTMP one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this girl child become-NARev
10. child become-CTMP this official comply.with-NEG-NARev

1. Once upon a time there was an official.
2. This official, well, above this official was yet a khan.
3. He was an official under a khan, he was a secretary for the khan.
4. One day, there was a big school in front of this official's door.
5. In the school, a young teacher became ill and died.
6. Then, again one day, on that grave a flower, a well-looking flower sprouted.
7. Then this official's daughter plucked this flower and stuck it on [her] head for a few days.
8. She wore [it] on [her] head for a few days.
9. When wearing [it], one day, this girl became pregnant.
10. When she had become pregnant, this official did not comply with [it].

[1] Recorded by Zhōng Jìnwén, 1992 in Mínghuā.

11. *'uzï yüɛnwey po-ppar.*
12. *pu qïz mül ol-ɣa am mïnï kanɕiŋ ʑülïr-ïʂtï.*
13. *ʑülïr-ïwat!' ti-ɣintï.*
14. *antaqanta pu yüɛnwey-ta pïr ʑiɣït par-i-tï.*
15. *pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya pïr tʰaŋʂa untïr-ɣin-i-tï.*
16. *uzun pïr ɕo qaz-ɣantï.*
17. *ɕo qaz-ɣaʂ-ya sïŋnï-sïn pu ɕo-ʂ-ki suwat-qa ïʂkïʂ, ʑiʂ antarmi-tin pisek tiat-qa.*
18. *antaqaʂ-ya pu yüɛnwey ki-si ɕïnɕïŋ qïzïl ɕala man-qa antaqanta o ïrɕalïŋ pʰuti-s-tïr-ɣi antaqanta kil-ʊtï ti-ʊtï.*
19. *antaqanta-ya pïr kʰun-ya antaɣ pïr panfa saŋna-wat-qantï.*
20. *sïk uʰtïr-ta pe:zïk pïr qol par-i-tï.*
21. *antaqanta-ya antaɣ ti-ɣintï, pu yüɛnwey-nïŋ ʑiɣït-ï ana-sïŋ-qa:*
22. *'pu aɕa-sï pʰuti-s-tïr-ɣi kil-ʊ-ɣantï-ya.*

11. self official become-PROG
12. this girl child become-CCO now this/ACC immediately kill-FUTev
13. kill-FIN say-NARev
14. then this official-LOC one young.man present-COP-EV
15. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 one idea take.out-NAR-COP-EV
16. long one cellar dig-NARev
17. cellar dig-CCO-PCL1 younger.sister-POS3ACC this cellar-IN-DAT put/FIN-CCO beverage food that.kind.of.thing-ABL lump send-CCO
18. then-PCL1 this official come-COND really red tassel wear-CCO then that flute blow-REC-CAUS-CCO then come-PROGev say-PROGev
19. then-PCL1 one day-PCL1 that/EQU one method think.of-FIN-NARev
20. door front.side-LOC big one river present-COP-EV
21. then-PCL1 that/EQU say-NARev this official-GEN young.man-POS3 mother-POS3-DAT
22. this father-POS3 blow-REC-CAUS-CCO come-AUX-NARev-PCL1

11. 'I am the official,' [he thought].
12. 'Because this girl is pregnant, they should kill her immediately now.
13. Kill [her]!' he said.
14. Then this official had a son.
15. One day, he got an idea.
16. He dug a long cellar.
17. After he had dug [it], he put his younger sister into this cellar, leaving some beverage and food and that kind of things.
18. Then, he is saying, if this official comes, he is coming wearing a really red tassel, and then having [the musicians] blow the flutes together.
19. Then one day [the son] had thought of such a method.
20. In front of the door, there was a big river.
21. Then this official's son said thus to his mother:
22. 'This father of hers has come, having [them] blow [the flutes] together.

23. *pu, niɣïl-inï, pu pezïk tʰerɣin-nïŋ pïr kulu-nï pu qol-ïʂ-ki ïʂt-uʰt-inï,' ti-ɣintï.*
24. *ïʂt-uʰt-qanta-ya ana-sï-ya mï-ʂ-ki pʰoqïr-ɣï ti-w kïsï-lir a:ɣït-ʊ..*
25. *antaɣ ol-ɣanta-ya pu aɕa-sï eʰt-ïk ki-ɣintï:*
26. *'no-ttï?' ti-ɣintï.*
27. *'puɣïn pu sïŋnï pu qol-ïʂ-ki pʰoqïr-har-ttï.*
28. *antan-la ana-ŋ-ma poʰqïr-ɣï ti-ɣi aɣït-tïr-mastï,' ti-ɣintï.*
29. *'antasa xo! pʰoqïr-har-sa yaˣʂ po-ttï.*
30. *kanɕiŋ kʊ kïsï-lir kʊ qol-nï kʰöm-uʰt-i!' ti-ɣintï.*
31. *antaqanta-ya kïsï-lir kanɕiŋ pu qol-nï kʰöm-uʰt-qantï.*
32. *antan soŋ-ya pu aɕa-sï cï ʐiwei 'qïz-ï yoqqʰa-ttï,' saqïn-qantï, 'pu xï-ʂ-ti.'*
33. *antaqanta pu ɕo-ʂ-ti ɕʰoqe-t-ïwat-qantï.*
34. *pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti mïla-sï-ma toɣ-ïk ki-ɣintï.*

23. this what.do-IMP1pl this big cart-GEN one wheel-ACC this river-IN-DAT push-COM-IMP1pl say-NARev
24. push-COM-CTMP-PCL1 mother-POS3-PCL1 this-IN-DAT jump-VNFUT say-CSIM person-PL stop-CSIM
25. that/EQU become-CTMP-PCL1 this father-POS3 arrive-CON come-NARev
26. what.be-PASTev say-NARev
27. today this younger.sister this river-IN-DAT jump-RES-PASTev
28. that/ABL-PCL2 mother-POS1/2-PCL3 jump-VNFUT say-CCO stop-CAUS-DUBN say-NARev
29. in.that.case good jump-RES-COND good become-PASTev
30. immediately DEM person-PL DEM river-ACC bury-COM-COP say-NARev
31. then-PCL1 person-PL immediately this river-ACC bury-COM-NARev
32. that/ABL after-PCL1 this father-POS3 self think girl-POS3 die-PASTev think-NARev this river-IN-LOC
33. then this cellar-IN-LOC sit-CAUS-FIN-NARev
34. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP child-POS3-PCL3 be.born-CON come-NARev

23. Let us whatsit, let us push one wheel of this big cart into this river,' he said.
24. When they had pushed it [in], while his mother was about to jump in this [river], and while the people witheld [her] ..
25. When it happened thus, this father of his arrived [on the scene] and said:
26. 'What happened?'
27. 'Today this younger sister has jumped into this river.
28. Thereupon our mother too was about to jump, she could not withold [my sister],' he said.
29. 'In that case, good! If she has jumped, it is good.
30. May these people immediately fill up this river!' he said.
31. Then the people immediately filled up this river.
32. After that this father of hers thought by himself his daughter has died in this river, he thought.
33. Then they let her stay in this cellar.
34. One day, her child was born.

35. *pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya pu yüɛnwey-ɣa nan tus-kin-i-tï.*
36. *qʰan antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
37. *'kʊ uzaq-tan-ya tʰerɣin-ki pïr pïl-mis amïrtan ʂozïr-ïk ki-ɣin-i-tï.'*
38. *pu yüɛnwey-ɣa: 'mïnï tanï!' ti-ɣintï.*
39. *antur kïsï-tin ʐiuti ki-ɣiʂ-ma kʰïm-ma tanï-ma-ɣantï.*
40. *cueyxoutï-ya pu qʰan-ya pu yüɛnwey-ɣa: 'tanï!' ti-ɣintï.*
41. *'tanï-ma-sa-la seŋ paˣʂ-tï al-ɣïʂ-e!' ti-ɣintï.*
42. *antaqanta pu ki-ɣiʂ-la ʐü-ti kʊ, xosï aɥïs-ʊ-ɣanta-la pu yüɛnwey-nïŋ ʐiɣït-ï-ya pu ɕo-ʂ-ki par-ɣa iɣin-ïŋ-ki antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
43. *'am ʊka-ŋ-qa-ma nan tus-ïptʊ.*
44. *antaqanta uzaq-tan pïr antaɣ tanï-mas amïrtan ʂozïr-ïk ki-ttï.*
45. *am mïnï tanï-ma-sa-ya taɣïn yülïr-ïʂtï, paʰɥ-ïn al-ɣïʂtï titï.'*
46. *antaqanta-ya pu antaɣ ti-ɣintï, pu mïla-sï, pu sunzï-sï:*

35. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this official-DAT trouble descend-NAR-COP-EV
36. khan that/EQU say-NARev
37. DEM far-ABL-PCL1 cart-DAT one know-PN animal drag-CON come-NAR-COP-EV
38. this official-DAT this/ACC recognize say-NARev
39. that.many people-ABL many come-CCO-PCL3 who-PCL3 recognize-NEG-NARev
40. finally-PCL1 this khan-PCL1 this official-DAT recognize say-NARev
41. recognize-NEG-COND-PCL2 you/GEN head-ACC take-FUT-COP say-NARev
42. then this come-CCO-PCL2 house-LOC DEM all feel.anxious-AUX-CTMP-PCL2 this official-GEN young.man-POS3-PCL1 this cellar-IN-DAT go-CCO nephew-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
43. now grandfather-POS1/2-DAT-PCL3 trouble descend-PASTev
44. then far-ABL one that/EQU recognize-PN animal drag-CON come-PASTev
45. now this/ACC recognize-NEG-COND-PCL1 tomorrow kill-FUTev head-POS3ACC take-FUTev say/DUB
46. then-PCL1 this that/EQU say-NARev this boy-POS3 this grandson-POS3

35. One day trouble fell upon this official.
36. The khan said thus:
37. 'From this far, [someone] has come transporting an unknown animal by cart.
38. Recognize this!' he said to this official.
39. However many of the so many people had come, nobody recognized [it].
40. Finally [the khan] said to this official: 'Recognize [it]!
41. If you do not recognize it, I will take your head!' he said.
42. Then [the official] returned, and when he and everybody at home felt anxious, this official's son went into this cellar and said thus to his nephew:
43. 'Now trouble has fallen upon your grandfather.
44. So from far, [someone] has come transporting such an unrecognizable animal.
45. Now, if he does not recognize this, [the khan] will kill [him] tomorrow, he will take his head he says.'
46. Then this one, this child of his, this grandson of his, said thus:

47. *'pu ʂïɣan-ya kʊ mïŋ taʰrtqïʂ-qa un-kik-i-tï, pu ʐür-ya mïŋ taʰrtqïʂ-qa un-kik-i-tï.*
48. *pïʰtïɣ-ïʂ-ti pïr qara-sa toɣïr kʊ mïŋ taʰrtqïʂ-qa un-ir örçü yoq-tï,' ti-ɣiʂ-ya 'kʊ mïʂ-tïŋ, kʊ kʰeti-nïŋ mïʂ-tïŋ, antaɣ yaŋzï-tan pïr qʰayçila-ɣaʂ ʐiŋ-ïʂ-ki sal-ɣa par!' ti-ɣintʊ, ʊka-sïŋ-qa.*
49. *'par-ɣaʂ-ya mïnïŋ paˣçˌ-ïn yaˣʂ-qʊ tanï-ɣaʂ-ya, paʰʂ yaqïn-tan-ya, paʰçˌ-ïn-ta-ya, mïŋmïŋtï-kʊ ʐiŋ-ïʂ-ti-kï pu mïʂ-tïŋ, pu qʰayçila-ɣan kʰeti-nïŋ yaŋzï-nï qʰaltïr-ïk ki,' ti-ɣintï.*
50. *'qʰaltïr-ïp ki-ɣi qoʰrq-sa-ya kʊ ʂïɣan-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
51. *'art-ïŋ-qa tʰunna-ʂ; art-ïŋ-qa tʰunna-ma-sa yür-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
52. *antaqanta-ya mïnï, ʐiŋ-ïʂ-ti-kï pïr mïʂ, kʰeti mïʂ-tï qʰaltïr-ïk ki-ɣinti-ya pu tʰerɣin-ïʂ-ti-kï pu-ya ʂïɣan mi-tï, art-ïŋ-qa pïr tʰunna-ɣanta tʰerɣin-tin qʰal-xanï-ɣantï.*
53. *antaqanta-ya pu yüɛnwey-ya: 'kʊ mïʂ[2]-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*

47. this mouse-PCL1 DEM thousand scales-DAT come.out-HAB-COP-EV this fish-PCL1 thousand scales-DAT come.out-HAB-COP-EV
48. book-IN-LOC one look-COND other DEM thousand scales-DAT come.out-PFUT thing not.present-EV say-CCO-PCL1 DEM cat-GEN DEM paper-GEN cat-GEN that/EQU form-ABL one clip-CCO sleeve-IN-DAT put-CCO go say-NARev grandfather-POS3-DAT
49. go-CCO-PCL1 this/GEN head-POS3ACC good-ADV recognize-CCO-PCL1 head near-ABL-PCL1 head-POS3-LOC-PCL1 suddenly-ADV sleeve-IN-DAT-KI this cat-GEN this clip-PP paper-GEN form-ACC drop-CON come say-NARev
50. drop-CON come-CCO fear-COND-PCL1 DEM mouse-EV say-NARev
51. backside-POS3-DAT move.back-FUT backside-POS3-DAT move.back-NEG-COND fish-EV say-NARev
52. then-PCL1 this/ACC sleeve-IN-LOC-KI one cat paper cat-ACC drop-CON come-CTMP-PCL2 this cart-IN-LOC-KI this-PCL1 mouse Q-EV backside-POS3-DAT one move.backwards-CTMP-PCL2 car-ABL fall-TER-NARev
53. then-PCL1 this official-PCL1 DEM cat-EV say-NARev

47. 'This mouse weighs this thousand on the scales, or this fish weighs a thousand on the scales.
48. If you take a look in the [magic] book, there is no other thing that weighs this thousand on the scales,' he said, 'go and clip this cat's, this paper cat's, such a form, and put it into the sleeve,' he said, [as] to his grandfather.
49. 'After you have gone and made out well this one's head, you suddenly drop this cat's, this clipped paper form which is in the sleeve, from near the head, at the head,' he said.
50. 'After you have dropped [the paper cat], if [the unknown animal] is afraid, it is the mouse,' he said.
51. 'It will move backwards; if it does not move backwards, it is the fish,' he said.
52. Then, when he dropped this, the cat, the paper cat in the sleeve, the one in the cart, [as] it was this mouse, fell down from the cart when it moved backwards.
53. Then this official said: 'It is a cat.

[2] Apparently a mistake for *ʂïɣan* 'mouse'.

54. *'antaqanta-ya pu-ya mïʂ yer-i-tï, mïʂ-tï!' ti-ɣintï.*
55. *antaqanta-ya pu pïr* [..] *yoz-ɣan-i-tï.*
56. *antaqanta eni pïr tuan ʂïçɛn ol-ɣanta, eni pïr ïʂkï yil pol-ɣanta eni pu qʰan-nïŋ pu qatïn-ï tançin köŋül-yüs-i-tï.*
57. *eni antaɣ ti-ɣintʊ: 'uzï am teylï aɣïr-ɣaʂ tançin poʰl-tï, am yɛnçʰɛn yül-ɣïʂtï.*
58. *uzï kʊ eʰrkik qoy-nïŋ kʊ su:t, kuŋçi-nïŋ ta:n antarmi ïʂ-si-la yaˣʂ o-ʂtï.*
59. *antarmi ïʂ-mi-si am teylï yül-ɣïʂtï,' ti-ɣin-i-tï.*
60. *antaqanta pu qʰan antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
61. *'men saɣa örçü-nï qaɣa tïli-ɣïla-ʂ-e?*
62. *antaɣ örçü teylï yoq-tï-nï.'*
63. *antaɣ ti-si antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
64. *'sen kʊ yüɛnwey-nï tïli-k kel-ɣi o yüɛnwey-ɣa-la kʰeɣïr ti.*

54. then-PCL1 this-PCL1 cat right-COP-EV cat-EV say-NARev
55. then-PCL1 this one [..] pass-NAR-COP-EV
56. then again one period time become-CTMP again one two year become-CTMP again this khan-GEN this wife-POS3 very heart-bad-COP-EV
57. again that/EQU say-NARev self now certainly be.ill-CCO serious become-PAST now before.one's.eyes die-FUTev
58. self DEM male sheep-GEN DEM milk rooster-GEN egg that.kind.of.thing drink-COND-PCL2 good become-FUTev
59. that.kind.of.thing drink-NEG-COND now certainly die-FUTev say-NAR-COP-EV
60. then this khan that/EQU say-NARev
61. I you/DAT thing-ACC whither look.for-PUR-FUT-COP
62. that/EQU thing certainly not.present-EV-INT
63. that/EQU say-COND that/EQU say-NARev
64. you DEM official-ACC look.for-CON come-CCO that official-DAT-PCL2 bring say

54. So this is a cat all right, it is a cat!' he said.
55. So this one [time] passed.
56. Then again, when a period of time, when one or two years had passed, this wife of this khan was very bad-natured.
57. And she said thus: 'Now I have really fallen ill, it has become serious, now I will die before [your] eyes.
58. If I drink this male sheep's milk, and [eat] this rooster's egg, those kinds of things, it will be cured.
59. If I do not drink those kinds of things, then I will certainly die,' she said.
60. Then this khan said thus:
61. 'Whither will I go look for you for the thing?
62. There is certainly no such thing.'
63. As he said that, she said:
64. 'You go look for this official, and tell that official to bring [it].

65. *o yüɛnwey-la kʰeɣïr-mi-si sen anïŋ paˣɕ-ïn al-ɣï ti-ʊ anï o teylï saɣa tïli-k ki-ʂtï,' ti-ɣintï.*
66. *antaqanta-ya pu yüɛnwey-nïŋ ʑiɣït-ï-ya par-ya eni pu ɕo-ʂ-ti-kï pu iɣin-ïŋ-ki antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
67. *'pu ʊka-ŋ-qa, senïŋ ʊka-ŋ-qa eni-la nan tus-ïptʊ!*
68. *pu qʰan-la eni kʊ eʰrkik qoy-nïŋ sut, kʊ kuŋɕi-nïŋ tan kʰeɣïr-ɣiʂ-la qatïn-nïŋ-la kim ɕïla-ʂtï titï.*
69. *mïnï-la ʊka-ŋ am teylï aɕï-ɣïʂtï, qaɣa tïli-ɣïla-ʂ-e?'*
70. *antaqanta-ya kʊ, pu ɕo-ʂ-ti-kï sunzï mïla-sï antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
71. *'ey, antasa men par-in, men aɣa panfa saŋn-in.*
72. *uzï par-ɣaʂ ti-yn, qʰan-nïŋ qaʰt-qa men ti-ɣïla-yn!' ti-ɣintï.*
73. *'sen sɛn par-ma! uzaq-yaˣqïn-nïŋ ɕʰiŋɕʰi-lir-nï puɣïn yiŋïr-ta qïˣqïr-ïk kil-ʊtï.*
74. *sen emisi ɕʰiŋɕʰi-lir iɕʰi ki-ɣinti am par.'*

65. that official-PCL2 bring-NEG-COND you that/GEN head-POS3ACC take-VNFUT say-CSIM that/ACC that certainly you/DAT look.for-CON come-FUTev say-NARev
66. then-PCL1 this official-GEN young.man-POS3-PCL1 go-CCO again this cellar-IN-LOC-KI this nephew-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
67. this grandfather-POS1/2-DAT you/GEN grandfather-POS1/2-DAT again-PCL2 trouble descend-PASTev
68. this khan-PCL2 again DEM male sheep-GEN milk DEM rooster-GEN egg bring-CCO-PCL2 queen-GEN-PCL2 disease relieve-FUTev say/DUB
69. this/ACC-PCL2 grandfather-POS1/2 now certainly feel.anxious-FUTev whither look.for-PUR-FUT-COP
70. then-PCL1 DEM this cellar-IN-LOC-KI grandson boy-POS3 that/EQU say-NARev
71. EXCL in.that.case I go-IMP1sg I that/DAT method think-IMP1sg
72. self go-CCO say-IMP1sg khan-GEN side-DAT I say-PUR-IMP1sg say-NARev
73. you first go-NEG far-near-GEN relative-PL-ACC today evening-LOC invite-CON come-PROGev
74. you or relative-PL altogether come-CTMP now go

65. If that official does not bring [it], [if you say] you are about to take his head, he will certainly go look for it for you,' she said.
66. Then this official's son went, and again he said thus to this nephew of his in this cellar:
67. 'Again trouble has fallen upon this grandfather of yours.
68. This khan says the queen's illness will be relieved after [your grandfather] has brought this male sheep's milk, this rooster's egg.
69. Now your grandfather feels really anxious about this, whither should he go look for [it]?'
70. Then he, this grandson of his in the cellar, said thus:
71. 'Eh, if that is so, let me go, let me think of a method for him.
72. Let me go and tell [it], let me go near the khan, and tell!' he said.
73. 'Don't you go first! [Grandfather] is inviting relatives of far and near for today evening,' [his uncle said].
74. 'When these relatives all have come, only then you go.'

75. *antaqanta yiŋïr ol-ɣanta iʨʰi qïʰqïr-ïk ki-ɣintʊ:.*
76. *kʰïm-ma pïr yaʰʂ tʰaŋʂa taʰq-ma-ɣantï.*
77. *antaqanta ʐuanʐuan-sisitï par-ɣaʂ-ya ʊka-sï-nïŋ qaʰt-ta ʨʰük-ïq qʰa-ɣantï.*
78. *antaqanta pu ʐiʨï pu ʨo-ʂ-ti olïr-ɣan-qa, ʐil kör-mi-ɣin-ki, put-ï ʐuanʐuantï ti-ʊtï.*
79. *'pu qaytaqï mïntaɣ nimi, kueywu ki-ɣin-i?' ti-ɣintï.*
80. *'uzï-ya senïŋ sunzï, seŋ qaʰʨan qaʰʨan-ya uzï-nïŋ ana-sïn qïʂt-uʰt-qanta taqa-sï ana-sïn ʨo-ʂ-ki sal-ɣa uzï ʨo-ʂ-ti toq-qantï.'*
81. *'maɣa qara-sa! pïr cʰï pïr cʰï-tan-ma nan tus-ʊtï.*
82. *ʨa-la mïntaɣ nimi kueywu-la, uzï-ŋ-ki mïntaqʊ nan tus-ʊ-ɣan* [..]
83. *kanʨiŋ mïnï yülïr!' ti-ɣintï, 'paʰʨ-ïn kʰanna!' ti-ɣintï.*
84. *antaqanta pu kel-ɣin uzaq-yaʰqïn-nïŋ kïsï-lir aɣït-it-qantï.*
85. *'sen ʂɛn mïnï yülïr-mi!*

75. then evening become-CTMP altogether invite-CON come-NARev
76. who-PCL3 one good idea find-NEG-NARev
77. then weak-feeble go-CCO-PCL1 grandfather-POS3-GEN side-LOC kneel-CON fall-NARev
78. then this always this cellar-IN-LOC stay-PP-DAT wind see-NEG-PP-DAT leg-POS3 weak say-PROGev
79. this what.sort this/EQU thing monster come-PAST-COP say-NARev
80. self-PCL1 you/GEN grandson you/GEN when when-PCL1 self-GEN mother-POS3ACC chase-COM-CTMP maternal.uncle-POS3 mother-POS3ACC cellar-IN-DAT put-CCO self cellar-IN-LOC be.born-NARev
81. me/DAT look-COND one time one time-ABL-PCL3 trouble descend-PROGev
82. truly-PCL2 this/EQU thing monster-PCL2 self-POS1/2-DAT thus trouble descend-AUX-PP [..]
83. immediately this/ACC kill say-NARev head-POS3ACC chop say-NARev
84. then this come-PP far-near-GEN person-PL stop-QUI-NARev
85. you first this/ACC kill-NEG

75. Then, when it had become evening, he had invited them all.
76. Nobody could think of a good idea.
77. Then [the boy] went weakly and feebly, and kneeled down at his grandfather's side.
78. Then [the official] is saying to him who had always stayed in this cellar, who had not seen the wind, his legs weak:
79. 'Where has such a thing, this monster come from?' he said.
80. 'I am your grandson; when you chased away [my] mother then and then, [my] uncle had put [my] mother into a cellar, and I was born in the cellar.'
81. 'Well I never! From one time to another [more] trouble is falling [upon me].
82. Truly some such monster - in this way trouble has fallen upon me [..]
83. Kill him at once!' he said. 'Chop off his head!' he said.
84. Then these people of far and near who had come, stopped him quickly.
85. 'Don't you kill him first!

86. *pu puɣa tʰaŋʂa tïr-ïm yoq-tï-m: tʰaŋʂa par-u-sa yülïr-mi, tʰaŋʂa yoq pu-sa amsa yülïr-inï!' ti-ɣintï.*
87. *antaqanta: 'uzï-ŋ-ki tʰaŋʂa par.*
88. *taɣïn taŋqar-ya men par-in!' ti-ɣintï.*
89. *'sen par-sa-ma antarmi-tï: sen par-sa ni et-ʊ çïta-ʂ?'*
90. *antasa uzï ti-ɣin-i-tï: 'uzï par-ɣaʂ uzï kʊ qʰaŋ-qa toʂililï:*
91. *uzï-nïŋ ʊka-ŋ puɣïn ay olïr-ïq qʰal-ttï, kil-ʊ yata-ɣïʂ.*
92. *uzï toʂililï antaɣ ti-ʂ,' ti-ɣintï.*
93. *e, antasa pïrmisï, kïsï aŋna-sa: 'e, pu-ma yer-tʊ, sen par-ɣe.'*
94. *puɣïn taŋqar-la kʊ eʰrkik qoy-nïŋ sut, kuŋçi-nïŋ tan-nï kʰeɣïr-mi-si-la pu yüɛnwey-nïŋ paʰç-ïn-la qïtïr-ɣïʂtï.*
95. *antaqanta-la pu par-ttï* [..].
96. *ʊka-sï-nïŋ, yüɛnwey-nïŋ ton-ïn kez-ʊ taŋqar-la par-ɣaʂ-la antaɣ çʰük-ïq qʰa-ttï.*

86. this this/DAT idea EX-Q not.present-EV-Q idea present/become-COND kill-NEG idea not.present become-COND anyway kill-IMP1pl say-NARev
87. then self-POS1/2-DAT idea present
88. tomorrow morning-PCL1 I go-IMP1sg say-NARev
89. you go-COND-PCL3 that.kind.of.thing-EV you go-COND what do-CSIM can-FUT
90. in.that.case self say-NARev self go-CCO self DEM khan-DAT have.come.reporting.the.good.news
91. self-GEN grandfather-POS1/2 today moon stay-CON fall-PASTev come-CSIM cannot-FUT
92. self have.come.reporting.the.good.news that/EQU say-FUT say-NARev
93. EXCL in.that.case someone person hear-COND EXCL this-PCL3 right-EV you go-IMP3
94. today morning-PCL1 DEM male sheep-GEN milk rooster-GEN egg-ACC bring-NEG-COND-PCL2 this official-GEN head-POS3ACC-PCL2 cut-FUTev
95. then-PCL2 this go-NARev
96. grandfather-POS3-GEN official-GEN dress-POS3ACC dress-CSIM morning-PCL2 go-CCO-PCL2 that/EQU kneel-CON fall-PASTev

86. Does he have a solution or not for this [problem]: if he has a solution, don't kill him, if he has no solution, then let's kill him!' they said.
87. Then: 'I myself have an idea.
88. Let me go tomorrow morning,' [the boy] said.
89. 'Even if you go, it is a thing like that: if you go, what will you be able to do?'
90. As that was so, [the boy] said: 'I will go and report this khan the good news:
91. My grandfather is confined to childbed today, he will not be able to come.
92. I will say thus, reporting the good news,' he said.
93. Eh, as that was so, someone, somebody hears [this]: 'Eh, this is right. May you go.'
94. If he does not bring this male sheep's milk and rooster's egg today morning, [the khan] will cut off this official's head.
95. Then this [boy] went.
96. He got dressed in his grandfather's, the official's dress, went in the morning, and thus kneeled down.

97. *ɕʰük-ïq qʰa-ɣanta: 'sen pu ni kïsï mïnta ɕʰük-*[..]?'
98. *'uzï yüenwey-nïŋ sunzï-sï; uzï-nïŋ vka-sï puɣïn taŋqar kiɕi tʰuni-la ay olïr-ïptï.*
99. *puɣïn men tosililï,' ti-ttï.*
100. *antaqanta-la pu tafa pʰiɕi: 'kʰïm-nïŋ yerin kïsï mïla toq-qaq-e?*
101. *sen ɕɛnɕï ʂï xuʂuopato,' ti-ɣin.*
102. *'pusa sen, qʰan, kʊ eʰrkik qoy-nïŋ sut, kʊ kuŋɕi-nïŋ tan kʰeɣïr titï-nï.*
103. *eʰrkik qoy-ma qozï toq-ma-sa qaytaqï sut ki-ʂ-i?*
104. *kuŋɕi-ma, taʰqï-ya, kʊ taʰqaɣï niɣïl-mi-si qaytaqï tan ki-ʂ-i?' ti-ɣintï.*
105. *antaqanta-la kʊ mïnï am miɛnna-ɣan-i-tï, ʑülïr-mi-ɣintï.*

97. kneel-CON fall-CTMP you this what person this/LOC kneel-[..]
98. self official-GEN grandson-POS3 self-GEN grandfather-POS3 today morning yesterday.evening night-PCL2 moon stay-PASTev
99. today I have.come.reporting.the.good.news say-PASTev
100. then-PCL2 this very hot.tempered who-GEN man person child give.birth-HAB-COP
101. you simply is talk.nonsense say-PNAR
102. become-COND you khan DEM male sheep-GEN milk DEM rooster-GEN egg bring say/DUB-INT
103. male sheep-PCL3 lamb give.birth-NEG-COND where/KI milk come-FUT-Q
104. rooster-PCL3 yet-PCL1 DEM chicken what.do-NEG-COND where/KI egg come-FUT-Q say-NARev
105. then-PCL2 DEM this/ACC now exempt.from.punishment-NAR-COP-EV kill-NEG-NARev

97. When he kneeled down: 'What person are you kneel[ing] here?' [said the khan].
98. 'I am the official's grandson; today morning, yesterday evening, my grandfather has become confined to childbed.
99. Today I have come reporting the good news,' he said.
100. Then this [khan] flew in a rage: 'Whose husband gives birth to a child?
101. You simply are talking nonsense,' he said.
102. 'But you, khan, did say: 'Bring this male sheep's milk, this rooster's egg.'
103. If a male sheep does not give birth to a lamb, where will the milk come from?
104. And if a rooster, yet, this chicken does not do what, where will the egg come from?' he said.
105. Then [the khan] exempted him from punishment, he did not kill him.

12. The Smart Boy (2)

told by XUÉLIĂN[1]

1. *yoɣïr-nïŋ-kï-ti mïntaqʊɣan pïr lomaq ti-ʊtï.*
2. *pïr ɕazï par-i-tï.*
3. *pu ɕazï-nïŋ-kï-ti pïr aɕa par-i-tï, pïr ana par-i-tï.*
4. *eni pïr aqa, eni pïr qïztar par-i-tï.*
5. *antaqanta-ya pu qïz kïsï-tï, amsa taŋqïna po-lin saqïn-ʊtï.*
6. *pïr kʰu:n-ki eʰt-kinti-ya pu qïztar taˣs-ïŋ-qa oyna-ɣïla-ɣantï.*
7. *oyna-ɣïla-ɣanta mʊ: pïr tur-nïŋ yaŋ-qa eʰt-kintï.*
8. *tur-nïŋ yaŋ-qa eʰt-kinti tur-nïŋ üsïn-ti pïr ala: xuar un-ki olïr-ɣantï.*
9. *antaqanta-ya pu qïz antaɣ saqïn-qantï:*
10. *'e, pu xuar mïnïŋ yaˣʂ közti-ɣik-i, men paˣʂ-qa ɕʰala-wat-in!' ti-ɣin.*
11. *ɕümi-ɣi paʰʂ-qa ɕʰala-wat-qantï.*

1. Yugur-GEN-KI-LOC such one story tell-PROGev
2. one family present-COP-EV
3. this family-GEN-KI-LOC one father present-COP-EV one mother present-COP-EV
4. also one elder.brother also one girl present-COP-EV
5. then-PCL1 this girl person-EV anyway beautiful become-IMP1sg think-PROGev
6. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this girl outside-POS3-DAT play-PUR-NARev
7. play-PUR-CTMP walk/CSIM one tomb-GEN side-DAT arrive-NARev
8. tomb-GEN side-DAT arrive-CTMP tomb-GEN upside/POS3-LOC one multicoloured flower come.out-CCO stay-NARev
9. then-PCL1 this girl that/EQU think-NARev
10. EXCL this flower this/GEN good appear-HAB-COP I head-DAT insert-FIN-IMP1sg say-NAR
11. pluck-CCO head-DAT insert-FIN-NARev

1. Among the Yugur they tell such a story.
2. There was a family.
3. In this family's [house] there was a father, there was a mother.
4. There was also an elder brother and a girl.
5. Then it is this girl, anyway, she wants to be beautiful.
6. One day this girl went outside to play.
7. When she went outside to play, while she was walking, she got near a tomb.
8. When she got near the tomb, [she noticed that] on top of the tomb a multicoloured flower had come out.
9. Then this girl thought thus:
10. 'Eh, this flower appears so good, let me insert it on my head!' she said.
11. She plucked it and inserted it on her head.

[1] Recorded 13 September 1995 in Běijīng. For the motif of the impossible tasks, cf Malov 1967: 59-61 № 73, and 1967: 78-80, № 85, and further Ting №s 875B$_1$, 922*.

12. *paˣʂ-qa ɕʰala-wat-qanta-ya pïr tua:n ʂïçɛn pu-ɣanta-ya iˢɕikï pezï-ɣin-i-tʊ.*
13. *amsa mïla po-ttï, poz-ɣa.*
14. *antaqanta-ya pu aɕa-sï taʰqï toɣïr kïsï-ɣi ïs tuʰt-ʊtï.*
15. *amsa pezïk kuan-nïŋ aʰltïr-ïn-ta-qï miɕa kuan-tï.*
16. *aɕa-sï yüat-qa pu qïztar xuayyüntï, antaqanta 'am nal-ɣaq-e?' ti-ɣintï.*
17. *ana-sïŋ-qa ʑiɣït-ïŋ-ki antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
18. *'kʊ pezïk ɕiŋ-tan pïr qaz! qaz-ɣa pu qïz-tï iˢɕ-iŋ-ki kʰöm-ïwat!' ti-ɣintï.*
19. *'meŋ iˢɕikï pezïk-tï, men naɣʊ kïsï-ɣi közti-ʂ-e?'*
20. *antaqanta-ya pu ana-sï-nï ʑiɣït ïʂkï-sï ɕiŋ qaz-ɣantʊ.*
21. *qaz-ɣaʂ-ya ɕiŋ-nïŋ aˣs-ta pʰala-ɣa: olïr-ɣanta aɕa-sï kil-ʊ-ɣanta antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
22. *'altam wey! kuni, kuni! ku-ʂ-ki qʰal-xar-ttʊ!' antaɣ ti-ɣintï.*
23. *ɕʰiʂï antarmi-i-tï: aqa-sï pïr yotuŋ qaz-ɣantï.*

12. head-DAT insert-FIN-CTMP-PCL1 one period time become-CTMP-PCL1 belly become.big-COP-NARev
13. anyway child become-PASTev body-DAT
14. then-PCL1 this father-POS3 still other person-DAT work hold-PROGev
15. anyway big official-GEN underside-POS3-LOC-KI little oficial-EV
16. father-POS3 be.ashamed-CCO this girl pregnant then now what.do-HAB-COP say-NARev
17. mother-POS3-DAT young.man-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
18. DEM big well-ABL one dig dig-CCO this girl-ACC inside-POS3-DAT bury-FIN say-NARev
19. my/GEN belly big-EV I how person-DAT appear-FUT-COP
20. then-PCL1 this mother-POS3-AND young.man two-POS3 well dig-NARev
21. dig-CCO-PCL1 well-GEN mouth-LOC climb-CCO stay-CTMP father-POS3 come-AUX-CTMP that/EQU say-NARev
22. how.strange quick look.at.that look.at.that DEM-IN-DAT fall-RES-PAST that/EQU say-NARev
23. actually that.kind.of.thing-COP-EV elder.brother-POS3 one cave dig-NARev

12. When she had inserted it on her head, a period of time passed, and [her] belly became big.
13. Anyway, she was pregnant.
14. Then this father of hers was working for yet another person.
15. Anyway, he was a petty official under a big official.
16. Because her father was ashamed, [as] this girl was pregnant, he then said: 'Now what am I to do?'
17. He said thus to her mother and his son:
18. 'Dig a big well! After you have dug [it], bury this girl in it!' he said.
19. 'My belly is big, how can I appear before the people?' [the girl asked herself].
20. Then this mother and brother of hers, the two of them dug a well.
21. After they had dug it, they said thus when [the girl] had climbed in the opening of the well, and when her father had come:
22. 'Gee, quick! Look at that, look at that! She has fallen in there!' thus they said.
23. In fact, it was thus: her elder brother had dug a cave.

24. *qaz-ɣa yotuŋ-ïṣ-ki sïŋnï-sïn toɣ-ïr-ɣantï.*
25. *antaqanta yotuŋ-ïṣ-ti sïŋnï-sï mïla-sïn toɣ-ïwat-qantï.*
26. *pu mïla toɣ-ïk ki-ɣinti kʊ kʰun-nï kör-mis-i-ya, pïr ïlïɣ uzun, pïr ïlïɣ qïsqa, pïr pït uzun, pïr pït qïsqa.*
27. *antaɣ yɛnɕuŋ pol-ma-sa-ma fanɕïŋ* [*kʰeman*] *muli ʊ-ɣantï.*
28. [..] *yol maŋ-sa ɕiŋṣïn yʊq-e-tï. kʰun kör-mi-ɣin mïla-tï.*
30. *antaqanta-ya pïr kʰu:n-ki eʰt-kinti-ya pu aɕa-sï ayt-qantï:*
31. *'qïztar-nï naɣïʰl-tï?' ti-ɣintï.*
32. *ana-sï antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'pu-sa, sen-ma kör-ttï!*
33. *men piaɣïr yiɣït ïṣkï-sï kʊ ɕiŋ-ïṣ-ki tʰayt-uʰt-tï.*
34. *antan yoq pu-ttï.'*
35. *antaqanta-ya aɕa-sï eni kuan-nïŋ yan-ta ïs kann-ʊ-ɣantï.*
36. *pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya pu kuan pïr örɕü ɕʰïŋɕiŋna-ɣantï.*
37. *pu örɕü ɕʰïŋɕiŋna-ɣanta-ya ɕïnɕïŋ wanwanzï wanwanzï po-q qʰa-ɣan pïrmi-tï.*

24. dig-CCO cave-IN-DAT younger.sister-POS3ACC give.birth-CAUS-NARev
25. then cave-IN-LOC younger.sister-POS3 child-POS3ACC give.birth-FIN-NARev
26. this child be.born-CON come-CTMP DEM sun-ACC see-HABN-COP-PCL1 one hand long one hand short one leg long one leg short
27. that/EQU grave become-NEG-COND-PCL3 anyway weak very become-NARev
28. [..] road walk-COND vigour not.present-COP-NAR sun see-NEG-PP child-EV
30. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this father-POS3 ask-NARev
31. girl-ACC what.do-PAST say-NARev
32. mother-POS3 that/EQU say-NARev become-COND you-PCL3 see-PASTev
33. I a.few.days.ago young.man two-POS3 DEM well-IN-DAT throw-COM-PAST
34. that/ABL not.present become-PASTev
35. then father-POS3 again official-GEN side-LOC work do-AUX-NARev
36. one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 this official one thing do.magic.on-NARev
37. this thing do.magic.on-CTMP-PCL1 truly curved curved become-CON fall-PP something-EV

24. After he had dug [it], he let his younger sister give birth in the cave.
25. Then his younger sister gave birth to her child in the cave.
26. When this child was born, he does not see the sun, one hand [is] long, one hand short, one leg [is] long, one leg short.
27. If that was not grave [enough], he was very weak anyway.
28. If he walked the road, he had no vigour. It is a child who has not seen the sun.
30. Then one day this father of hers asked:
31. 'What did you do about the girl?' he said.
32. Her mother said thus: 'But you saw it [yourself]!
33. A few days ago, I and the young man threw her into this well.
34. Thereupon she died.'
35. Then her father was still working at the official's.
36. One day the official did magic on a thing.
37. When he had done magic on this thing, it was something that had truly become curved and wrinkled.

38. *pu kuan antaɣ saqïn-qantï:*
39. *'men pu qïz-tïŋ aɕa-sïn pïr tʰa-tïr-ïq qar-in,' saqïn-qantï.*
40. *köz-ïŋ-ki yara-ma-sa teylï-ya antaqïʂtï.*
41. *antaqanta-ya qïz-tïŋ aɕa-sïŋ-qa antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
42. *'sen pïr qara-ya, pu ɕürs-ɕars po-q qʰa-ɣan, pu ni-tï?' antaɣ ti-ɣintï.*
43. *antaqanta pu qïztar-nïŋ aɕa-sï naɣʊ qara-ɣanta-ma pïl-mi-ɣintï.*
44. *'sen taɣïn-ya ti-k ki-mi-si men seŋ paˣʂ-tï qïtïr-ïʂ,' ti-ɣintï.*
45. *antaqanta-ya pu awaka yü-ʰsïŋ-ki eʰt-ki: 'e, naɣʊ niɣï-sa-ma, pusiŋ!*
46. *naɣʊ ti-ʂ-i? men mïnï teylï kïŋpïŋ tanï-mastï.*
47. *qantan pïr mïntaɣ örɕü ki-ɣin-i?'*
48. *antaqanta narï saqïn-ʊ perï saqïn-ʊ taʰqï pïl-mintï.*
49. *antaqanta-ya pu kʰeln-nï ʑiɣït ïʂkï-sï antaɣ saqïn-qantï.*
50. *pu soz-tï appar-ɣa eni naqï yotuŋ-ïʂ-ti, qïztar-ïŋ-qa ti-ɣintï.*

38. this official that/EQU think-NARev
39. I this girl-GEN father-POS3ACC one guess-CAUS-CON look-IMP1sg think-NARev
40. eye-POS3-DAT please-NEG-COND certainly-PCL1 thus.do/FUTev
41. then-PCL1 girl-GEN father-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
42. you one look-PCL1 this wrinkle-JINGLE become-CON fall-PP this what-EV that/EQU say-NARev
43. then this girl-GEN father-POS3 how look-CTMP-PCL3 know-NEG-NARev
44. you tomorrow-PCL1 say-CON come-NEG-COND I you/GEN head-ACC chop-FUT say-NARev
45. then-PCL1 this grandfather house-POS3-DAT arrive-CCO EXCL how what.do-COND-PCL3 impossible
46. how say-FUT-COP I this/ACC certainly at.all recognize-DUBN
47. whence one this/EQU thing come-PNAR-COP
48. then thither think-CSIM hither think-CSIM still know-PASTnev
49. then-PCL1 this wife-AND young.man two-POS3 that/EQU think-NARev
50. this word-ACC take.to-CCO again yonder cave-IN-LOC girl-POS3-DAT say-NARev

38. This khan thought thus:
39. 'Let me try and make this girl's father guess [it],' he thought.
40. If he does not like [somebody], he would really do like that.
41. Then he said thus to the girl's father:
42. 'You take a look, this thing that has become a wrinkle-crinkle, what is it?' thus he said.
43. Then, however much this girl's father looked, he did not know it.
44. 'If you do not come up with it tomorrow, I will chop off your head!' he said.
45. Then this grandfather arrived home: 'Eh, whatever I do, [it is] impossible!
46. How will I tell? I certainly would not recognize this at all.
47. Whence did such a thing come from?'
48. Then he thought thither and he thought hither, and still did not know.
49. Then this wife and the young man thought thus.
50. They told [it] in their turn in yonder cave to their girl, conveying these words.

51. *'seŋ aɕa-ŋ puɣ̈n - mïntaqʊɣan pïr yotal po-ttï.*
52. *pu kuan antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
53. *'pu ɕürs-ɕars po-q qʰa-ɣan nimi-nï tanï-k ki-mi-si taɣ̈n yülïr-ïʂ-i!'*
54. *'nal-ɣaq-e?' ti-ɣintï.*
55. *antaqanta-ya pu toɣ-ïwat-qan mïla-sï ɕi tʰiɛn po-ɣa pu mïla aŋna-ɣantï.*
56. *fanɕïŋ* [..] *amsa* [..] *ʑi kï ʑüɛ pu-ɣan pa, antaqanta-ya pu aŋna-ɣantï.*
57. *aŋna-ɣanta-ya qoyt-qa ana-sïŋ-qa antaɣ ti-ɣintʊ, ayka-sïŋ-qa ti-ɣintʊ:*
58. *'sen taɣ̈n niɣ̈l, ʊka-ŋ-qa mïʂ-tan pïr qʰayɕila!*
59. *mïʂ-tan pïr qʰayɕila-ɣa pu ʑiŋ-nïŋ iˢɕ-iŋ-ki seli-ɣi par!' ti-ɣintï.*
60. *'par-ɣa-qïna ɕürs-ɕars-qa pï:r ɕola-ɣa:*
61. *o tan iʰɕiraq-qa pïr kʰïr-ïwat-sa pu qoʰrq-sa-ya, o ʂïɣan-tï.*
62. *qoʰrq-pa-sa-ya toɣ̈r örɕü-tï.*

51. you/GEN father-POS1/2 today such one matter become-PASTev
52. this official that/EQU say-NARev
53. this wrinkle-JINGLE become-CON fall-PP thing-ACC recognize-CON come-NEG-COND tomorrow kill-FUT-COP
54. what.do-HAB-COP say-NARev
55. then-PCL1 this be.born-FIN-PP child-POS3 few day become-CCO this child understand-NARev
56. anyway [..] anyway one piece month become-PAST surely then-PCL1 understand-NARev
57. understand-CTMP-PCL1 rise/QUI-CCO mother-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev grandmother-POS3-DAT say-NARev
58. you tomorrow what.do grandfather-POS1/2-DAT cat-ABL one clip
59. cat-ABL one clip-CCO this sleeve-GEN inside-POS3-DAT stuff.in-CCO go say-NARev
60. go-CCO-INT wrinkle-JINGLE-DAT one reflect-CCO
61. that in.case inwards-DAT one enter-FIN-COND this fear-COND-PCL1 that mouse-EV
62. fear-NEG-COND-PCL1 other thing-EV

51. 'Today your father - such a matter happened.
52. This official said thus:
53. 'If [you] do not recognize this thing that has become a wrinkle-crinkle, I will kill [you] tomorrow!'
54. What are we to do?' they said.
55. Then, although this child of hers that was born was [only] a few days, this child understood.
56. Anyway [..] anyway, he sure was [only] one month, then he [already] understood.
57. As he understood, he quickly rose and said thus to his mother, he said to his grandmother:
58. 'Tomorrow you whatsit, you clip a cat for my grandfather!
59. You go and clip a cat, and stuff it into this sleeve!' he said.
60. 'After he has gone, and has reflected it once to the wrinkle-crinkle:
61. In case it withdraws inwards, if it is afraid, it is a mouse.
62. If it is not afraid, it is another thing.

63. *sen taɣïn vka-ŋ-qa par,' antaɣ ti-ɣintï.*
64. *antaqanta-ya pu ayka-sï un-ïp par-ɣa awaka-ɣa mïʂ-tan pïr qʰayɕila-ɣa yiŋ-ïʂ-ki tʰuŋna-p per-ɣintï.*
65. *antaqanta-ya par-ɣantʊ, kuan-nïŋ yaŋ-qa eʰt-kintï.*
66. *eʰt-kinti-ya ɕïntï-ya mïnta pï:r köʰkït-ʊ-ɣantï.*
67. *antaqanta-ya iˢɕ-in-ti-kï ɕürs-ɕars po-q qʰa-ɣan pïrmi pïr qoʰrq-qantï.*
68. *antaqanta-ya awaka antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
69. *'e, ni ol-ɣïla-ʂ-e, pu niɣï-ttï-nï?*
70. *pu ʂïɣan-tï-nï!' antaɣ ti-ɣintï.*
71. *antaqanta-ya: 'yʊ! pu kïsï taʰqï ni-ɣi pïl-ɣik-i?' antaɣ saqïn-qantï.*
72. *'sen maɣa niɣïl?!' ti-ɣintï.*
73. *o kuan antaɣ saqïn-qantï: 'sen mïnï ɕïta-ttï.*
74. *men senï eni pïr tʰa-tïr-ïq qar-in,' saqïn-qantï.*
75. *'sen taɣïn-ya tʰa-k ki-mi-si men senïŋ paʰʂ-tï qïtïr-ïʂ!' ti-ɣintï.*

63. you tomorrow grandfather-POS1/2-DAT go that/EQU say-NARev
64. then-PCL1 this grandmother-POS3 come.out-CON go-CCO grandfather-DAT cat-ABL one clip-CCO sleeve-IN-DAT poke-CON give-NARev
65. then-PCL1 go-NARev official-GEN side-DAT arrive-NARev
66. arrive-CTMP-PCL1 really-PCL1 this/LOC one show-AUX-NARev
67. then-PCL1 inside-POS3-LOC-KI wrinkle-JINGLE become-CON fall-PP something one fear-NARev
68. then-PCL1 grandfather that/EQU say-NARev
69. EXCL this what become-PUR-FUT-COP this what.do-PASTev-INT
70. this mouse-EV-INT that/EQU say-NARev
71. then-PCL1 EXCL this person yet what-DAT know-HAB-COP that/EQU think-NARev
72. you me/DAT what.do say-NARev
73. that official that/EQU think-NARev you this/ACC can-PASTev
74. I you/ACC again one guess-CAUS-CON look-IMP1sg think-NARev
75. you tomorrow-PCL1 guess-CON come-NEG-COND I you/GEN head-ACC chop-FUT say-NARev

63. Go to my grandfather tomorrow,' thus he said.
64. Then this grandmother of his got out, clipped a cat for the old man and poked [it] for him into the sleeve.
65. Then he went, he got at the official's.
66. When he arrived, he indeed showed it here once.
67. Then the thing inside that had become a wrinkle-crinkle got scared.
68. Then the old man said thus:
69. 'Eh, what is going to happen, what did it do?
70. It sure is a mouse!' he said.
71. Then: 'Yo! And how come this person knows?' thus [the official] thought.
72. 'Well I never!' said [the official to the old man].
73. That official thought thus: 'You have succeeded in this.
74. Let me try and make you guess again,' he thought.
75. 'If you do not come up with a guess tomorrow, I will chop off your head!' he said.

76. *'kʊ ɨʂkï, pïr tuey a:q aʰt-ï ʐimïʐiyaŋ örliɣ, qayla-sa ʐimïʐiyaŋ oy-tï.*
77. *sen maɣa ti-k ki-ya pu aʰt-tïŋ qaysï ana-sï-tï, qaysï aʰti-sï-tï.*
78. *maɣa ti-k ki!' ti-ɣintï.*
79. *antaqanta-ya pu awaka eni yü-ʰsiŋ-ki eʰt-ki antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
80. *'e:, pu aʰt-tï men naɣʊ tanï-k ki-ʂ-i?*
81. *kʰïm po-sa-ma tanï-k ki-mistï.*
82. *mïnï men naɣʊ tanï-k ki-ʂ-i?' ti-ɣintï.*
83. *antaqanta-ya pu ayka-sï eni par-ɣa sunsïŋ-qa antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
84. *'sen pïr ti-ya pu ɨʂkï aʰt, a:q pïr tuey aʰt-tïŋ qaysï aʰti-sï-tï, qaysï ana-sï-tï.*
85. *naɣʊ niɣï-ʂ-e? taɣïn-ya ti-k ki-mi-si ʊka-ŋ-nïŋ paʰq̣-ïn qïtïr-ɨʂtï,' ti-ɣintï.*
86. *antaqanta-ya mïla antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'e, antarmi no-ppe!*
87. *ɨʂkï aʰt-tï, pïrsïn qʰora-ʂ-ki sola-wat, pïrsïn taʰs-ïŋ-qa pʰalɣa-wat-i.*

76. DEM two one pair white horse-POS3 equally high run-COND exactly.alike fast-EV
77. you me/DAT say-CON come-PCL2 this horse-GEN which mother-POS3-EV which young-POS3-EV
78. me/DAT say-CON come say-NARev
79. then-PCL1 this grandfather again house-POS3-DAT arrive-CCO that/EQU say-NARev
80. EXCL this horse-ACC I how recognize-CON come-FUT-COP
81. who become-COND-PCL3 recognize-CON come-DUBN
82. this/ACC I how recognize-CON come-FUT-COP say-NARev
83. then-PCL1 this grandmother-POS3 again go-CCO grandson/POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
84. you one say-PCL1 this two horse white one pair horse-GEN which young-POS3-EV which mother-POS3-EV
85. how what.do-FUT-COP tomorrow-PCL1 say-CON come-NEG-COND grandfather-POS1/2-GEN head-POS3ACC chop-FUTev say-NARev
86. then-PCL1 boy that/EQU say-NARev EXCL that.kind.of.thing what.be-PROG/COP
87. two horse-ACC one/POS3ACC pen-IN-DAT lock-FIN one/POS3ACC outside-POS3-DAT tie-FIN-COP

76. 'These two, [this] one pair of white horses are equally tall, if they run they are equally fast.
77. You tell me, which one of these horses is the mother, which one is the young.
78. Tell me!' he said.
79. Then this grandfather again got home and said thus:
80. 'Eh, how will I recognize these horses?
81. Nobody at all would recognize [them].
82. How will I recognize these?' he said.
83. Then this old woman of his again went and said thus to her grandson:
84. 'You tell me, these two horses, which one of [this] pair of white horses is the young, which one is the mother?
85. How to go about it? If he does not come up with it tomorrow, [the official] will chop your grandfather's head,' she said.
86. Then the boy said thus: 'Eh, what about that kind of thing!
87. Two horses, just lock one of them up in the horse pen, tie one of them outside.

88. *o qaysï oryïla-sa o mïla-sï-tï.*
89. *anï niyor ni-ɣïʂ-e,' ti-ɣintï.*
90. *antaqanta-ya ayka-sï par-ɣa ti-ɣintï.*
91. *ti-ɣinti-ya ʊka-sï ti əɹ tʰiɛn par-ɣa kuan-nïŋ yaŋ-qa ti-ɣïla-ɣantï.*
92. *antaqanta-ya ïʂkï aʰt-tï pïr-ïn taʰs-ïŋ-qa pʰalɣa-ɣa pïr-ïn iˢɕ-iŋ-ki.*
93. *antaqanta-ya iˢɕ-in-ti-kï oryïl-ʊ sa-ɣantï:*
94. *'e, pu-ya aʰti-sï-tï!' ti-ɣintï.*
95. *antaqanta pu kuan antaɣ saqïn-qantï:*
96. *'e, pu kïsï niol-ʊ ɕïta-ɣaq-e?' saqïn-qantï.*
97. *'men eni pïr tʰa-tïr-ïq qar-in,' ti-ɣintï.*
98. *'sen taɣïn tʰa-k ki-mi-si, men seŋ paʰʂ-tï ɕïntï qïtïr-ïʂ-e!'*
99. *'ni tʰa-ʂ-e?'*
100. *'pïr tuey: ʑiyaŋ yoɣïn, paʰɕ-ï siki, aʰltïr-ï yoɣïn, ʑiyaŋ kʊ terik-tï.*

88. that which shout-COND that child-POS3-EV
89. that/ACC how what.do-FUT-COP say-NARev
90. then-PCL1 grandmother-POS3 go-CCO say-NARev
90. say-CTMP-PCL1 grandfather-POS3 ORD two day go-CCO official-GEN side-DAT say-PUR-NARev
92. then-PCL1 two horse-ACC one-POS3ACC outside-POS3-DAT tie-CCO one-POS3ACC inside-POS3-DAT
93. then-PCL1 inside-POS3-LOC-KI shout-CSIM put-NARev
94. EXCL this-PCL1 young-POS3-EV say-NARev
95. then this official that/EQU think-NARev
96. EXCL this person what.be-CSIM can-HAB-COP think-NARev
97. I again one guess-CAUS-CON look-IMP1sg say-NARev
98. you tomorrow guess-CON come-NEG-COND I you/GEN head-ACC really chop-FUT-COP
99. what guess-FUT-COP
100. one pair similar thick head-POS3 thin underside-POS3 thick similar DEM tree-EV

88. Whatever one shouts, that is the young.
89. That's how you will go about it' he said.
90. Then his grandmother went and told [it].
91. When she had told it, his grandfather went the next day, he went to tell it at the official's.
92. Then he tied one of the two horses outside, [the other] one inside.
93. Then the one inside started to shout:
94. 'Eh, this is the young!' he said.
95. Then [this official] thought thus:
96. 'Eh, how come this man succeeds?' he thought.
97. 'Let me again try to make [him] guess [something],' he said.
98. 'If you do not come up with a guess tomorrow, I will indeed chop your head!'
99. 'What shall I guess?'
100. 'It is one pair of similar logs, equally thick, their top thin, their bottom thick.

101. *qïtïr-uʰt-qan qʰaq terik-tʊ, paʰʂ-ï qoŋqïr-ï iʂʰi ʐimïʐiyaŋ yoɣïn.*
102. *antaqanta sen maɣa pïr ti, qaysï paʰʂ-ï-tï, qaysï qoŋqïr-ï-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
103. *'eː, men enï mïnï naɣʊ ti-ʂ-e?' antaɣ saqïn-qantï.*
104. *antaqanta par-ɣa ti-ɣinti-ya ayka-sï eni sunsïŋ-qa ayt-qantʊ: 'pu nal-ɣaq-e?'*
105. *antaqanta sunsï ti-ɣin:*
106. *'sen paʰʂ-ïn pïr soq-ïq qara, qoŋqïr-ïn pïr soq-ïq qara.*
107. *qara-ɣa-qïna eʰt-kin ʐiyaŋ emis-tï.*
108. *'tïŋ tïŋ,' antaqʊ eʰt-kinti-ya o paʰʂ-ï-tï.*
109. *kʊ qoŋqïr-ï eʰt-kinti ʂïŋyin ʐiyaŋ emis-tï.*
110. *sen pïr soq-ïp qara-sa-ya po-ʂtï.' antaqanta ti əɹ tʰiɛn par-ɣantï.*
112. *par-ɣanta-ya kuan-nïŋ yaŋ-qa soq-ïq qara-ɣantʊ, ïʂkï yiɣaʂ-ta.*
113. *soɣ-ïq qara-ɣanta-ya ʂïntï-ya pïr paʰʂ-ï 'tïrïŋ tïrïŋ' eʰt-ʊ-ɣantï.*
114. *pïr paʰʂ-ï yaˣʂ-qʊ eʰt-mis.*
115. *'eʰt-kin ʐiyaŋ emis-tï,' antaɣ ti-ɣintï.*

101. chop-COM-PP dry tree-EV head-POS3 bottom-POS3 altogether exactly.alike thick
102. then you me/DAT one say which head-POS3-EV which bottom-POS3-EV say-NARev
103. EXCL I again this/ACC how say-FUT-COP thus think-NARev
104. then-PCL1 go-CCO say-CTMP grandmother-POS3 again grandson-POS3-DAT ask-NARev this what.do-HAB-COP
105. then grandson/POS3 say-PNAR
106. you head-POS3ACC one hit-CON look bottom-POS3ACC one hit-CON look
107. look-CCO-INT sound-PP similar is.not-EV
108. ONOM ONOM thus sound-CTMP-PCL1 that head-POS3-EV
109. DEM bottom-POS3 sound-CTMP sound similar is.not-EV
110. you one hit-CON look-COND-PCL1 become-FUTev then ORD two day go-NARev
112. go-CTMP-PCL1 official-GEN side-DAT hit-CON look-NARev two wood-LOC
113. hit-CON look-CTMP-PCL1 really-PCL1 one head-POS3 ONOM ONOM make.sound-AUX-NARev
114. one head-POS3 good-ADV sound-HABN
115. sound-PP similar is.not-EV that/EQU say-NARev

101. They are chopped-off branches, their top and bottom altogether equally thick.
102. So you tell me, which is the top of it, which the bottom of it,' [the official] said.
103. 'Eh, how will I tell this again?' [the old man] said.
104. Then, when he went and told it, his old woman again asked her grandson: 'What are we to do about this?'
105. Then her grandson said:
106. 'You try giving its top a knock, you try giving its bottom a knock.
107. When you have knocked, the sound is not similar.
108. When it sounds thus, 'ting ting,' that is its top.
109. When that bottom of it sounds, the sound is not similar.
110. If you just try giving it a knock, it will be all right.' Then the next day he went.
112. When he went to the official's, he tried knocking on the two [pieces of] wood.
113. When he tried knocking, one of its ends really made the sound 'ting ting.'
114. Its [other] end does not sound well.
115. 'The sounding is not similar,' thus he said.

116. *'pu-ya pa^{h}ɕ-ï-tï, pu-ya qoŋqïr-ï-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
117. *'antarmi niyor niɣï-ʂ-e?'*
118. *antaqanta-ya pu kuan antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'ayʊ, sen niol-ʊ ɕïta-ttï?*
119. *men taɣïn senï ɕuanmïŋ pïr nan* [..]*-in!'*
120. *antaqanta-ya: 'sen maɣa taɣïn niɣïl, kʊ e^{h}rkik qoy-nïŋ sut-ïn k^{h}er, kʊ kuŋɕi-nïŋ, kʊ e^{h}rkik ta^{h}qaɣï-nïŋ kʊ tan-ïn k^{h}er!' ti-ɣintï.*
121. *antaqanta-ya pu awaka antaɣ saqïn-qantï: 'yʊ, mïnï-ɕa naɣʊ k^{h}er-ïʂ-i?'*
122. *'p^{h}ornta naɣʊ niɣï-si-ma ɕïta-ʂtï.*
123. *mïnï-ɕa naɣsa-ma yata-ʂtï. naɣʊ ni-ɣik-i?*
124. *am-ɕa taɣïn niɣï-mi-si ɕïntï pa^{x}ʂ-tï qïtïr-ïʂtï.'*
125. *a:ntaqanta-ya par-ɣa yü-^{h}sïŋ-ti narï mʊ perï mʊ, k^{h}eln-ï ayt-qa:*
126. *'sen no^{h}l-tï?' ti-ɣintï.*
127. *'kïsï maɣa ni ti-ɣïla-ʂ-e, ɕeyyaŋ nayzï, kuŋɕi tan k^{h}er t-ittï.*
128. *men anï-ma qaɣa al-ɣïla-ɣaq-e? qantan antarmi ki-ʂ-e?*

116. this-PCL1 head-POS3-EV this-PCL1 bottom-POS3-EV say-NARev
117. that.kind.of.thing how.much what.do-FUT present-COP
118. then-PCL1 this official that/EQU say-NARev EXCL you what.be-CSIM can-PASTev
119. I tomorrow you/ACC especially one difficult [..]-IMP1sg
120. then-PCL1 you me/DAT tomorrow what.do DEM male sheep-GEN milk-POS3ACC bring DEM rooster-GEN DEM male chicken-GEN egg-POS3ACC bring say-NARev
121. then-PCL1 this grandfather that/EQU think-NARev EXCL this/ACC-PCL4 how bring-FUT-COP
122. before how what.do-COND-PCL3 can-FUTev
123. this/ACC-PCL4 what.do-COND-PCL3 cannot-FUTev how what.do-HAB-COP
124. now-PCL4 tomorrow what.do-NEG-COND really head-ACC chop-FUTev
125. then-PCL1 go-CCO house-POS3-LOC thither walk/CSIM hither walk/CSIM wife-POS3 ask-CCO
126. you what.be-PAST say-NARev
127. person me/DAT what say-PUR-FUT-COP such milk rooster egg bring say-PASTev
128. I that/ACC-PCL3 whither take-PUR-HAB-COP whence that.kind.of.thing come-FUT-COP

116. 'This now is its top, and this is its bottom,' he said.
117. 'That is how you go about that kind of thing.'
118. Then this official said thus: 'Ayo, how come you succeeded?
119. Let me [..] you an especially difficult [..] tomorrow.'
120. Then he said: 'Tomorrow you whatsit, you bring me this male sheep's milk, bring this rooster's, this male chicken's egg!'
121. Then this grandfather thought thus: 'Yo, how will I bring this?'
122. 'Before, however you did it, you succeeded.
123. This now, however you do it, you will not succeed. How could you do it?
124. If you do not do whatsit tomorrow, I will really chop off [your] head.'
125. Then he went, and while walking thither and hither at home - his wife asked:
126. 'What is the matter with you?' she said.
127. 'What the man would say to me, he said: 'Bring such milk and rooster's egg.'
128. Whither do I go get that? Whence will those kinds of things come from?

129. *sen maɣa pïr niɣï-q qara-ya!'*
130. *antaqanta-ya pu ayka-sï: 'e:, am pu nal-ɣaq-e?*
131. *men pïr qayla-p par-ɣa sunsïŋ-qa pïr ayt-in.'*
132. *vka-sïŋ-qa ti-mintï: ti-si vka-sï anï tatta-ʂtï:*
133. *'sen mïla-ɣa antïraq ayt-qa!'*
134. *antaqanta-ya ayka-sï qayla-p par-ɣa tuŋ-ïʂ-ti-kï sunsïŋ-qa antaɣ ti-ttï:*
135. *'am nal-ɣaq-e:? am tançin-tï.*
136. *am taɣïn ti-k ki-mi-si seŋ vka-ŋ-nïŋ paʰçˌ-ïn qïtïr-ïʂtï.*
137. *am piɛn xuey* [..] *qanta-qï eʰrkik qoy-nïŋ sut-ï ki-ʂ-i, qanta-qï kuŋçi-nïŋ tan-ï ki-ʂ-i?*
138. *pu nal-ɣaq-e? qanta-qï tan ki-ʂ-i?'*
139. *antaqanta mïla antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'ey, no-ppe antarmi taɣïn men par-in!'*
140. *e:, antaqanta-ya pu ayka-sï amsa un-ïk ki-ɣintï.*

129. you-PCL3 what.do-CON look-PCL1
130. then this grandmother-POS3 EXCL now this what.do-HAB-COP
131. I one run-PROG grandson-POS3-DAT one ask-IMP1sg
132. grandfather-POS3-DAT say-PASTev say-COND grandfather-POS3 that/ACC scold-FUTev
133. you child-DAT that.much ask-CCO
134. then-PCL1 grandmother-POS3 run-CON go-CCO hole-IN-DAT-KI grandson-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-PASTev
135. now what.do-HAB-COP now serious-EV
136. now tomorrow say-CON come-NEG-COND you/GEN grandfather-POS1/2-GEN head-POS3ACC chop-FUTev
137. now just time [..] where-KI male sheep-GEN milk-POS3 come-FUT-COP where-KI rooster-GEN egg-POS3 come-FUT-COP
138. this what.do-HAB-COP where-KI egg come-FUT-COP
139. then boy that/EQU say-NARev EXCL what.be-PROG/COP that.kind.of.thing tomorrow I go-IMP1sg
140. EXCL then-PCL1 this grandmother-POS3 anyway come.out-CON come-NARev

129. You try and do something!'
130. Then this grandmother [thought]: 'Eh, now what are we to do about this?
131. Let me run off and ask his grandson.'
132. She did not tell her old man. If she would tell, her old man would scold her:
133. 'You ask the child so much!'
134. Then his grandmother ran off and said thus to her grandson in the hole:
135 'Now what are we to do? Now it is serious.
136. Now, if he does not come up with it tomorrow, he will chop off your grandfather's head.
137. Now this time, really, where will such male sheep's milk come from, where will such rooster's egg come from?
138. What are we to do about this? Where will such egg come from?'
139. Then the child said thus: 'Eh, what about that kind of thing! Let me go tomorrow!'
140. Eh, then his grandmother, anyway, climbed out.

141. *ti ər tʰiɛn ayka-sï sunsïn ezert-ki vka-sïŋ-qa qara-ɣïla-ɣantï.*
142. *antaqanta-ya mïla kör-ɣinti-ya: 'vka!' antaɣ ti-ɣintï.*
143. *antaqanta-ya pu vka-sï: 'pu qantan mïntaqvɣan mïla-i?'*
144. *antaqanta-ya kʰeln-ï ti-ttï: 'sen qïztar-nï yülïr-mi-ʰtï.*
145. *yotuŋ-ïʂ-ti toɣ-ïr-ïwat-tï.*
146. *antaqanta vka-sï yülïr-ɣï ti-ɣintï.*
147. *'mïntarmi-nï - sen ʐïqtïʐuq mïntaqvɣan mïla-i-tï.'*
148. *antaqanta-ya ayka-sï antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'kʰun kör-mintï.*
149. *pʰorn-qï naqï xueyta-nï, pu ʐiɣaʂ-tï, aʰt-tï, içʰi pu mïla saɣa tʰa-ttï.*
150. *sen pu mïla-nï yülïr-ïwat-sa naɣʂ-e?' ti-ɣintï.*
151. *antaqanta-ya vka yülïr-mintï.*
152. *antaqanta mïla antaɣ ti-ɣintï, vka-sïŋ-qa:*
153. *'vka-ŋ, seŋ aʰt qʰan? men mïnï mïn-ki par-in!' ti-ɣin-titï.*

141. ORD two day grandmother-POS3 grandson/POS3ACC lead-CCO grandfather-POS3-DAT look-PUR-NARev
142. then-PCL1 boy look-CTMP-PCL1 grandfather that/EQU say-NARev
143. then-PCL1 this grandfather-POS3 this whence such boy-COP
144. then-PCL1 wife-POS3 say-PASTev you girl-ACC kill-NEG-PAST
145. cave-IN-LOC give.birth-CAUS-FIN-PAST
146. then grandfather-POS3 kill-VNFUT say-NARev
147. this.kind.of.thing-ACC you bad/JINGLE such boy-COP-EV
148. then grandmother-POS3 that/EQU say-NARev sun see-PASTev
149. before-KI yonder answer-ACC this wood-ACC horse-ACC altogether this child you/DAT guess-PASTev
150. you this boy-ACC kill-FIN-COND what.do/FUT-COP
151. then grandfather kill-PASTNev
152. then boy that/EQU say-NARev grandfather-POS3-DAT
153. grandfather-POS1/2 you/GEN horse where.is I this/ACC mount-CCO go-IMP1sg say-NARev

141. The next day his grandmother took along her grandson and went to see his grandfather.
142. Then, when the boy saw [him], he said thus: 'Grandfather!'
143. Then his grandfather: 'Whence does this boy come from?'
144. Then his wife said: 'You did not kill [your] daughter.
145. We let her give birth in the cave.'
146. Then his grandfather was about to kill [him]:
147. 'A thing like this - your are such a bad child.'
148. Then his grandmother said thus: 'He has not seen the sun.
149. This boy guessed all yonder answers, this wood and horse altogether for you.
150. If you kill this boy, what to do?'
151. Then the old man did not kill [him].
152. Then the boy said thus:
153. 'My grandfather, where is your horse? Let me mount it and go!' he said.

154. *antaqanta-ya vka-sï yüs nimi* [..]. *antaqaʂ-la taʰqï per-ɣintv.*
155. *antaqanta-ya vka-sï-nïŋ yaŋï pʰo-sïn kiz-v yaŋï ezer-ïn or-v antaqaʂ-la par-ttï.*
156. *antaqanta-ya vka-sï taʰqï yü-ʰsïn-ti aɕ-v-ɣantï:*
157. *'ey, amsa teylï paʰʂ-tï qïtïr-t-qïʂtï.*
158. *kv paʰr-sa na-p-pa yata-ʂtï.'*
159. *yü-ʰsïn-ti xosï aɕïs-v-ɣantï.*
160. *antaqanta-ya pu mïla par-ɣantv, piˢk-kv niɣïl-ɣi maŋ-qa par-ɣantï.*
161. *uzïn pïr, qïsqa pïr kizkï-nï kiz-v-ɣanta-ya aʰt-tï mïn-ki antaqa par-ɣantï.*
162. *kʰun kör-mintï, yol maŋ-sa antaɣ qïlɕïq-qalɕïq yaʰʂ-qv mv yat-vtï.*
163. *par-ɣanta-ya pu kuan antaɣ ti-ɣintï: 'sen kʰïm-i?' ti-ɣintï.*
164. *'men-ya kv qaysï qaysï awaka-nïŋ sunsï-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
165. *'sen nal-ɣïla ki-ʰtï?' ti-ɣintï.*
166. *'men puɣïn saɣa potola-ɣïla ki-ʰtï.*

154. then-PCL1 grandfather-POS3 bad thing [..] EXCL then-PCL2 yet give-NARev
155. then-PCL1 grandfather-POS3-GEN new rifle-POS3ACC dress-CSIM new saddle-POS3ACC put.on.a.saddle-CSIM thus-PCL2 go-PASTev
156. then-PCL1 grandfather-POS3 yet house-POS3-LOC feel.anxious-AUX-NARev
157. EXCL anyway certainly head-ACC chop-CAUS-FUTev
158. DEM go-COND what.do-CON-PCL3 cannot-FUTev
159. house-POS3-LOC all feel.anxious-AUX-NARev
160. then-PCL1 this boy go-NARev strong-ADV what.do-CCO walk-CCO go-NARev
161. long one short one clothes-ACC dress-AUX-CTMP-PCL1 horse-ACC mount-CCO thus go-NARev
162. sun see-PASTev road walk-COND that/EQU crooked-JINGLE good-ADV walk/CSIM cannot-PROGev
163. go-CTMP-PCL1 this official that/EQU say-NARev you who-COP say-NARev
164. I-PCL1 DEM which which grandfather-GEN grandson/POS3-EV say-NARev
165. you what.do-CPUR come-PAST say-NARev
166. I today you/DAT report.for.duty-CPUR come-PAST

154. Then his grandfather bad things [..] then he yet gave it.
155. Then he got dressed with his grandfathers new gun, he put his new saddle on [the horse], and after that he went.
156. Then his grandfather was still worried at home:
157. 'Eh, anyway, he will certainly get his head chopped off!
158. If he goes, he will not be able to do anything whatsoever.'
159. In the home, all had become anxious.
160. Then this boy went, he forcefully whatsit, set off and went.
161. When he was dressed in one long, one short dress, he rode the horse and thus went.
162. He had not seen the sun, if he walks the road, so crooked, he is not able to walk well.
163. When he had gone, this official said thus: 'Who are you?' he said.
164. 'I am this such and such old man's very grandson,' he said.
165. 'What have you come for?' he said.
166. 'Today I have come to report for duty to you.

167. *men meŋ vka-ŋ-nï tiŋna-ɣa ki-ʰtï,' ti-ɣintï.*
168. *'seŋ vka-ŋ qar-ttï?' ti-ɣintï.*
169. *'meŋ vka-ŋ puɣïn mïla tvɣ-ïwat-tv,' antaɣ ti-ɣintï.*
170. *'pu ni-sïn ti-vtv?! qanta-qï nantï kïsï mïla toq-qaq-e?*
171. *sen-ɕa ni-sïn ti-vtï?!' antaɣ ti-ɣintï.*
172. *'sen pu-sa-sa vka-ŋ-qa antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
173. *'kv eʰrkik qoɣ-nïŋ sut-ïn kʰer, kv eʰrkik taʰqaɣï-nïŋ ɕitan-ïn kʰer!' ti-ttï.*
174. *pu-sa-sa sen antaɣ ti-ttï. meŋ vka-ŋ mïla toɣ-ïwat-tv!'*
176. *antaqanta-ya pu mïla pïr ɕʰaxotï-ya pu kuan-nï* [..]*-tïr-ïwat-qan.*
177. *e, am-ɕa no-sa no-ɣe!*
178. *mïnï-ɕa pu kolar-ɣa tʰa-tïr-ɣïmis. pu mïla mïnïŋ cʰuŋmiŋ.*
180. *ʑixou, naɣv niɣï-ttï-ma yata-ɣantï.*
181. *antaqanta-ya pu mïla-ɣa pïr kuan per-ɣintv.*
182. *antaqanta-ya pu lomaq yoq pu-ttï.*

167. I me/GEN grandfather-POS1/2-ACC replace-CCO come-PAST say-NARev
168. you/GEN grandfather-POS1/2 whither.go-PASTev say-NARev
169. me/GEN grandfather-POS1/2 today child give.birth-FIN-PASTev that/EQU say-NARev
170. this what-POS3ACC say-PROGev where-KI male person child give.birth-HAB-COP
171. you-PCL4 what-POS3ACC say-PROGev that/EQU say-NARev
172. you become-COND-PCL5 grandfather-POS1/2-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
173. DEM male sheep-GEN milk-POS3ACC bring DEM male chicken-GEN egg-POS3ACC bring say-PASTev
174. become-COND-PCL5 you that/EQU say-PASTev me/GEN grandfather-POS1/2 child give.birth-FIN-PASTev
176. then-PCL1 this boy one just.right-PCL1 this official-ACC [..]-CAUS-FIN-NAR
177. EXCL now-PCL4 what.be-COND what.be-IMP3
178. this/ACC-PCL4 DEM/PL-DAT guess-CAUS-FUTN this boy this/GEN clever
180. afterwards how what.do-PASTev-PCL3 cannot-PASTev
181. then-PCL1 this boy-DAT-PCL3 one official's.post give-NARev
182. then-PCL1 this story not.present become-PASTev

167. I have come instead of my grandfather,' he said.
168. 'Whither did your grandfather go?' he said.
169. 'Today my grandfather gave birth to a child,' thus he said.
170. 'He is saying what?! What kind of male person bears children?
171. You are saying what?!' thus he said.
172. 'But you told my grandfather thus:
173. 'Bring that male sheep's milk, bring that male chicken's egg!'
174. But you said thus. [And so] my grandfather gave birth to a child.'
176. Then this boy made this official [..] just right.
177. Eh, now, whatever happens, let it be!
178. He cannot make them guess this. This boy is so clever.
180. Afterwards, whatever [the official] did, he did not succeed.
181. Then they gave an official's post to this boy.
182. Then this story has ended.

13. Sichı Khachı

told by ĀN XIŪZHĒNG[1]

1. *art oy-tan ki-ɣintʊ, siɕï xaɕï-tan.*
2. *antaqanta-ya qʰarmaŋqï-ya at-tïɣ pol-ʊ yol-ta qʰal-ma-ʰtï.*
3. *pïr qʰar kïsï-nï tʰulïm-ïʂ-ki sal-ɣa maŋ-qantʊ:*
4. *'uzï-nï tʰayta-ma!'*
5. *pu sat-ta aʰtïs-qaʂ-la iɕʰi: kʰeman, mʊ yata-ɣaq kïsï yülïr-ïwat-qantʊ.*
6. *kʰïm-la yoʂï qʰar-qʰur antaɣ mʊ yata-ɣaq kïsï teyla-sa, puʂiŋ.*
7. *pu qʰar kïsï qïz-ïŋ-qa antaɣ ti-ɣintʊ:*
8. *'sen uzï-nï yülïr-mi, sen uzï-nï ɕuŋna-ɣa maŋ!' ti-ɣintï.*
9. *'sen pïr tʰulïm-ïʂ-ki sal-ïwat-qaʂ-ya, uzï-nï, tʰelk-tin miɕa aʰɕ-ïwat-qaʂ-ya sen maŋ,' ti-ɣintï.*
10. *antaqanta-la maŋ-qantï.*

1. west steppe-ABL come-NARev Sichı.Khachı-ABL
2. then-PCL1 ancestor-PCL1 name-ADJ become-CSIM way-LOC remain-NEG-PAST
3. one old person-ACC bag-IN-DAT put-CCO walk-NARev
4. self-ACC throw.away-NEG
5. this time-LOC make.war-CCO-PCL2 altogether weak walk/CSIM cannot-PHAB person kill-FIN-NARev
6. who-PCL2 if old-JINGLE that/EQU walk/CSIM cannot-PHAB person throw.away-COND not.done
7. this old person daughter-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
8. you self-ACC kill-NEG you self-ACC put.in.a.bag-CCO walk say-NARev
9. you one bag-IN-DAT put-FIN-CCO-PCL1 self-ACC hole-ABL little open-FIN-CCO-PCL1 you walk say-NARev
10. then-PCL2 walk-NARev

1. [We] came from the western steppe, from Shichı Khachı.
2. Then [our] ancestor, being famous, did not remain behind along the way.
3. They set off having put one old man into a bag.
4. 'Don't throw me away,' [had the old man said].
5. [Because] at this time, after they had made war, they killed all the weak people who were not able to walk.
6. Whoever throws away an old and so, such a person who is not able to walk, this is not done.
7. This old person said to his daughter:
8. 'Don't you kill me, put me in a bag and set off,' he said.
9. '[Just] you put me into a bag, make a bit of a hole [in it], and set off,' he said.
10. Then they set off.

[1] Recorded by Zhōng Jìnwén, 1992 in Mínghuā. For other versions, cf Malov 1967: 210-211 № 205, and Tenišev 1976: 226 № 1, and 1976 230-232 № 3. There also exists a sung version.

11. *mʊ: am-ya kïsï-lir mʊ::, mal, kïsï - ïʂkïʂ yoq pu-ɣantʊ.*
12. *ni-ma su yoq oʰt yoq yer-ɣi eʰt-kintï.*
13. *antaqanta-ya pu vka qïz-ïŋ-qa ʂïwïra-ɣantï: 'ni yer-ɣi eʰt-ïptï?'*
14. *'e, am-la emen-ya taˣs-tïɣ yer-ɣi eʰt-ïttï.*
15. *ni-ma yoq-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
16. *'am-la su yoq yer-ɣi eʰt-ïptʊ.'*
17. *'am-la sen kʰer puqa-nï pʰorn-ïŋ-qa sal,' ti-ɣintï.*
18. *am-ya kʰer puqa-sïn sal-ɣantï.*
19. *mʊ mʊ-la iskinn-ʊ sal-ɣantʊ, pïr soqa-lïɣ tïp-ti.*
20. *antaqanta-la: 'am no-ttï?' ti-ɣintï.*
21. *'am kʰer puqa pïr soqa tïp-ti iskinn-ʊtï.'*
22. *'antasa-la qaz! anta selir-ɣi su un-kïʂtï.'*
23. *antaqanta-ya qaz-ɣanta-la su un-ïk ki-ɣintʊ.*

11. walk/CSIM now-PCL1 person-PL walk/CSIM livestock person food not.present become-NARev
12. what-PCL3 water not.present grass not.present place-DAT arrive-NARev
13. then-PCL1 this old.man daughter-POS3-DAT whisper-NARev what place-DAT arrive-PASTev
14. EXCL now-PCL2 all.over-PCL1 stone-ADJ place-DAT arrive-PASTev
15. what-PCL3 not.present-EV say-NARev
16. now-PCL2 water not.present place-DAT arrive-PASTev
17. now-PCL2 you yellow bull-ACC front-POS3-DAT release say-NARev
18. now-PCL1 yellow bull-POS3ACC release-NARev
19. walk/CSIM walk/CSIM-PCL2 scrape.with.the.hoof-CSIM put-NARev one soqa.grass-ADJ base-LOC
20. then-PCL2 now what.be-PASTev say-NARev
21. now yellow bull one soqa.grass base-LOC scrape.with.the.hoof-PROGev
22. in.that.case-PCL2 dig there you/PL-DAT water come.out-FUTev
23. then-PCL1 dig-CTMP-PCL2 water come.out-CON come-NARev

11. While the people walked and walked, the livestock, the people, [well], the food ran out.
12. They arrived at a place without water, without grass.
13. Then this old man whispered to his daughter: 'What place have [we] arrived at?'
14. 'Eh, now, [we] have arrived at a place that is stoney all over.
15. There is nothing,' she said.
16. 'Now [we] have arrived at a place without water.'
17. 'Now you release the yellow bull in front,' he said.
18. Then she released her yellow bull.
19. It walked and walked, and started scraping with its hoofs at the root of [some] soqa-grass.
20. Then [the old man] said: 'Now what happened?'
21. 'Now the yellow bull is scraping with its hoofs at the root of the soqa-grass.'
22. 'In that case, dig! There, water will come out for you.'
23. Then, when they dug, water came out.

24. *kïsï ïʂ-kiʂ-la mal-lar-nï suɣar-ɣa kïsï-lir eni maŋ-qantï.*
25. *antaqanta-la eni mʊ: eni mʊ-la antaqanta-la kïsï-ɣi ïʂkïʂ-ma yoq pu-ɣantï.*
26. *am-la eni ayt-qantï: 'am naɣʂ-e?'*
27. *'niɕik yer-ɣi eʰt-ïptï?' ti-ɣintï.*
28. *'am-la qïlɕïq-qalɕïq yiz-tïɣ, antaɣ yer-ɣi eʰt-ïptʊ, uʰʂ yol* [..] *qïlɕïq-qalɕïq yiz.'*[2]
29. *antasa-la qʰar kïsï-sï: 'e, am-la mïz iˢɕikï toz-qïʂtʊ.*
30. *am-la mïz yaʰʂ yer-ɣi eʰt-ïttï.'*
31. *antaqanta-ya ɕayükuan-tan perï un-ïttï, ɕouɕʰüɛn-qa eʰt-ïptï.*
32. *qʰïti-nïŋ yer-tï ti-k ki-si-ya.*
33. *o sat-ta yoɣïr kïsï taʰqï qʰïti-nï pïl-mis-i-tï.*
34. *antaqanta-ya pu yoɣïr kïsï-lir kuʂtïɣ ɕʰa iˢɕ-ʊ ïsïk kʰaŋ-ta uz-ʊ tuʰtïn taʰrt-ʊ, antaqanta-la pu qʰïti-lar qoʰrq-qa qayla-s-qantʊ.*

24. person drink-CCO-PCL2 livestock-PL-ACC water-CCO person-PL again walk-NARev
25. then-PCL2 again walk/CSIM again walk/CSIM-PCL2 then-PCL2 person-DAT food-PCL3 not.present become-NARev
26. now-PCL2 again ask-NARev now what.do/FUT-COP
27. what.sort place-DAT arrive-PASTev say-NARev
28. now-PCL2 crooked-JINGLE track-ADJ that/EQU place-DAT arrive-PASTev three road [..] crooked-JINGLE track
29. in.that.case-PCL2 old person-POS3 EXCL now-PCL2 we intestines eat.one's.fill-FUTev
30. now-PCL2 we good place-DAT arrive-PASTev
31. then-PCL1 Jiāyùguān-ABL hither come.out-PASTev Jiǔquán-DAT arrive-PASTev
32. Chinese-GEN place-EV say-CON come-COND-PCL1
33. that time-LOC Yugur person yet Chinese-ACC know-HABN-COP-EV
34. then-PCL1 this Yugur person-PL strong tea drink-CSIM warm kang-LOC sleep-CSIM tobacco pull-CSIM then-PCL2 this Chinese-PL fear-CCO run-REC-NARev

24. The people drank, they watered the livestock, and the people set off again.
25. Then, as they again walked and walked, the people ran out of food [again].
26. Now she asked again: 'Now what to do?'
27. 'What sort of place have [we] arrived at?' he said.
28. 'Now, [we] have arrived at such a place, having a crooked and bent track, [a] three roads [..] crooked and bent track.'
29. As that was the case, her old man [said]: 'Eh, now we will eat our fill.
30. Now we have arrived at a good place.'
31. Then they came out hither from Jiāyùguān and reached Jiǔquán.
32. It was the place of the Chinese, so to speak.
33. At that time the Yugur did not know the Chinese yet.
34. Then, [because] these Yugur people drank strong tea, slept on the hot kang, and smoked tobacco, these Chinese ran away together for fear.

[2] The three tracks are from the two wheels of a cart and the horse pulling it.

35. *'e:, lioputï! ot taʰrt-ïq qʰa-ɣan ot-tïŋ üzi-ki uzï-q qʰa-ɣan, antaqʊɣan kïsï-lir ki-ttï,' ti-ɣintʊ.*
36. *'pu-ya tançin kïsï-tï!' ti-ɣintï.*
37. *qʰïti-lar qayla-s-qantï.*
38. *antaqanta-ya qʰïti-lar qayla-s-qanta-ya pu kïsï-lir antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
39. *'sen uzï-lir-tin qoʰrq-pa.*
40. *uzï-lir qaytan qaytan ki-ɣin kïsï.*
41. *uzï-lir-ɣi ïşkïş-tin azur per, mal-lar-ya portaş-tan miça per,' ti-ɣintï.*
42. *antaqanta-ya art-tan perï maŋ-a maŋ-a qʰal-ɣantʊ.*
43. *ah, pïrmisï-ya mïnta qʰal-ɣantï, pïrmisï-ya tʰaɣ-ïş-ki*[3] *hanï-ɣantʊ.*

35. EXCL awful fire pull-CON fall-PP fire-GEN upside-DAT sleep-CON fall-PP such person-PL come-PASTev say-NARev
36. this-PCL1 awesome person-EV say-NARev
37. Chinese-PL run-REC-NARev
38. then-PCL1 Chinese-PL run-REC-CTMP-PCL1 this person-PL that/EQU say-NARev
39. you self-PL-ABL fear-NEG
40. self-PL whence whence come-PP person
41. self-PL-DAT food-ABL little give livestock-PL-DAT fodder-ABL little give say-NARev
42. then-PCL1 west-ABL hither walk-CREP walk-CREP remain-NARev
43. EXCL some-PCL1 this/LOC remain-NARev some-PCL1 mountain-IN-DAT go-NARev

35. 'Eh, awful! People who smoke fire and sleep on fire, such people have arrived,' they said.
36. 'These are awesome people!' they said.
37. The Chinese ran away together.
38. Then, when the Chinese ran away together, these [Yugur] people said thus:
39. 'Don't you fear us!
40. We are people who came from such and such a place.
41. [Just] give a bit of food to us, give a bit of fodder for the livestock,' they said.
42. Then they kept walking and walking hither from the west.
43. Ah, some remained here, some went into the mountains.

[3] This is the mountainous Dàhé District.

14. Semsehlchın

told and sung by ĀN XIŪZHĒNG[1]

1. *pïʰtïr oːriʰkel ïʂkï ɕazï par-i-tï.*
2. *pïr-ïn-ti pïr ʑiɣït par-i-tï.*
3. *pu ɕazï-nïŋ ana-ʰsï ʑiɣït-ïŋ-ki yaʰʂ-i-tï, kʰeln-ïŋ-ki yaʰʂ-i-tï.*
4. *eni pïr ɕazï ʑiɣït-ïŋ-ki pusasiŋa, kʰeln-ïŋ-ki-ma ʐïq-i-tï.*
5. *antaqanta-ya pïr kʰun-ki eʰt-kinti-ya aʰtïs-qïla maŋ-qantʊ, tʰaɣ art-qa.*
6. *antaqanta aʰtïs-qïla maŋ-qanta-ya naqï pïr ɕazï ʑiɣït-ïŋ-ki aʰt-tï mïn-tïr-ɣi pʰo-sïn man-tïr-ɣa qïlïʂ-ïn man-tïr-ɣa, naqï maŋ-qantï.*
7. *pu pïr ɕazï aʰt-tï mïn-tïr-min kʊ qayla-ɣa maŋ-qantï.*
8. *antaqanta-ya kʊ kuziɣï-sï kʰeln-ïŋ-ki antaɣ ti-ɣintï:*
9. *'uzï amsa taŋqar eʰrti maɣn.*
10. *taŋqar sen uzï-nï qar-ʊ - uᵠtïr-ta pïr tʰaɣ par-i-tʊ.*

1. long.ago year.before.last two family present-COP-EV
2. one-POS3-LOC one young.man present-COP-EV
3. this family-GEN mother-POS3 young.man-POS3-DAT good-COP-EV wife-POS3-DAT good-COP-EV
4. again one family young.man-POS3-DAT bad wife-POS3-DAT-PCL3 bad-COP-EV
5. then-PCL1 one day-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL1 make.war-CPUR walk-NARev mountain backside-DAT
6. then make.war-CPUR walk-CTMP-PCL1 yonder one family young.man-POS3-DAT horse-ACC mount-CAUS-CCO rifle-POS3ACC wear-CAUS-CCO sword-POS3ACC wear-CAUS-CCO yonder walk-NARev
7. this one family horse-ACC mount-CAUS-CN DEM run-CCO walk-NARev
8. then-PCL1 DEM husband-POS3 wife-POS3-DAT that/EQU say-NARev
9. self anyway morning early walk/IMP1sg
10. morning you self-ACC look-CSIM frontside-LOC one mountain present-COP-EV

1. Once upon a time, a long time ago, there were two families.
2. In one of them there was a young man.
3. This family's mother was good to her son, she was good to his wife.
4. [The mother of] yonder family was bad to her son, she was bad to his wife too.
5. Then, one day, the [young men] set off to make war behind the mountains.
6. Then when they set off to make war, after yonder one family let their son mount a horse, let him wear his rifle and let him wear his sword, he went.
7. This one family did not let [their son] mount a horse, he set off running.
8. Then this husband of her said thus to his wife:
9. 'Anyway, let me set off early in the morning.
10. In the morning, while you watch me - there is a mountain in front.

[1] Recorded by Zhōng Jìnwén, 1992 in Mínghuā. For other variants, cf Malov 1967: 175-179 № 167, 1967: 179 № 168, and 1967: 179-181 № 169.

11. *pu tʰaɣwaʂ-qa eʰt-kinti-la sen uzï-nï köʰr-si uzï kil-ʊ ɕïta-ʂtʊ.*
12. *kör-mi-si uzï kil-ʊ yata-ʂtʊ.'*
13. *antaqanta-ya pu maŋ-qantï.*
14. *maŋ-ʊ-ya tʰaɣwaʂ-qa ɕaŋ-ya oyla-ɣan-tan-ya pʰorn qazna-sï ti-ɣin-nï aŋna-wat-qantï:*
15. *'wei, sut tasï-p par-ʊtï!'*
16. *ɕintʰou-ya kʰeln-ï sut-ïn al-uʰt-qanta-ya aˣs-xanï-ɣantʊ, kuziɣï-sï.*
17. *antaqanta-ya pu kʰeln-ï yilɣa-ɣantï, am teylï kör-ɣïmistï.*
18. *antaqanta-ya pïr ʑil o-ɣantʊ, aʰtïs-qaʂ-la.*
19. *emeːn mal-lar pozta-s-qanta-la ɕʰi-lir-nïŋ unkin pozta-s-qa: aʰt oɣur-nïŋ-ya aʰt-tar pozta-s-qa qoy-lar maŋra-s-qa kus-tir oryïla-s-qa antaqanta pïr pʰozï pïr pʰozï yoz-ɣantʊ.*
20. *yoz-ɣanta-ya kʰeln-ï ayt-qantʊ, kïsï-lir-ɣi kuziɣï-sïn:*

11. this mountain.top-DAT arrive-CTMP-PCL2 you self-ACC see-COND self come-CSIM can-FUTev
12. look-NEG-COND self come-CSIM cannot-FUTev
13. then-PCL1 this walk-NARev
14. walk-CSIM-PCL1 mountain.top-DAT just-PCL1 approach-PP-ABL-PCL1 before mother.in.law-POS3 say-PP-ACC hear-FIN-NARev
15. quick milk overflow-CON go-PROGev
16. by.the.time-PCL1 wife-POS3 milk-POS3ACC take-COM-CTMP-PCL1 cross-TER-NARev husband-POS3
17. then-PCL1 this wife-POS3 cry-NARev now certainly see-FUTNev
18. then-PCL1 one year become-NARev make.war-CCO-PCL2
19. all.over livestock-PL bellow-REC-CTMP-PCL2 camel-PL-GEN female.camel bellow-REC-CCO horse herd-GEN-PCL1 horse-PL bellow-REC-CCO sheep-PL bleat-REC-CCO bovine-PL shout-REC-CCO then one herd one herd pass-NARev
20. pass-CTMP-PCL1 wife-POS3 ask-NARev person-PL-DAT husband-POS3ACC

11. If you see me when I reach this mountain top, I will be able to come back.
12. If [you] do not see [me], I will not be able to come back.'
13. Then he set off.
14. He walked, and just before he approached the mountain top, [his wife] heard her mother-in-law saying:
15. 'Quick, the milk is flowing over!'
16. By the time when his wife had taken away her milk, her husband had crossed [the top].
17. Then this wife of his cried, [for] now she certainly would not see [him again].
18. Then one year passed, as they were making war.
19. When all over the livestock were bellowing together, [when] the females of the camels were bellowing together, the horses of the horseherd were bellowing together, the sheep were bleating together, the cows were shouting together, then she passed herd after herd.
20. When she passed, his wife asked the people about her husband:

21. *'semseʰlɕïn ay, semseʰlɕïn, aʰt-tar, ɕʰi:-lir kïsti-s-itrʊ.*
22. *qʰulïm mïnïŋ iʰɕ-in-ti par mʊ?' ti-ɣintï.*
23. *'qʰulïm mïnïŋ*[2] *yoq-tʊ, tʰaɣ art-ta ʂaŋ teyla-ɣa qʰaʰl-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
24. *antaqanta eni aʰt, ɕʰi, unkin-nir pozta-s-ʊ: 'maqʰe mïnïŋ iˢɕ-in-ti par mʊ?' ti-ɣintï.*
25. *'yoq-tʊ, tʰaɣ art-ta ʂaŋ teyla-ɣa qʰaʰl-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
26. *antaqanta-ya kʰeln-ï niɣïl-ɣantʊ, tïlïsti-ɣintʊ, yiŋïr-ɣa:*
27. *kuziɣï-sï ʂaŋ teyla-ɣa ki-mistï, neraq-ïn-ta-qï oɣïl-ï-ya ki-ɣin.*
28. *antaqʊ tïlïsti-ɣintï.*
29. *antaqanta sosïkïn-ya kʰeln-ï ayt-ʊ: 'ki-ʂ-e?' amsa 'yoq-tï,' ti-ɣintʊ, 'ʂaŋ teyla-ɣa qʰa-ttï.'*
30. *antaqanta qazna-sïŋ-qa yerla-ɣantʊ.*

21. Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın horse-PL camel-PL neigh-REC-DUB
22. foal this/GEN inside-POS3-LOC present Q say-NARev
23. foal this/GEN not.present-EV mountain backside-LOC wound be.wounded-CCO remain-PAST say-NARev
24. then again horse camel female.camel-PL bellow-REC-CSIM camel.foal this/GEN inside-POS3-LOC present Q say-NARev
25. not.present-EV mountain backside-LOC wound be.wounded-CCO remain-PAST say-NARev
26. then-PCL1 wife-POS3 what.do-NARev dream-NARev evening-DAT
27. husband-POS3 wound be.wounded-CCO come-DUBN yonder.side-POS3-LOC-KI son-POS3-PCL1 come-PNAR
28. thus dream-NARev
29. then next.day-PCL1 wife-POS3 ask-CSIM come-FUT-COP anyway not.present-EV say-NARev wound be.wounded-CCO remain-PASTev
30. then mother.in.law-POS3-DAT sing-NARev

21. 'Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın, the horses, the camels are neighing together.
22. Is he among the foals?' she said.
23. 'He is not among the foals, he remained behind the mountains because he is wounded,' they said.
24. Then again the horses, the camels, the female camels bellowed together: 'Is he among the camel foals?' she said.
25. 'He is not, he remained behind the mountains because he is wounded,' they said.
26. Then his wife, she whatsit, she had a dream during the evening.
27. Her husband could not come back because he was wounded, [but] the son of yonder [family] came back.
28. Thus she dreamt.
29. Then the next day, as his wife asked: 'Will he [truly] come?' anyway, they said: 'He is not there, he remained behind because he is wounded.'
30. Then she sung to her mother-in-law:

[2] Unclear; in Malov (1967: 176) this passage reads *maqe moinnïʁ sem selčin, mïnïŋ ičinte parïm o*? 'Semsehlchin with the camel foal neck, is he among these?'

31. *(pʰorn-ta-la ʨʊ-ɣa aʰtïs-qïla maŋ-qan-titʊ, ʨʊ-ɣa).*
32. *'aɣïl-nïŋ aʰt-ï ʨʊ-ɣa maŋ-ʊ qʰaʰr-tï.*
33. *senïŋ aʰt-ïŋ* [..][3] *qʰaʰr-tï.*
34. *seŋ ʑiɣït ʂaŋ teyla-ɣa qʰa-ttï.'*
35. *antaqanta-ya aɣïl-nïŋ oɣïl-ï ki-ɣintʊ.*
36. *ki-ɣinti-ya kïsï ki-ɣintï.*
37. *pu-ya ʂaŋ teyla-ɣa qʰal-ɣantï.*
38. *antaqanta-ya pu anika-ya ti-ɣintï: 'uzï tïlïsti-ʰtï:*
39. *meŋ oɣïl keʰl-tï, aɣïl-nïŋ oɣïl-ï ki-ɣïmistï.*
40. *meŋ oɣïl pʰeɣïr tʰenaɣ kʰeɣïʰr-tï.*
41. *men peʰk-i peʰk-i yi-ʰtï, antaqʊ tïlïsti-ʰtï.*
42. *aɣïl-nïŋ oɣïl-ï qʰarn tʰenaɣ kʰeɣïr-ttï.*
43. *qʰar-i qʰar-i ʑi-vtï, ki-ɣïmistï.'*
44. *antaqanta-ya sosïkïn, ïʂkï kʰun o-ɣanta-la aɣïl-nïŋ oɣïl-ï ʨïntï ki-ɣintʊ.*

31. before-LOC-PCL2 Lhasa-DAT make.war-CPUR walk-NARev Lhasa-DAT
32. neighbour-GEN horse-POS3 Lhasa-DAT walk-CSIM be.old-PAST
33. you/GEN horse-POS1/2 [..] be.old-PAST
34. you/GEN young.man wound be.wounded-CCO remain-PASTev
35. then-PCL1 neighbour-GEN son-POS3 come-NARev
36. come-CTMP-PCL1 person come-NARev
37. this-PCL1 wound be.wounded-CCO remain-NARev
38. then-PCL1 this old.woman-PCL1 say-NARev self dream-PAST
39. me/GEN son come-PAST neighbour-GEN son-POS3 come-FUTNev
40. me/GEN son kidney fat bring-PAST
41. I eat.with.taste-CREP eat.with.taste-CREP eat-PAST thus dream-PAST
42. neighbour-GEN son-POS3 stomach fat bring-PASTev
43. choke-CREP choke-CREP eat-PROGev come-FUTNev
44. then-PCL1 next.day two day become-CTMP-PCL2 neighbour-GEN son-POS3 really come-NARev

31. (Before, they had set off to Lhasa to make war, to Lhasa.)
32. 'The neighbour's horse has grown old while going to Lhasa.
33. Your horse has grown old while [..].
34. Your son remained behind because he is wounded.'
35. Then the neighbour's son came back.
36. When he came back, the man came back.
37. This [Semsehlchın] remained behind because he was wounded.
38. Then this old woman said: 'I dreamt:
39. My son came back, the neighbour's son would not come back.
40. My son brought kidney fat.
41. I ate with taste, so I dreamt.
42. The neighbour's son brought stomach fat.
43. He was eating while choking, he would not come back.'
44. Then the next day, two days passed, and the neighbour's son really came back.

[3] Unclear; in Malov (1967: 179) this passage reads *paʁda paʁlau* 'being tied to a tether.'

45. *aʰt-ïn mïn-ʊ kïsï kïlap pol-ɣa ki-ɣintï.*
46. *antaqanta naqï semseʰlɕïn-nï ayt-qanta-ya 'semseʰlɕïn tʰaɣ art-ta ʂaŋ teyla-ɣa qʰaʰl-tï,' ti-ɣintï.*
47. *antaqanta-ya pu kʰeln-ï ti-ɣin: 'uzï par-in,' ti-ɣintʊ.*
48. *qazna-sï ti-ɣin: 'uzï par-in,' ti-ɣintʊ.*
49. *pu kʰeln-ï par-ɣan pu-sa taʰqï kuziɣï-sïn ɕula-ʍat-ïk ki-ʂtï.*
50. *ɕɛkuo-la pu qazna-sï tʰoʂan pïrmi-i-tï, par-ɣaʂ-ya.*
51. *iɕʰi: ton, paʰʂ-tan azaq-qa iɕʰi al-ïŋ-qa maŋ-ïttï.*
52. *o sat-ta pulɣar ʂü kiz-ʊtï.*
53. *ɕinaq, kizkï, ton iɕʰi al-ïŋ-qa maŋ-qantï.*
54. *antaqanta-ya kʰeln-ï qʰal-ɣantï.*
55. *qazna-sï par-ɣaʂ-ya antaqanta yerla-ɣantï, ziɣït-ïŋ-ki:*
56. *'semseʰlɕïn ay, semseʰlɕïn, saɣa kiz-ir ton kʰer-ttï.*
57. *kiz-ir kʰama-ŋ par mʊ?' ti-ɣintï.*

45. horse-POS3ACC mount-CSIM person strong become-CCO come-NARev
46. then yonder Semsehlchın-ACC ask-CTMP-PCL1 Semsehlchın mountain backside-LOC wound be.wounded-CCO remain-PAST say-NARev
47. then-PCL1 this wife-POS3 say-PNAR self go-IMP1sg say-NARev
48. mother.in.law-POS3 say-PNAR self go-IMP1sg say-NARev
49. this wife-POS3 go-PP become-COND still husband-POS3ACC rescue-FIN-CON come-FUTev
50. finally-PCL2 this mother.in.law-POS3 bad somebody-COP-EV go-CCO-PCL1
51. altogether dress head-ABL foot-DAT altogether take-RFL-CCO walk-PASTev
52. that time-LOC leather boot wear-PROGev
53. cup clothes garment altogether take-RFL-CCO walk-NARev
54. then-PCL1 wife-POS3 remain-NARev
55. mother.in.law-POS3 go-CCO-PCL1 then sing-NARev young.man-POS3-DAT
56. Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın you/DAT dress-PFUT garment bring-PASTev
57. dress-PFUT power-POS1/2 present Q say-NARev

45. Because he was strong, being mounted on his horse, he came back.
46. Then, when she asked about Semsehlchın, he said: 'Semsehlchın remained behind the mountains because he is wounded.'
47. Then this wife of his said: 'Let me go.'
48. Her mother-in-law said: 'Let me go.'
49. If this wife of his would have gone, she could still have rescued her husband.
50. Finally, this mother-in-law of her was a bad one, and she went.
51. She set off taking along a garment, all [belongings] from head to foot.
52. In that time they wore leather boots.
53. She set off taking along a cup, clothes and a garment together.
54. Then his wife remained behind.
55. After her mother-in-law went away, then she sang to her son:
56. 'Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın, she brought you a garment to put on.
57. Do you have the power to get dressed?' she said.

58. *'kiz-ir kʰama-ŋ yoq-tʊ.*
59. *aʰrqa-sï quzï tala-wat, nisar ton pol-ɣe,' ti-ɣintï.*
60. *'sem seʰlɕïn ay, sem seʰlɕïn, saɣa pulɣar ɕü kʰer-ttï.*
61. *kiz-ir kʰama-ŋ par mʊ?' ti-ɣintï.*
62. *'kiz-ir kʰama-ŋ yoq-tʊ.*
63. *azaq-ï quzï sal-ïwat, nisar ɕü pol-ɣe,' ti-ɣintï.*
64. *'semseʰlɕïn ay, semseʰlɕïn, saɣa aʰltïm ɕinaq kʰer-ttï.*
65. *tuann-ir kʰama-ŋ par mʊ?' ti-ɣintï.*
66. *'tuann-ir kʰama-ŋ yoq-tʊ.*
67. *paʰɕ-ï quzï sal-ïwat, nisar ɕinaq pol-ɣe,' ti-ɣintï.*
68. *antaqanta eni yerl-ʊ ʑiɣït-ïn ɕʰïla-t-qa yülïr-ïwat-qa ki-ɣintï.*
69. *antaqanta antan soŋ-ya kïsï yüʰl-si nisar per-ʊtï.*
70. *am antaɣ ɕikuan-ma yoq-tï.*

58. dress-PFUT power-POS1/2 not.present-EV
59. back-POS3 down hang-FIN souvenir garment become-IMP3 say-NARev
60. Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın you/DAT leather boot bring-PASTev
61. dressed-PFUT power-POS1/2 present Q say-NARev
62. dressed-PFUT power-POS1/2 not.present-EV
63. foot-POS3 down put-FIN souvenir boot become-IMP3 say-NARev
64. Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın you/DAT gold cup bring-PASTev
65. hold.in.both.hands-PFUT power-POS1/2 present Q say-NARev
66. hold.in.both.hands-PFUT power-POS1/2 not.present-EV
67. head-POS3 down put-FIN souvenir cup become-IMP3 say-NARev
68. then again sing-CSIM young.man-POS3ACC be.angry-CAUS-CCO kill-FIN-CCO come-NARev
69. then that/ABL after-PCL1 person die-COND souvenir give-PROGev
70. now that/EQU habit-PCL3 not.present-EV

58. 'I do not have the power to get dressed.
59. Put [it] down at her back, let it be a souvenir garment,' he said.
60. 'Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın, she brought you leather boots.
61. Do you have the power to put [them] on?' she said.
62. 'I do not have the power to put [them] on.
63. Put [them] down at her feet, let it be souvenir boots,' he said.
64. 'Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın, she brought you a golden cup.
65. Do you have the power to hold it in both hands?' she said.
66. 'I do not have the power to hold it in both hands.
67. Put it down at her head, let it be a souvenir cup,' he said.
68. Then while she sang again, she made her son so angry that she killed him, and [then] she came back.
69. Then afterwards, if a person dies, they give a souvenir.
70. Now there is no such habit [anymore].

1. *wey wey wey semseʰlɻïn ay, semseʰlɻïn*
   aɣïl-nïŋ oɣïl-ï pʰeɣïr tʰenaɣ kʰeɣïr-ttʊ, peʰk-i peʰk-i yitʊ
   senïŋ oɣïl qʰarn tʰenaɣ kʰeɣïr-ttï, qʰar-i qʰar-i yitʊ
2. *wey wey wey semseʰlɻïn ay, semseʰlɻïn*
   unkin-nir pozta-s-ʊ maqʰe mïnïŋ iˢɕ-in-ti par mʊ?
3. *wey wey wey wey semseʰlɻïn ay, semseʰlɻïn*
   pʰi-lir oryïla-s-ʊ qʰulïm mïnïŋ iˢɕ-in-ti par mʊ?
4. *qʰulïm mïnïŋ iˢɕ-in-ti yoq-tʊ, tʰaɣ art-ta ʂaŋ teyla-ɣa qʰaʰl-tï*
   (mïnï yerl-ʊyoqtʊ, antaɣ ti-ʊtï)
5. *wey wey wey semseʰlɻïn ay, semseʰlɻïn*
   saq-tar maŋra-s-ʊ qozï mïnïŋ iˢɕ-in-ti par mʊ?

1. EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın
   neighbour-GEN son-POS3 kidney fat bring-PASTev eat.with.taste-CREP
   eat.with.taste-CREP eat/DUB
   you/GEN son stomach fat bring-PASTev choke-CREP choke-CREP eat/DUB
2. EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın
   female.camel-PL bellow-REC-CSIM camel.foal this/GEN inside-POS3-LOC
   present Q
3. EXCL EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın
   mare-PL shout-REC-CSIM foal this/GEN inside-POS3-LOC present Q
4. foal this/GEN inside-POS3-LOC not.present-EV mountain backside-LOC
   wound be.wounded-CCO remain-PAST
   this/ACC sing-PROGNev that/EQU say-PROGev
5. EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın
   ewe-PL bleat-REC-CSIM lamb this/GEN inside-POS3-LOC present Q

1. Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın
   The neighbour's son brought kidney fat, he would eat with taste
   Your son brought stomach fat, he would eat while choking
2. Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın
   The female camels are bellowing together, is he among the camel foals?
3. Wey, wey, wey, wey, Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın
   The mares are shouting together, is he among the foals?
4. He is not among the foals, he remained behind the mountains because he is wounded.
   (this they do not sing, they are saying it like that)
5. Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın
   The ewes are bleating together, is he among the lambs?

6. *wey wey wey semseʰlɕïn ay, semseʰlɕïn*
aɣïl-nïŋ aʰt-ï ɕʊ-ɣa maŋ-ʊ qʰaʰr-tï
senïŋ aʰt-ïŋ [..] *qʰaʰr-tï*
7. *semseʰlɕïn ay, semseʰlɕïn*
8. *wey wey wey semseʰlɕïn ay, semseʰlɕïn*
tawar ton kʰeɣïʰr-tï, kiz-ir kʰama-ŋ par mʊ?
kiz-ir kʰama-ŋ yoq-tʊ, aʰrqa-sï quzï sal-ïwat, nisar ton pol-ɣe
9. *wey wey wey semseʰlɕïn ay, semseʰlɕïn*
pulɣar sü kʰeɣïʰr-tï, kiz-ir kʰama-ŋ par mʊ?
kiz-ir kʰama-ŋ yoq-tʊ, azaq-ï quzï sal-ïwat, nisar sü pol-ɣe
10. *wey wey semseʰlɕïn ay, semseʰlɕïn*
kumïs ɕinaq kʰeɣïʰr-tï, tuann-ir kʰama-ŋ par mʊ?
tuann-ir kʰama-ŋ yoq-tʊ, paʰɕ-ï quzï sal-ïwat, nisar ɕinaq [*pol-ɣe*]

6. EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın
neighbour-GEN horse-POS3 Lhasa-DAT walk-CSIM be.old-PAST
you/GEN horse-POS1/2 [..] be.old-PAST
7. Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın
8. EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın
silk garment bring-PAST dress-PFUT power-POS1/2 present Q
dress-PFUT power-POS1/2 not.present-EV back-POS3 down put-FIN
souvenir garment become-IMP3
9. EXCL EXCL EXCL Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın
leather boot bring-PAST dress-PFUT power-POS1/2 present Q
dress-PFUT power-POS1/2 not.present-EV foot-POS3 down put-FIN
souvenir boot become-IMP3
10. EXCL EXCL Semsehlchın EXCL Semsehlchın
silver cup bring-PAST hold.in.both.hands-PFUT power-POS1/2 present Q
hold.in.both.hands-PFUT power-POS1/2 not.present-EV head-POS3 down
put-FIN souvenir cup [become-IMP3]

6. Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın
The neighbour's horse grew old while going to Lhasa,
Your horse grew old while [..]
7. Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın
8. Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın
[She] brought you a silk garment, do you have the power to get dressed?
I do not have the power to get dressed, put it down at her back
Let it be a souvenir garment
9. Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın
[She] brought you leather boots, do you have the power to put [them] on?
I do not have the power to put [them] on, put [them] down at her feet
Let it be souvenir boots
10. Wey, wey, wey, Semsehlchın, ay, Semsehlchın
[She] brought you a silver cup, do you have the power to hold it in both hands?
I do not have the power to hold it in both hands, put it down at her head
[Let it be] a souvenir cup

15. A Yugur Girl I am

A WESTERN YUGUR FOLK SONG

sung by HÈ YÍNXÌNG[1]

1. *eː, yoɣïr qïztar men yer-e*
   eː, yoɣïr qïztar-ɣa yer war-e
   ʨʰoʨaŋ pʰerïk-tï men man-ʊ
   eː, ʨis marʨɛn-nï men man-ʊ
2. *eː, ala enik-tï men saɣ-ʊ*
   eː, iˢp yörmi-nï men yiɣïr-ʊ
3. *eː, ʨünkʰin tʰala-ta men maŋ-ʊ*
   eː, örliɣ tʰaɣwaʂ-qa men un-ʊ
   sen ʨïta-ɣan-nï men-ma ʨïta-ʂ
   eː, mïz-tir-ma maŋ-ʊ [..]-*inï*

1. EXCL Yugur girl I is-COP
   EXCL Yugur girl-DAT song present-COP
   pointed hat-ACC I wear-CSIM
   EXCL malachite coral-ACC I wear-CSIM
2. EXCL multicoloured cow-ACC I milk-CSIM
   EXCL rope braid-ACC I twist-CSIM
3. EXCL meadow plain-LOC I walk-CSIM
   EXCL high mountain.top-DAT I climb
   you can-PP-ACC I-PCL3 can-FUT
   EXCL we-PL-PCL3 walk-CSIM [..]-IMP1pl

1. Eeh, a Yugur girl I am
   Eeh, a Yugur girl has songs
   I wear a pointed felt hat
   Eeh, I wear malachite and coral

2. Eeh, I milk the multicoloured cows
   Eeh, I twist ropes and braids

3. Eeh, I walk on the meadow plains
   Eeh, I climb the high mountain tops
   What you can do I can do too
   Eeh, let us walk [..].

[1] Noted down September 1995 in Běijīng.

16. Milk Tea and Baked Buns

TWO WESTERN YUGUR RECIPES

cooked by XUÉLIǍN[1]

1. *sut ʨʰa-nï nayʊ horɣï-t-qaq-i?*
su-nï horɣï-t-qa ʨʰa-nï sal-ɣa eni miʨa horɣï-ɣa ʨʰa tus-kinti sut-tï quz.
eni miʨa horɣï-ɣa sut pïs-kinti-ya ker-ïʂ-ki tʰaqan-nï sal, ʨʰörmi-nï sal, taʰqï ʨiʊti, yaɣ, qʰayaq.
antaqanta sut ʨʰa-nï quz.

2. *soɣïl-ɣin kʰenzï*
tïs-tï ʐin uzin soɣïl-ɣi qïzar-ɣanta kʰenzï-nï et-ki iˢʂ-iŋ-ki sal-ɣa tïs-tïŋ qʰapaq-ï
qʰala-ɣa ʐin uzin kʰöm-ïwat-qa ʂï fïn ʨuŋ pol-ɣanta kʰenzï pïs-kïʂtï.

1. milk tea-ACC how boil-CAUS-HAB-COP
water-ACC boil-CAUS-CCO tea-ACC put-CCO again little boil-CCO tea
descend-CTMP milk-ACC pour
again little boil-CCO milk cook-CTMP-PCL1 bowl-IN-DAT
parched.flour-ACC put dried.cheese-ACC put also jujube butter cream
then milk tea-ACC pour

2. bake-PP bun
cauldron-ACC sheep.dung with heat.up-CCO be.red-CTMP bun-ACC make-CCO
inside-POS3-DAT put-CCO cauldron-GEN lid-POS3 use.as.cover-CCO sheep.dung
with bury-FIN-CCO ten minutes clock become-CTMP bun cook-FUTev

1. How to cook milk tea?
Boil water, put tea [in it]; when it again boils a bit and the tea [leaves] have sunk, pour milk [to it].
When it again boils a bit and the milk has cooked, put parched flour, put dried cheese into a bowl, and also jujubes, butter, and cream. Then pour the milk tea out.

2. Baked buns
Heat the cauldron up with sheep dung and when it is red hot, make the buns and put them in it, cover [it] with the lid of the cauldron and bury [the cauldron] using sheep dung, and when ten minutes have passed, the buns will be cooked.

[1] Noted down September 1995 in Běijīng.

17. Folk Wisdom

collected and told by ZHŌNG JÌNWÉN[1]

1. *ker yer-ɣi qʰal-sa qara tus-kïʂ.*
2. *kïsï-nïŋ köz-ti mal-nï sana-ma*[2].
3. *kʰuayzï-nï tïw-ïn-ti tuʰt-sa yaʰqïn-qa per-ïʂ, paʰʨ-ïn-ta tuʰt-sa uzaq-qa per-ïʂ.*
4. *kʰempiʂ yiʰp-tï hapta-mas: mïla toq-qanta kʰïntïk moyn-ta hora-q qʰa-ʂ.*
5. *mïla ay-nï ʨor-sa qʰulaq qʰal-xanï-ʂ.*
6. *mïla tïl yi-mis, yi-si söz köʰp.*
7. *mïʂ yüz yü-sa kʰeʨʰin ki-ʂ.*[3]
8. *yüʂ yer-ɣi qʰal-sa kʰeʨʰin ki-ʂ.*

1. cup ground-DAT fall-COND black fall-FUT
2. person-GEN eye-LOC livestock-ACC count-NEG
3. chopstick-ACC base-POS3-LOC hold-COND near-DAT give-FUT top-POS3-LOC hold-COND far-DAT give-FUT
4. woman rope-ACC step-HABN child be.born-CTMP umbilical.cord neck-LOC coil-CON fall-FUT
5. child moon-ACC point-COND ear fall-TER-FUT
6. child tongue eat-HABN eat-COND word many
7. cat face wash-COND guest come-FUT
8. towel ground-DAT fall-COND guest come-FUT

1. If a cup falls on the floor, bad luck will occur.
2. Do not count the livestock in the face of a[nother] person.
3. If [a woman] holds [her] chopsticks at the lower end, [her parents] will marry her off near, if she holds them at the top, [they] will marry her off far away.
4. A woman should not step on a rope: [for] when [her] child is born, the umbilical cord will strangle around [his] neck.
5. If a child points to the moon, [his] ears will fall off.
6. A child should not eat tongue, if he eats [it], [his] words will be many.
7. If the cat washes its face, a guest will come.
8. If a towel falls on the floor, a guest will come.

[1] Collected by Zhōng Jìnwén in 1992 in Mínghuā, noted down from him August 1994 in Leiden.

[2] For the livestock will decrease.

[3] Cf Malov 1967: 23 № 32.

18. Riddles

collected and told by ZHŌNG JÌNWÉN[1]

1. *tʰazmaq*
2. *pïr aq aʰt-tïŋ iʰçikï-ʂ-ti intaq taɣras-ïppar. pu ni-tï?*
   pu, yü-ʂ-ti kïsï-lir maŋqïra-s-ïppar (~ maŋqïra-s-ʊtʊ).[2]
3. *pïr aq ʂuku soqa-nï yörli yörli oʰt qus-ïppar. pu ni-tï?*
   pu, kïsï oʰt or-ʊtʊ (~ or-ïppar).[3]
4. *yotuŋ-ïʂ-tin ïʂkï yilan un-ïk ki-ttʊ. pu ni-tï?*
   pu, qarq-ïʂ-tin yirïŋ un-ïk ki-ttʊ.
5. *yü-nïŋ liaŋxua-ta pïr kʊkʰe par-i-tï. pu ni-tï?*
   pu, tiŋïr-ta-qï (~ tiŋïr-ti-kï) kʰun-tʊ.

1. riddle
2. one white horse-GEN intestines-IN-LOC equine.dung murmur-PROG
   this what-EV
   this house-IN-LOC person-PL talk-REC-PROG (~ talk-REC-PROGev)
3. one white goat soqa.grass-ACC walk.around/CREP walk.around/CREP grass
   vomit-PROG this what-EV
   this person grass mow-PROGev (~ mow-PROG)
4. cave-IN-ABL two snake come.out-CON come-PASTev this what-EV
   this nose-IN-ABL snot come.out-CON come-PASTev
5. house-GEN ceiling-LOC one pancake present-COP-EV this what-EV
   this sky-LOC-KI sun-EV

1. Riddles
2. In the intestines of a white horse, the horse dung is murmuring. What is this?
   This is: people talking together in the house.
3. A white goat, walking around and around the soqa-grass, is vomiting grass.
   What is this? This is: a person mowing grass.
4. Two snakes have come out from inside a cave. What is this?
   This is: snot having come out from inside the nose.
5. On the ceiling of the house is a pancake. What is this?
   This is the sun in the sky.

[1] Collected by Zhōng Jìnwén in 1992 in Mínghuā, recorded with him August 1994 in Leiden.

[2] Cf Tenišev 1976: 261 № 2.

[3] Cf Léi 1992: 274a, Malov 1967: 162 № 11, Malov 1967: 168 № 50, Tenišev 1976: 261 № 5.

19. Proverbs

collected and told by ZHŌNG JÌNWÉN[1]

1. *mal-nïŋ poz-ta aʰltïm aʰq-ïppar, kïsï-nïŋ poz-ta tʰer aʰq-ïppar.*
2. *yilan-nïŋ ala tas-ïn-ta par, kïsï-nïŋ ala iʰç-in-ti par.*
3. *enik yer lila-sa sïtïk köʰp, arɣaçï kïsï ïs tuʰt-sa söz köʰp.*
4. *qoy qʰora-ʂ-ti-kï çiɣin intaq pezïk közti-ɣik.*
5. *kus kus-tï suz-mi-si yaʰʂ kus emis.*
6. *ni yoq pu-sa-ma menik yoq pu-ma, ni paru-sa-ma kim paru-ma.*
7. *çar po-ɣa yoqqʰa-ɣan çʰi aʰt-tan pezïk.*
8. *yoq kïsï par, yoq tʰala yoq.*
9. *qoy çar pu-sa paʂ çar pu-mas.*

1. livestock-GEN body-LOC gold flow-PROG person-GEN body-LOC sweat flow-PROG
2. snake-GEN multicoloured outside-POS3-LOC present person-GEN multicoloured inside-POS3-LOC present
3. cow earth plough-COND urine much lazy person work do-COND word many
4. sheep pen-IN-LOC-KI donkey equine.dung big seem-HAB
5. bovine bovine-ACC butt-NEG-COND good bovine is.not
6. what not.present become-COND-PCL3 money not.present become-NEG what present/become-COND-PCL3 disease present/become-NEG
7. meagre become-CCO die-PP camel horse-ABL big
8. poor person present poor field not.present
9. sheep meagre become-COND head meagre become-HABN

1. On the body of livestock gold is flowing, on the body of people sweat is flowing.
2. The multicoloured[ness] of a snake is on its outside, the multicoloured[ness] of man is on his inside.
3. If a cow ploughs the earth, [its] urine is much, if a lazy person works, [his] words are many.
4. Donkey dung in a sheep's pen seems big.
5. If a cow does not butt a cow, it is not a good cow.
6. Whatever you may have not, do not have no money, whatever you may have, do not have disease.
7. A camel, having grown meagre and died, is [still] bigger than a horse.
8. There are poor people, there are no poor fields.
9. If a sheep becomes thin, its head does not become thin.

[1] The proverbs №s 1-34 were collected by Zhōng Jìnwén: №s 1-16 were recorded with him August 1994 in Leiden, and the other proverbs were noted down September 1995 in Běijīng. The variant forms, indicated by (a), and the №s 35-36 were told by Xuéliǎn. The №s 37-41 originate from older sources and were checked with Xuéliǎn. For further references to Western Yugur proverbs, cf Roos, Nugteren & Zhōng (forthcoming).

10. *kʰenzï-nïŋ oʰʂaq-qa toz-mas.*
11. *saqal-ta-qï semeŋ-ki toz-mas.*
12. *kïsï yüz-ki tïrlï-ppar, terik tïp-ki tïrlï-ppar.*
13. *ïʂt-tïŋ iʰçikï-ʂ-ti aq yaɣ sal-ïwal-mas.*
14. *ïʂt-tïŋ tïmsïɣ-ïʂ-ti yaɣan tïs un-mis.*
15. *ana-nïŋ köŋïl qïz-oɣïl-nïŋ poz-ta par, qïz-oɣïl-nïŋ köŋïl taˣs-ta par.*
16. *çʰi-nïŋ mion niçor uzun po-sa-ma tʰaɣ-nïŋ neraq-ïn-ta-qï oʰt-tï ʑi-v yata-ɣaq.*
16a. *çʰi-nïŋ moyn-ï ni-nïŋ uzun pu-sa-ma tʰaɣ-nïŋ neraq-ïn-ta-qï oʰt-tï yi-v yata-ʂ.*
17. *aʰt naɣv surnïk-si-ma qayla-sa çiɣin-tin oy-tï.*
18. *çiɣin intaq-tïŋ taʰs-ï kïltïŋ.*
19. *kïsï çʰoqe-sa lar un-ïk ki-ɣik, ïʂt çʰoqe-sa aʰrq un-ïk ki-ɣik.*
20. *kïsï-nïŋ al-ɣan ïlïɣ qïsɣa, kïsï-nïŋ yi-ɣin tïmsïɣ imsaq.*
21. *kïsï-nïŋ kizkï, aʰt-tïŋ ezer.*

10. bun-GEN crumb-DAT eat.one's.fill-HABN
11. beard-LOC-KI food-DAT eat.one's.fill-HABN
12. person face-DAT live-PROG tree root-DAT live-PROG
13. dog-GEN intestines-IN-LOC white butter put-INC-HABN
14. dog-GEN mouth-IN-LOC elephant tooth come.out-HABN
15. mother-GEN heart daughter-son-GEN body-LOC present daughter-son-GEN heart stone-LOC present
16. camel-GEN neck how.much long become-COND-PCL3 mountain-GEN yonder.side-POS3-LOC-KI grass-ACC eat-CSIM cannot-HAB
16a. camel-GEN neck-POS3 what-GEN long become-COND-PCL3 mountain-GEN yonder.side-POS3-LOC-KI grass-ACC eat-CSIM cannot-FUT
17. horse how stumble-COND-PCL3 run-COND donkey-ABL fast-EV
18. donkey equine.dung-GEN outside-POS3 shining
19. person sit-COND language come.out-CON come-HAB dog sit-COND shit come.out-CON come-HAB
20. person-GEN take-PP hand short person eat-PP mouth soft
21. person-GEN clothes horse-GEN saddle

10. One does not eat one's fill by bread crumbs.
11. One does not eat one's fill by the food in one's beard.
12. Man is living through 'face' (i.e. respect), a tree is living through [its] root.
13. One should not place white butter in a dog's intestines.
14. An elephant tooth does not come out in a dog's mouth.
15. A mother's heart is on the children, the heart of the children is on the stone.
16(a). However long the camel's neck, it cannot eat the grass at the other side of the mountain.
17. Even if a horse stumbles, if it runs, it is faster than a donkey.
18. The outside of donkey dung is shining.
19. If man sits down, words come out, if a dog sits down, shit comes out.
20. The hand of somebody [you] took from is short, the mouth of somebody [you] ate from is soft.
21. Man's clothes, a horse's saddle.

22. *kïsï-nïŋ uʰtïr-ta ti-min kʊyoq, kïsï-nïŋ art-ïn-ta per-min kʊyoq.*
23. *marçɛn niçor yaʰʂ pu-sa-ma, ula-ɣa qara-sa am yaʰʂ közti-ɣik.*
24. *ʂoɣïl-ɣin iʰt tatïɣ, saqï-ɣan kïsï yaʰʂ.*
25. *tas niyor pezïk pu-sa-ma su-nï aɣït-ïwal-mas.*
26. *tas-tï ʂart-uʰt-sa-ma taʰqï-la qaʰtïɣ.*
27. *tül aɕïɣ, köŋül tatïɣ.*
28. *yol yaʰqïn pu-sa sïqa-s-qʊ, kïsï yaʰqïn pu-sa qaʰqïs-qʊ.*
29. *yüwas aʰt-tï kʰïm-ma mïn-in saqïn-qaq, amïr kïsï-nï kʰïm-ma ims-in saqïn-qaq.*
30. *kïsï larla-s-ʊ tanï-s-qʊ, mal oʰqa-s-ʊ tanï-s-qʊ.*
30a. *kïsï-lir larla-s-ʊ tanï-s-qʊ, mal-lir oʰqa-s-ʊ tanï-s-qʊ.*
31. *sïmïk yoq pu-sa iʰt qaytan ki-ʂ-i, kʰur iʰt yoq pu-sa yaɣ qaytan ki-ʂ-i.*
31a. *sïmïk yoq pu-sa iʰt qantan ki-ʂ-i, kʰur iʰt yoq pu-sa yaɣ qantan ki-ʂ-i.*

22. person-GEN frontside-LOC say-CN not.done person-GEN backside-LOC give-CN not.done
23. coral how.much good become-COND-PCL3 string-CCO look-COND now good seem-HAB
24. roast-PP meat tasty wait-PP person good
25. stone how big become-COND-PCL3 water block-INC-HABN
26. stone-ACC break-COM-COND-PCL3 still-PCL2 hard
27. tongue bitter heart sweet
28. road near become-COND squeeze-REC-FUT person near become-COND quarrel-FUT
29. calm horse-ACC who-PCL3 mount-IMP1sg think-HAB calm person-ACC who-PCL3 use-IMP1sg think-HAB
30. person speak-REC-CSIM recognize-REC-FUT livestock smell-REC-CSIM recognize-REC-FUT
30a. person-PL speak-REC-CSIM recognize-REC-FUT livestock-PL smell-REC-CSIM recognize-REC-FUT
31(a). bone not.present become-COND meat whence come-FUT-COP fat meat not.present become-COND grease whence come-FUT-COP

22. It is not done to speak not in front of a person, it is not done to give not behind a person['s back].
23. However good coral may be, if you look at it when it is strung, it seems even better.
24. Roasted meat is tasty, a person one waits for is good.
25. However big the stone, it cannot block up the water.
26. Even if one breaks the stone into pieces, it is still hard.
27. The tongue is bitter [but] the heart is sweet.
28. If the roads are [too] near, [they] will squeeze one another, if people are [too] near, they will quarrel with one another.
29. Anyone likes to mount a calm horse, anyone likes to use a quiet man.
30(a). People learn to know one another by talking to one another, livestock learn to know one another by smelling at one another.
31(a). If there is no bone, where would the meat come from? If there is no fat meat, where would the grease come from?

32. *ɕʰa-ɣa tuz yoq pu-sa su-nï ïsta-ɣaq, kïsï-ɣi menik yoq pu-sa uzït-tï ïsta-ɣaq.*
32a. *kïsï-ɣi mek yoq pu-sa taltaqï-nï ïst-itï, semeŋ-ki tuz yoq pu-sa su-nï ïst-itï.*
33. *qʰïti-ɣa yaɣ köʰkït-mi, yoɣïr-ɣa sey köʰkït-mi.*
33a. *qʰïti kïsï-ɣi yaɣ sal-ma, yoɣïr kïsï-ɣi cʰay sal-ma.*
34. *surnïk-mis aʰt yoq, emis yoq kïsï yoq.*
34a. *surnïk-mi-ɣin aʰt yoq, emis et-mi-ɣin kïsï yoq.*
35. *ni kïsï-ɣi ni mal par.*
36. *tïmsïɣ yüs-tï, köŋül yaʰʂ-tï.*
37. *kïsï qʰarï-sa köŋül qʰar-ɣïmis, terik qʰarï-sa kïn qʰar-ɣïmis.*
38. *aʰka-lar-ta ɕʰük yoq, paqa-lar-ta quzïrïq yoq.*
39. *tas pezïk pu-sa wanna-ɣa maŋ-qïʂtï, kïsï yüs pu-sa qïzïɣl-ʊ maŋ-qïʂtï.*
40. *pezïk tas-qa pezïk qʰar tus-kʊ, kïʰçik tas-qa kïʰçik qʰar tus-kʊ.*
41. *patʰïr kïsï uzin tʰaŋqaraq pol.*

32. tea-DAT salt not.present become-COND water-ACC resemble-HAB person-DAT money not.present become-COND devil-ACC resemble-HAB
32a. person-DAT money not.present become-COND ghost-ACC resemble-DUB food-DAT salt not.present become-COND water-ACC resemble-DUB
33. Chinese-DAT butter show-NEG Yugur-DAT vegetables show-NEG
33a. Chinese person-DAT butter put-NEG Yugur-person-DAT vegetables put-NEG
34. stumble-PN horse not.present fault not.present person not.present
34a. stumble-NEG-PP horse not.present fault make-NEG-PP person not.present
35. what person-DAT what livestock present
36. mouth bad-EV, heart good-EV
37. person be.old-COND heart become.old-FUTN person become.old-COND heart be.old-FUTN
38. monk-PL-LOC braid not.present frog-PL-LOC tail not.present
39. stone big become-COND walk.past-CCO walk-FUTev person bad become-COND walk.around-CSIM walk-FUTev
40. big stone-DAT big snow fall-FUT small stone-DAT small snow fall-FUT
41. hero person with sworn.brother become

32. If tea has no salt, it is like water, if man has no money, he is like a devil.
32a. If man has no money, he is like a ghost, if food has no salt, it is like water.
33. Don't show butter to a Chinese, don't show vegetables to a Yugur.
33a. Don't put butter in front of a Chinese, don't put vegetables in front of a Yugur.
34. There is no horse that does not stumble, there is no man without fault.
34a. There is no horse that does not stumble, there is no man who does not commit a fault.
35. As man, so his livestock.
36. The mouth is bad [but] the heart is good.
37. Man grows old but not his heart, the tree grows old, but not its root.
38. Monks do not have braids, frogs do not have tails.
39. If a stone is big, one walks past it, if a person is bad, one walks around him.
40. On a big stone falls much snow, on a small stone falls little snow.
41. Be sworn brother to a brave person.

20. Small Talk

between HÈ XĪYUÁN, YÁNGQÍNG, ZHŌNG JÌNWÉN and SUǑ GUǑWĚI[1]

H. *yaŋʂʰiŋ, saɣa niʂi mïla par-i?*
Y. *maɣa yoq.*
H. *mïla yoq-tï.*
Y. *hɛ.*
H. *sen qaɣta ïs tuʰt-ïppar-i?*
Y. *ʂaŋyɛ piŋkuan.*
S. *kamsï.*
H. *sen pöylï niʂi yasa-ʰtï?*
Y. ...
H. *sen qaɣtan ki-ʰtï?*
Y. *men oy-tan keʰl-tï.*
H. *qaʰʂan keʰl-tï?*

H. Yángqíng you/DAT child present-COP
Y. me/DAT not.present
H. child not.present-EV
Y. hm
H. you where work do-PROG-COP
Y. Zhāngyé hotel
S. Zhāngyé
H. you this.year how.many be.a.year.of.age-PAST
Y. ...
H. you whence come-PAST
Y. I steppe-ABL come-PAST
H. when come-PAST

H. Yángqíng, do you have children?
Y. I haven't.
H. No children.
Y. Hm.
H. Where are you working?
Y. Hotel Zhāngyé.
S. Gānzhōu.
H. How old have you become this year?
Y. ...
H. Where do you come from?
Y. I come from the steppe.
H. When did you come?

[1] This conversation was recorded August 18th 1995 in Hotel Zhāngyé.

Y. *ori^{h}kïn.*
H. *ori^{h}kïn?*
Y. *hɛ.*
H. *sen pïr kïsï mi?*
Y. *men pïr kïsï.*
H. *sen ni-ɣi ɕ^{h}oqe-ɣa ki-^{h}tï? ulaɣ mïn-ki ki-^{h}tï-m, t^{h}eryin-ki ɕ^{h}oqe-ɣa ke^{h}l-tï-m?*
Y. *t^{h}eryin-ki ɕ^{h}oqe-ɣa ki-^{h}tï.*
Z. *miŋxay-ta nol-ʊtï?*
Y. *miŋxay-ta q^{h}aq-tï.*
H. *teŋïr ïsïɣ-tï-m?*
Y. *ïsïɣ-tï.*
H. *yel p^{h}er-ʊtï-m, p^{h}er-ʊyoqtï-m?*
Y. *yil-ma p^{h}er-ʊtʊ.*
Z. *tiŋïr yaɣ-ïptï-m?*

Y. day.before.yesterday
H. day.before.yesterday
Y. hm
H. you one person Q
Y. I one person
H. you what-DAT sit-CCO come-PAST beast.of.burden mount-CCO come-PAST-Q car-DAT sit-CCO come-PAST-Q
Y. car-DAT sit-CCO come-PAST
Z. Mínghǎi-LOC what.be-PROGev
Y. Mínghǎi-LOC dry-EV
H. weather warm-EV-Q
Y. warm-EV
H. wind beat-PROGev-Q beat-PROGNev-Q
Y. wind-PCL3 beat-PROGev
Z. sky rain-PASTev-Q

Y. The day before yesterday.
H. The day before yesterday?
Y. Hm.
H. Are you single?
Y. I am single.
H. By what way did you come? Did you come mounted on a beast of burden, or did you come by car?
Y. I came by car.
Z. How is it [currently] in Mínghǎi?
Y. It is dry in Mínghǎi.
H. Is the weather warm?
Y. It is warm.
H. Is the wind blowing or not?
Y. The wind is blowing.
Z. Did it rain?

Y. *yaɣ-ïptï, tiŋïr.*
Z. *yoɣïr söz maŋqïr-v ɕïta-ʂtï-m?*
Y. *kïʰɕiɣ muli-tï. ah, men-ma ti-ɣinti qʰïti uɕin larl-uʰt-atï.*
Z. *qʰïti soz ɕa-la po-ʂtï.*
Y. *sen larla, men puʂiŋa.*
S. *sen ïʂkï-sï maŋqïra-s-qa!*
Z. *kər yerl-v ɕïta-ʂtï-m-sa?*
Y. *yerl-v yata-ɣaq.*
H. *seŋ qʰar kïsï ɕʰüŋker mi?*
Y. *ɕʰüŋker.*
H. *ɕʰüŋker yer-tï.*

Y. rain-PASTev sky
Z. Yugur word speak-CSIM can-FUTev-Q
Y. small very-EV EXCL I-PCL3 speak-CTMP Chinese with speak-COM-DUB
Z. Chinese word truly-PCL2 become-FUTev
Y. you speak I won't.do
S. you two-POS3 speak-REC-CCO
Z. song sing-CSIM can-FUTev-Q-PCL5
Y. sing-CSIM cannot-HAB
H. you/GEN old person Buddhist.amulet Q
Y. Buddhist.amulet
H. Buddhist.amulet right-EV

Y. It rained.
Z. Are you able to speak the Yugur language?
Y. A tiny little bit. Ah, when I speak, I would blurt out Chinese.
Z. Chinese is alright.
Y. You speak, I cannot.
S. But the two of you are speaking together!
Z. Are you able to sing songs?
Y. I cannot sing.
H. Are your parents safe and sound?
Y. Safe and sound.
H. Safe and sound is right.

Vocabulary

The Western Yugur vocabulary below comprises all words that occurred in the texts, and the grammatical and lexical elicitation lists. The structure of the entries is as follows:

lexeme (~ ***variant***) (*vowel harmonic class*) 'meaning (grammatical remarks)', cf *form in literature* source 'meaning'. Equivalent of ***vernacular word*** / See also ***related word***.

- compounds, collocations

¶ etymology: <CT / ←Loanword / Cf suggestions

° extant in Eastern Yugur

Western Yugur forms from this research are printed bold; variant forms are listed under the main entry, as well as separately with a reference to the main entry. The vowel harmonic class is indicated by the dative for nouns and the coordinative converb for verbs for those words of which the vowel harmonic class is not directly apparent; however, not all declensional forms were attested in the present material. Grammatical remarks include governing case and converbal combinations.

The vocabulary entries also comprise the Western Yugur forms attested in the older literature.

In the case of Chinese loanwords, and especially nonce loans, reference has been made to the equivalent vernacular term if extant, e.g. ***xï*** 'river', equivalent of ***qol***. In a few cases, reference has been made to a related word, e.g. ***ʂart=*** 'to cut up', see also ***oʰʂaq*** 'crumb'.

Compounds and collocations of nouns are listed under the last element, e.g. ***sïk artta*** 'stealthily' is listed under ***art***, and ***pïra tïmsïɣ ɕïwïn*** 'mosquito' under ***ɕïwïn***. Collocations containing a verb are listed under the verb, e.g. ***köŋïlïʂti aɕïs=*** 'to feel grief' is listed under ***aɕïs=*** 'to worry'.

For reconstructed Turkic forms, reference is made to Clauson and Sevortjan; the readings proposed here may differ. The CT form is followed by NE cognates. Other Turkic languages have only been taken into consideration in special cases.

In the case of loanwords, only the language family has been given if an exactly matching cognate form was not attested, e.g. ***qʰaɣ*** 'shoe' ←Chinese, ***qara=*** 'to look' ←Mongolic (not attested in Eastern Yugur).

In the case of poorly attested etymologies, only suggestions have been given, e.g. ***samtïq*** 'tattered', cf Eastern Yugur *samtaq*.

Eastern Yugur cognate forms, whether Yugurisms (words attested only in Western and Eastern Yugur), or loanwords form Western Yugur, Chinese or Tibetan, have been indicated as well, e.g. ***hanï=*** 'to go', ***aq*** 'white', ***süɛso*** 'school'.

The alphabetical order is the conventional one:

a c cʰ ɕ ɕʰ ç çʰ e f ɣ h i ï ə k kʰ l m n ŋ o ö p pʰ q qʰ r s ʂ ʃ t tʰ u v ü w x y z ʐ

aɕa 'father', cf L15b, CL165a, T171a, *ača* M19b, Man63, *aǯa* PotII:436a, *aď'a* Her193.

¶ Cf Sagay *aǯaŋ* BI37a 'uncle (term of address used towards older people)', Tuva *ača* T77a 'father', Tofa *aǯa* R12b, 'uncle (father's younger brother)'.

° For similar forms, cf EYu *ača* B6, J̌93a, S90 'father', *aď'a* Her193 'id; paternal grandfather', LT a-ǰo Jä603b 'an elder brother or male person; sir, mr., gentleman, lord, father'.

aɕa-ana 'parents', cf L15b, *aɕana* L15b, *ačaana* M67:100.

¶ Hendiadys consisting of *aɕa* 'father' + *ana* 'mother'.

aɕï= 'to be or become sad, worried (about)', cf *aɕl=* L16b, *aɕʰl=* L16b 'to feel sad, to be grieved; to feel sorry for or about', *aɕï=* L16a 'id; to be sour (of milk, yoghurt, dough), astringent (of oil)', *ačï=* M19b 'to be angry, to feel hostile, to be sad', *aɕu=* T171a 'to be sad, to grieve, to mourn'.

¶ <CT **a:čï=* (cf EDPT 20b, ESTJaI:91), cf Khak *ačï=* BI36b, Tuva *ažï=* T44b, Tofa *aǯï=* R12b, Yak *ahïy=* Slp50a.

aɕïɣ 'of pungent taste: sour, bitter, spicy, astringent', cf L16b, CL172a, T171a, *ačïʁ* M20a, *ačiʁ* M19b, *aɕïqʰ* L16a:Da 'id', *aď'ax*[*ter*] Her210 'salty'.

¶ <CT **a:čïg* (cf EDPT 21b, ESTJaI:91), cf Khak *ačïʁ* BI36b, Tuva *ažïɣ* T40b, Tofa *aǯïɣ* R12b, Yak *ahïï* Slp50b.

aʰɕïɣïr 'scarf', cf L11a, C86:5, *aʰɕlɣïr* L11a, *hąɕïɣïr* C86:11, *ačïʁïr* TT39, M20a, *altšerer* Her207 'towel; handkerchief'.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM alčiɣur Les29a, EYu *alčʰu:r* B4, S105, *aʰlčʰu:r* J̌7, *ɤɛlču:r* Kot451, *alt'ur* Her207 'towel', *alčʰu:r* S355 'scarf', S469 'rag, mop', Mgr *χaǯir* S/M149 'scarf to wrap around the head'. WYu intervocalic *ɣ* is attested only in LM.

aɕïs= 'to be or become sad, to feel anxious, to have pent-up feelings of sadness, to be weighed down with anxiety'.

• ***iʰɕikïşti aɕïs=***, ***köŋülïşti aɕïs=*** 'to feel anxiety gnaw at one's heart, to feel grief, sorrow, to feel troubled'.

¶ <CT **a:čïš=* (cf EDPT 31b), cf Khak *ačïs=* BI37a.

aɕït= 'to brew', cf *aɕïtʰ=* L16a, CL63, *ačït=* M20a 'to make sour (of yoghurt)'.

¶ <CT **a:čït=* (cf EDPT 21a), cf Khak *ačït=* BI37a, Tuva *ažït=* T41a, Tofa *aǯït=* R13a, Yak *ahït=* Slp50b.

aɣa 'to that, him, her, it; thither', cf L1a, L356, CL81, T171a, *aʁa* M175, *aŋa* M16a. DAT of ***o*** 'that'.

¶ <CT **aga ~ *aŋa* (cf EDPT 123a s.v. *ol*), cf Khak *aʁaa* BI15b, Tuva *aŋaa* T61b, Tofa *aŋa* R11b, *aa* R9a.

aɣïl 'village; neighbour', cf L8a 'garden, yard; neighbour; livestock pen', C92:35 'countryside', *aɣïɬ* T171a, *a:ɣïɬ* T174a 'yard; enclosure for animals', *aʁïɬ* M11b, *aʁaɬ* M11b 'countryside; village, settlement'.

¶ <CT **a:gïl* 'enclosure for livestock; settlement' (cf EDPT 83b, ESTJaI:83), cf Khak *aal* BI11a, Tuva *aal* T27b, Tofa *aal* R9a 'village', Yak *ïal* Slp519a 'neighbour; house'. For the semantics, cf EYu *ail* B1 'neighbour', *ail* J̌93a, J̌41 'village, tent', LM ayil Les20a 'family; neighbour(hood); village'.

aɣïna= 'of an animal to roll on its back', cf L7b, CL179b, *aʁïna=* M11b.

¶ <CT **a:gïna= ~ *a:gna=* (cf EDPT 87b, ESTJaI:75), cf Yak *aaŋna=* Slp24b.

aɣïr= 'to be or become ill; to hurt', cf CL180a, T171a, *aʁïr=* M11b, *aχïɹ=* T174a, *aʁur=* M11b 'id', *aɣïr=* L8a 'id; to feel love sick', *ax*[*te*] Her205 'pain', *aŋ*[*öbte*] Her196 'illness'.

¶ <CT *a:gïr= ~ *a:grï= (cf EDPT 91a, ESTJaI:86) < *a:gïrï=, cf Khak *aʁïr=* BI16b, Tuva *aarï=* T30a, Tofa *aarï=* R9b, Yak *ïarïy=* Slp521a.

aɣïrlïɣ 'expensive', cf CL172a, *aʁïrlïʁ* M12a 'id', *aɣïrlïɣ* L8b 'id; precious'.

¶ <CT **a:gïrlïg* 'valuable' (cf EDPT 93a), cf Khak *aarlïʁ* BI12a 'id; expensive; respected; heavy'.

aɣït= 'to stop, to withold, to obstruct', cf *aɣïtʰ=* L7b 'id; to ward off; to keep out; to withstand; to block (water); to deal with, to cope with; to bar, to bolt (a door)', CL116 'to ward off', *χaqït=* T219a 'id; to chase away, to drive away', *aɣït=* T171a, *aʁït=* M12a 'id; to bar, to bolt (a door)'.

¶ <CT **agït=* 'to alter, to shift somebody or something away from, to modify; to leave off with' (cf Erdal 1991: 760).

aɣïttïr= 'to cause to stop', cf *aɣïtʰtïr=* L7b 'to cause to keep off, withstand; to deal with', *aʁïttïr=* M12a 'to chase away'.

aʰka 'uncle (father's elder brother); monk', cf L11a '(eminent) monk; craftsman, master worker', CL163b 'monk', *aʰqa* L11a '(eminent) monk', C92:35 'Buddhist monk', *aʰkï* L11a 'father's elder brother', L11a:Da 'father's elder brother in his function of a lama', *aχka* M19b 'senior in a temple', *haka* T180a, *aʰqa* T173a, *aʰqʰa* T173a, *aqʰa* T173a, *haqa* T180a, *χaqa* T219a 'older lama'.

¶ ←Arïk *a-kʰė* TB230, TB232, TB240, TB242 'uncle (..)', cf Amdo *a-kʰė* MG487 'paternal uncle', Reb-koň *a-kʰï* Roe157 'uncle; (in Labrang) monk, elderly lama', LT a-khu ~ a-ku Jä603a 'father's brother, uncle, etc'. WYu final *a* is inexplicable.

° Also loanword in EYu *akʰė čʰɔtɔŋ* BǰI19 'name of Geser's father-in-law'.

akkʰer= 'to bring to', cf *apʰkʰeɣïr=* L1a, *akkʰegïr=* T171b, *akkeɣir=* M14a, *akeɣir=* M14a, *aqkeɣir=* M14a 'id', *apʰkʰer=* L1a 'id; to buy'.

¶ Compound consisting of *ap* 'taking' (+ CON) + *kʰeɣïr=* 'to bring'.

al= 'to take, to take away; to buy; to want; to get, to obtain; to receive', cf L4a, CL176a 'id', *aɬ=* T171b, M14b, *al*[*ene*] Her204 'to take'.

• ***kʰeln al=*** 'to take a wife, to marry', cf *kʰelïn al=* L168a, *keɬïnaɬ=* M14a; ***or al=*** 'to breathe', cf L37b, CL41 'id, to sigh', *ural*[*uter*] Her205 'to breathe'; ***yürï al=*** 'to lift', cf *yorïɣal=* L274a, *yörïʁïɬ=* M43a.

¶ <CT **al=* (cf EDPT 124b, ESTJaI:127), cf Khak *al=* BI21b, Tuva *al=* T56a, Tofa *al=* R11b, Yak *ïl=* Slp524b.

ala 'multicoloured, variegated, dappled, spotted', cf L4a, CL171b, *aɬa* T171b, M14a, *yaɬa* T182a.

¶ <CT **a:la* (cf EDPT 126a, ESTJaI:129), cf Khak *ala* BI22a, Tuva *ala* T51b, Tofa *ala* R11a, Yak *ala* Slp36b.

alar (~ ***alir***, ***olar***) 'they', cf L356, CL174b, *aɬaɹ* T171b. PL of ***o*** 'that'.

¶ <CT **olar* (cf EDPT 123a), cf Khak *olar* BI125b, Tuva *olar* T318a, Tofa *olar* R51b.

ale 'yes', cf L5a, *ole* CL138, L33a:Da 'yes', Man62 'right'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf Amdo *o-le* MG132 'yes, that's right' (also read *ao le* MG86, MG94).

° Also loanword in EYu *ɔ:lai* B12, *o:lei* B15, *oláy* Man62 'right', *ɔ:lai* BǰI315, *ɔ:lai! laksɔ, laksɔ!* (~ *laɣsɔ*) BǰI315 'formula concluding a story'.

alir, see ***alar*** 'they'.

alïm (~ ***alïn***) 'forehead', cf *aɬïm* T172a, *alïn* L4b, CL161b, Man65, *aɬïn* T172a, M15a.

¶ <CT **a:lïn* (cf EDPT 147b, ESTJaI:146), cf Khak *alïn* BI25a 'front', Tuva *arïn* T72a, Tožu *alïn* ESTJaI:146 'face', Tofa *alïn* R11a 'face; mountain ridge'.

alïm 'debt', cf L4b, C93:44 'id; bill; credit', *aɬïm* M15b 'debt'.

¶ <CT *alïm* (cf EDPT 145b, ESTJaI:128), cf Khak *alïm* BI25a, Tuva *alïm* T56a, Tofa *alïm* R11a.

alïn, see ***alïm*** 'forehead'.

alïn= (~ ***an=***) 'to take along; to lift, to carry; of animals to be pregnant', cf *alïn=* L4b 'id', CL89, *ałïn=* T172a, M15a 'to take along'.

¶ <CT **alïn=* (cf EDPT 148a), cf Khak *alïn=* BI25a, Yak *ïlïn=* Slp525b.

alma 'fruit', cf CL161b 'id', L5a 'id; Chinese pear-leaved crabapple', *ałma* T171b 'pear', M14b (mountain dial.) 'apple'.

¶ <CT **alma* 'apple' (cf EDPT 146a, ESTJaI:138). For the semantics, cf EYu *alma* B3, J̌93b 'fruit', LM alima Les32a 'apple'.

altam 'quick; how strange! (an exclamation)', cf L5a 'quick; strange', C86:5, *ałtam* M14b, *ałdam* M14b, *ïltam* L21b:Da 'quick'.

¶ Perhaps related to **(y)ïldam* 'quick' (cf ESTJaIV:278), or to **a:ltam* 'fraud, hoax, swindle' (cf ZT36), a deverbal noun from CT **a:lta=* (cf EDPT 133a).

aʰltamso (~ ***aʰltïmso***) 'Ahltamso (a girl's name from a tale)', cf *ałtamsa* M14b, *ałtamsï* M14b. See also the proper name ***kumpinso***.

¶ The first element perhaps related to *aʰltïm* 'gold', the second maybe ←Tibetan, cf Arïk *mcʰo* TB31, LT mcho Jä456b 'lake', frequent in women's names (e.g. *serimso* M102a, *erǯamso ïšt* M26b).

aʰltï 'six', cf L9b, CL173a, *aɬʰtï* T172a, T18, *aχltõ* Man62, *haltï* C86:5, *hałtï* T180a, *ałtï* M14b, *altï* PotII:436b, *ałta* M14b, *altö* Her197, *ołtï* T12.

¶ <CT **altï* (cf EDPT 130b, ESTJaI:141), cf Khak *altï* BI24a, Tuva *aʰldï* T54b, Tofa *aʰltï* R13b, Yak *alta* Slp39a.

aʰltïm 'gold', cf *aʰltïn* L10a, CL157b, *alʰtïn* T171b, *ałʰtïn* T172a, *aʰtïn* T174a, *haltïn* C86:11, *ałtïn* M14b, *altïn* PotII:435b, Man64, *altan* Her209.

¶ <CT **altun* (cf EDPT 131a, ESTJaI:142), cf Khak *altïn* BI24b, Tuva *aldïn* T54b, *aʰldïn* Čad20. Hermanns' WYu form could be ←EYu *altʰan* B4, *aʰltan* J̌94a.

aʰltïm-kumïs 'gold and silver, treasures', cf *aʰltïn-kumus* L10a.

aʰltïmso, see ***aʰltamso*** 'Ahltamso (a girl's name from a tale)'.

aʰltïnɕï 'sixth', cf *aʰltïnɕl* L10a, CL45, *ałʰtïnɕï* T172a.

¶ Cf Khak *altïnǯï* BI24b.

aʰltïr 'underside', cf L10a, CL158a, *hałtïr* T180a, *aʰtïr* T66, T25, *ałʰtïrï* T172a, *χałtïrï* T219a, *ałtïrï* M15a, *hatïrï* T180b, *atïrï* M19b.

• ***ïlïɣ aʰltïrta*** 'under supervision, under authority', cf *eɬïʁ ałtïrïnda*[*qï*] M153b, calqued from Ch shǒuxià (shǒu 'hand', xià 'under').

¶ Related to CT **alt* (cf EDPT 130a, ESTJaI:140), cf Khak *altï* BI24a (+ POS3), Tuva *aʰldï* T54b (+ POS3), Tofa *aʰltï* R13b (+ POS3), Yak *alïn* (*ann-*) Slp39b.

aʰltï-yiɣïrmï 'sixteen', cf *aʰlteyɣïrmï* L10b, CL74, *aχltigerma* Man62, *altigörmen* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *aʰltï* 'six' + *yiɣïrmï* 'twenty'.

aʰltun 'sixty', cf *aʰlton* L10b, CL173a, *ałʰton* T172a, *hałton* T180a, *ałton* M14b, *alton* PotII:437b, Her198.

¶ Crasis of *aʰltï* 'six' + *on* 'ten', a formation typical of NE, cf Khak *alton* BI24a, Tuva *aldan* T54a, Tofa *aʰlton* R13b, Yak *alta uon* Slp39a. Elsewhere CT **altmïš* (cf EDPT 130b, ESTJaI:141) prevails.

am 'now; just now, just then; a moment ago, an instant ago', cf L1a 'id', CL148, T172a, Her201 'now'.

¶ <CT *am* (cf EDPT 156b s.v. *amtï*, ESTJaI:357), cf Khak *am* BI25b, Tuva *am* T56b, Tofa *am* R11b, Yak *anï* Slp42b. The back-vocalic form is typical of NE.

amiʰkï 'immediately, shortly, in a moment', cf *ameʰkï* L2a, CL175a.

amïr 'calm, quiet, peaceful, meak', cf CL172b, T172a, *amïɹ* T8 'id', *amïr* M15b 'id, safe and sound, well', L1b 'id; peace, calmness, stability' *amör* [*ks*] Her201 'humble' (*ks* for *kïsï*).

¶ <CT **amur* (cf EDPT 163a, ESTJaI:59), cf Khak *amïr* BI26a, Tuva *amïr* T58b.

amïr-şïmïr (~ ***amïr-şu***) 'quietly', cf *amïr-şɣmïr* L2a, CL172b, T172b, *amïɹşɻ* T172a.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM amur-ǰimur Les40b 'peacefully, blissfully'.

amïr-şu, see ***amïr-şïmïr*** 'quietly'.

amïrtan, see ***amïʰtan*** 'animal'.

amïʰtan (~ ***amïrtan***) 'animal, creature', cf L1b, CL63, T172a, *amïʰltan* L1b, *amïɬʰtan* T172a, *amaʰtʰan* L1b:Da.

¶ ←EYu *amtʰan* B6 'life form, animal, human', S28 'animals', cf LM amitan Les38b; EYu *amïtu* Kot456 'alive, living' preserved the second vowel.

amsa 'now, now then, well now, as for now, anyway', cf L2b 'now'.

¶ Crasis of *am* 'now' + *posa* 'if it is', cf *am polsa* L2b.

an=, see ***alïn=*** 'to take along'.

ana 'mother', cf L3a, CL165, T172a, M15b, Man63, PotII:436a 'id', Her193 'id; paternal grandmother'.

• ***pezïk ana*** 'aunt (father's elder brother's wife)', cf *pezïkʰ ana* L60a, calqued from Ch dàmā (dà 'big', mā 'mother').

¶ <CT **ana* (cf EDPT 169b, ESTJaI:278).

anika (~ ***ayka***) 'grandmother, old woman', cf L3a, CL163a, T172a, M16a, *aniqa* M16a, *anaka* L3a:Da, *aneka* T172a, *eneka* M25b 'id', *anaga* Her193 'paternal grandmother'. See also ***awaka*** 'old man, grandfather'.

¶ From *ana* 'mother' + affective suffix *-ka*. Perhaps related to *anakï* (cf EDPT 48a s.v. *atakï*) 'mother (respectful term)', recorded by Kashgari. Cf further NUyg (Khotan dial.) *anika* Ghop16 'mother (term of endearment)', NUyg (Kucha dial.) *anika* Ghop16 'grandmother', Kzk *eneke* Shnit83 'mother-in-law (term of endearment)'.

anï 'that; him, her, it', cf L356, T76, M175. ACC of ***o*** 'that'.

¶ <CT **anï* (cf EDPT 123a s.v. *ol*), cf Khak *anï* BI27b, Tuva *onu* T320b, Tofa *onu* R52a, Yak *onu* Slp273b.

anïŋ 'of that; his, her, its', cf L356, T76, M174. GEN of ***o*** 'that'.

¶ <CT **anïŋ* (cf EDPT 123a s.v. *ol*), cf Khak *anïŋ* BI27b, Tuva *ooŋ* T322b, Tofa *onuŋ* R52a.

anïşki 'into that', cf the ABL *anïşten* < *anïŋ ïşten* L3a, *an* (< *an ïn*) *išten* M15b 'from its inside outwards'.

anta 'there', cf L3a, L356, CL81, T172b, *anda* T12, M175. LOC of ***o*** 'that'.

¶ <CT **anda* ~ **anta* (cf EDPT 176b, ESTJaI:456), cf Khak *anda* BI26b, Tuva *ïnda* T596b, Tofa *ïndï* R100b, Yak *onno* Slp273a.

antaɣ 'like that: such, thus', cf L3b, L356, CL174b, T172b, *andaʁ* M15b, M175, *andax* Her208. EQU of ***o*** 'that'.

¶ <CT **andag* ~ **antag* (cf EDPT 177a, ESTJaI:149), cf Khak *andaʁ* BI26b, Tuva *ïndïɣ* T597a, Tožu *andïɣ* ESTJaI:149, Tofa *ïndïɣ* R100b.

antan 'thence; thereupon', cf L3a, L356, CL81, T172b, *andan* T12, M16a. ABL of ***o*** 'that'.

¶ <CT *andan ~ *antan (cf EDPT 177b, ESTJaI:150), cf Khak *annaŋ* BI27a, Tuva *oon* T322b, Tofa *ïndan* R100b, *unuun* R77b, Yak *onton* Slp273b.

antaq= 'to do thus, to do like that'.

¶ Crasis of *antaɣ* 'thus' + *qïl=* 'to do'.

antaqa, see ***antaqaṣ*** 'thus'.

antaqanta 'then, afterwards; thus, in that way, so', cf L3b, CL36, *antaqʰqanta* CL25, *antaqqanta* T172b, *antaqʰqante* L3b, CL25, *antaqqante* T172b, *antaqqanti* T172b, *antaqqantï* T172b, *andaq qanda* M63a.

¶ Crasis of *antaɣ* 'thus' + *qïlɣanta* 'having done', cf *antaɣ qïlɣanta* L3b, *andaʁ qïłʁanda* M63a.

antaqaṣ (~ ***antaqa***) 'in that way, thus, therefore; then, afterwards', cf *antaqaṣ* L3b, *antaqqaṣ* T172b, *andaqqaš* M16a, *amtaqaṣ* C82:69b.

¶ Crasis of *antaɣ* 'thus' + *qïlɣa(ṣ)* 'doing, having done', cf *antaɣ qïlɣaṣ* L3b, C82:69b, *antaɣ qïłɣaṣ* T172b, *andaq qïłʁaš* M16a.

antaqʊ 'meanwhile, thus', cf *antaqo* L3b, T172b, *andaqo* M16a, *antaʰqo* T172b 'thus'.

¶ Crasis of *antaɣ* 'thus' + *qïlʊ* 'doing', cf *antaɣ qïlo* L3b.

antaqʊɣan 'such'.

¶ Crasis of *antaɣ* 'thus' + *qïlʊɣan* 'having done'.

antarmi 'a thing like that'.

¶ Crasis of *antaɣ* 'thus' + perhaps *pïrmi* 'thing'.

antasa 'if it is so, if that is the case, in that case, then', cf *antaɣsa* L3b.

¶ Crasis of *antaɣ* 'thus' + *posa* 'if it is', cf *antaɣ polsa* L3b.

antïr= 'to let take along', cf *alïntïr=* L4b, CL91, *ałïntïr=* T172a, *ałïndïr=* M15b.

¶ <CT *alïndïr=, cf Khak *alïndïr=* BI25a, Tuva *alïndïr=* T56a.

antïraq 'that much'.

¶ Crasis of *antaɣ* 'thus' + perhaps COMP?

antur 'that many, that much', cf *antaɣor* L3b 'like that, of that kind'.

¶ Crasis of *antaɣ* 'thus' + perhaps *pïr* 'one'.

aŋ 'joint; ankle', cf L5b, C92:35 'joint; inch'.

¶ ←EYu *aŋ* B2 'joint; crack, crevice', S691 'joint', cf LM ang Les43b 'crack, crevice'.

aŋït 'duck', cf T172b, M16a 'species of wild duck with bright yellow or red feathers', *aŋït* [*qos*] M16a 'duck' (*qos* for *qus* 'bird'), *aŋïtʰ* L5b, CL159b 'species of duck' [Ch huángyāzi], *aŋet* Her199 'sea gull'.

¶ <CT *aŋït 'ruddy goose' (cf EDPT 176a), cf Khak *aat* BI12a 'black diver (Anas nigra)'.

aŋna= 'to hear; to listen; to understand', cf L5b, CL175b, T172b, TT16, M16a 'to hear; to understand', Her205 'to hear', *anna=* L3b, *aŋnu=* T172b 'id, to listen', [*asös*]*aŋna* Her209 'to obey', (*asös* for *o söz* 'that word').

¶ <CT *a:ŋla= 'to understand' (cf EDPT 186a, ESTJaI:154).

aŋnał= 'to be audible', cf L5b 'id', *aŋnał=* M16a 'to be aware of'.

appar= 'to take to, to take away', cf T172b, M16a, *apʰpar=* L1a, *alïpʰ par=* L4a.

¶ Compound consisting of *ap* 'taking' (+ CON) + *par=* 'to go', occurring in several Turkic languages (cf ESTJaI:128), cf Khak *apar=* BI28a, Tuva *appar=* T63b.

aq 'white', cf T172b, M13b, *aqʰ* CL171b, T172b, *ak* PotII:435a, *ag* Her202 'id', *aqʰ* CL73 'id; diary products', L6b 'id; the clan *aqʰ*; auspicious; opacity of the cornea of the eye'.

• ***aq-paq*** 'very white', cf *aqʰpaqʰ* L7a, CL72, *aqpaq* M14a, *aq-maq* M74a, *aqʰ-pa aqʰ* L6b, CL17.

¶ <CT *a:k* (cf EDPT 75a, ESTJaI:116), cf Khak *aX* BI35b, Tuva *ak* T49a, Tofa *aq* R10b.

° →EYu *aq* B2.

aʰq= 'to flow', cf *aʰqʰ=* L11a, CL179b, *aX=* M19b 'id', *axq=* M67:14, *aq=* M13b 'id; to run one's eyes over (an object)', *aʰq=* T173a 'to topple', [*amna*] *axg*[*awörter*] Her210 'to flow', *axg*[*uter*] Her207 'to leak'.

¶ <CT **ak=* (cf EDPT 77a, ESTJaI:118), cf Khak *aX=* BI35b, Tuva *aʰk=* Jan29, Tofa *aʰq=* R13a.

aqa 'elder brother', cf CL165a, T172b, M13b, *aɣa* T171a, *aka* Man63, *aga* Her193 'id', *aqa* L6a 'id; elder sister's husband', L6a:Da 'elder sister'.

¶ <CT **a:ka* (cf ESTJaI:121), cf Khak *aʁa* BI15b 'grandfather', Tuva *akï* T51a, Tofa *aʰha* R13a, *aha* R71:152 'elder brother', Yak *aʁa* Slp29b 'old man, father'.

° A similar form occurs in Arïk *a-kæ* TB226.

aqar= 'to be or become white, light; to dawn', cf CL180a, M14a 'id', L6a 'id; (of heaven) to bestow good fortune', *agar*[*der*] Her209 'light'.

• ***teŋïr aqar=*** 'of the sky to become light, to dawn', cf L6a.

¶ <CT **a:kar=* (cf ESTJaI:117), cf Khak *aʁar=* BI16a, Tuva *aɣar=* T34a.

aqïlas= 'of birds to sing, to twitter'.

aqïnï 'elder and younger brothers', cf L6a, CL36, T173a, M14a.

• ***ɕʰïqan aqïnï*** 'male cousins', cf *ɕʰɳqan aqa* L295b 'elder cousin', *ɕʰɳqan ïnï* L295b 'younger cousin'.

¶ Hendiadys consisting of *aqa* 'elder brother' + *ïnï* 'younger brother'.

aqtan 'swan', cf *aqʰtan* L7b, *axtan* Her199, *aqïʰltan* L6b 'id', *aq qïltan* M63a 'name of a large white bird (near Gāotăi)'.

¶ Perhaps a compound consisting of *aq* 'white' + LM qotan Les972b, qutan Les992a 'pelican'.

ara '(the space) between', cf L19a, CL158a, T173a, M16a.

¶ <CT **a:ra* (cf EDPT 196a, ESTJaI:162), cf Khak *ara* BI29a, Tuva *ara* T64a, Tofa *ara* R11b 'between', Yak *aara* Slp24b 'on the road'.

araʰkï 'liquor, alcoholic beverage; wine', cf L19a, CL170a, T173a, *araʰqï* L19a, *araxqï* M16b, *arax* Her210.

• ***oʰsïrïq araʰkï*** 'beer' (lit. fart liquor), calqued from Ch pí as in píjiǔ 'beer' (jiǔ 'liquor'), and its near homophone pì 'fart'.

¶ ←EYu *araʰkė* J̌94a, *arėkʰė* B7, *arakʰė* B7, *arkʰė* S120, *arake* TT80, cf LM araki(n) Les48a, ariki(n) Les53b. WYu features the trisyllabic Mongolic form, but the word is widespread in Asia. Hermanns' WYu form could be ←LT a-rag Das1345b.

aramaq 'ring finger', cf M16b, *aramaqʰ* L19a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *ara* 'between' + *tarmaq* 'finger'.

araqïnta 'over there, down there'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of CT **aŋaru* 'on that side, there, etc' (cf EDPT 190a, ESTJaI:157) + *-kï* + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + LOC.

araqïŋqa 'over there, down there'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of CT **aŋaru* 'on that side, there, etc' (cf EDPT 190a, ESTJaI:157) + *-kï* + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + DAT.

aʰrɻa 'juniper', cf L13b, CL160b, *aʰrɻa* CL9, *rd'a* Her210 'cypress', *aʰɹča* T173b, *haɹɻa* T180a, *arča* M17b 'juniper'.

¶ ←EYu *arčʰa* BJ̌320, *hrčʰa* B63 'cypress', *arča* Kot448 'juniper', S120 'stiffleaf or needle juniper', *rd'a* Her210 'cypress', *sain-arča* PotII:399 'Juniperus communis' (*sain*

'good'), cf LM arča Les50b 'juniper'.

arçaq 'the west', cf *arçaq^{h}* L20b, *arçaq* T173a, *arǯaq* M17a, *ïrçak* T182b, *ïrçaq* T220b.

¶ Crasis of *art* 'west' + *yaq* 'side', cf *art yaq^{h}* L250b.

aryа 'laziness', cf L20b, *arʁa* M16b 'method, means; strategy'.

¶ ←EYu *arʁa* S115 'way, method', Ǐ94a 'id; strategy', B7 'strategy, scheme; trick', cf LM ar*y*a Les51a.

aryaçï 'lazybones', cf *aryaçl* L20b, CL148, and perhaps *aɬʁač* M14b.

arïy 'clean', cf L19a, CL171b, T173b, *arïʁ* M17b, *arag*[*dro*] Her203, *aɹ^{h}q^{h}* T173b.

¶ <CT **arïg* (cf EDPT 213b, ESTJaI:185), cf Khak *arïʁ* BI32b, Tuva *arïy* T71b, Tofa *arïɣ* R12b.

arkan 'chest, box', cf *arkam* L20a, CL166b, T173a, *rkam* T204b, *arqam* M17a, *ergam* Her206, *ïrkam* L24b, *ïrqam* L25a.

¶ ←Arïk *rgam* TB527 'chest', cf LT sgam Das321a (cf RT62:6).

° Also loanword in EYu *rkam* B156, *ėrka:m* S92, *ïrqam* Kot444, *rgam* PotII:422b.

a^{h}rq 'shit (especially from carnivores and omnivores, such as humans, dogs, cats, pigs and chicken, in contrast to herbivorous livestock, such as bovines, horses and donkeys, and sheep, goats and camels, the dung of which is denoted by special terms)', cf *a^{h}rq^{h}* L13b, CL162b 'excrements'.

• ***pïşt a^{h}rq*** 'nit', cf *pïşt^{h} a^{h}rq^{h}* L55a.

¶ <CT **ark* (cf EDPT 213a), further only attested in Khak *arïx* BI33a and Khal *harq* DT126b 'dung'.

a^{h}rqa 'back, spine', cf L13b, CL162a, *arqa* M17a, *aɹqa* T173b, *harqa* T180a, *χąɹqa* T219a, T8.

¶ <CT **arka* (cf EDPT 215b, ESTJaI:174), cf Khak *arʁa* BI30a 'back; seam on the shoulder; mountain ridge', Tuva *a^{h}rɣa* T66a 'mountain forest', Tofa *a^{h}rha* R13b 'northern mountain slope', Yak *arʁaa* Slp46a 'backside'.

arqaş 'bag, package, bundle, quiver', cf *art^{h}qaş* L20a 'small bag or sack', *arqaš* M17a 'bag containing fodder, hung over an animal's neck'.

arslan 'lion', cf L20b, *a^{h}rslan* L13b, CL159b, *a^{h}ɹslan* CL16, *harslan* L220b, *harsɬaŋ* T180a, *aɹsɬan* T173b, *arsïɬan* M17a.

¶ <CT **arslan* (cf EDPT 238a, ESTJaI:177), cf Tuva *arzïlaŋ* T69a.

art 'backside; behind; west', cf T173a, *art^{h}* L19b, CL158a, *aɹt* T173b, *a:rt* T174a 'id', *art* PotII:435b, *argt* Her204 'west', *art^{h}* L19b, *art* M17a 'id; protector, safeguard, helper'.

• ***artïnta*** 'behind it; afterwards, in the future', cf *artenda* Her203 'behind'; ***sïk artta*** 'stealthily'.

¶ <CT **a:rt* (cf EDPT 200b, ESTJaI:179), cf Tuva *artï* T70b (+ POS3), Tofa *a^{h}rt* R13b.

art= 'to rub; to wipe off', cf M17a 'to rub, to wipe dry, to clean', T173b, *art^{h}=* L20a, CL178a, *arït^{h}=* CL131 'to clean, to tidy up'.

¶ <CT **arït=* 'to clean' (cf EDPT 207b, ESTJaI:186), cf Khak *arït=* BI31b, Tuva *arït=* T72a, Yak *ïrït=* Slp529b.

a^{h}rt= 'to remain, to be left over', cf *a^{h}rt^{h}=* L13b, *art=* M17a, *aχd*[*ebter*] Her203.

¶ <CT **art=* 'to increase, to be excessive' (cf EDPT 201b, ESTJaI:181), cf Khak *art=* BI31b 'to be excessive', Tuva *a^{h}rt=* T69b 'id; to remain', Tofa *a^{h}rt=* R13b 'to remain', Yak *ort=* Slp278a 'to be excessive; to be better'.

as= (~ ***a^{h}s=***) 'to pass, to cross', cf *as=* L17a, M18a, *a^{h}s=* L11b 'id; of time to pass'.

¶ <CT **a:š=* (cf EDPT 255a, ESTJaI:213), cf Khak *as=* BI33b, Tuva *aš=* T40a, Tofa *aš=* R13a, Yak *aas=* Slp25a.

as= 'to exchange', cf L17b, CL128 'id, to barter', T173b, M18a 'to exchange money'.

¶ Contraction of *alïs=* L11b <CT *alïš=* 'to take or receive from one another' (cf EDPT 153a), cf Khak *alïs=* BI25a, Tuva *alïš=* T56a, Tofa *alïš=* R78:136, Yak *ïlïs=* Slp526a.

a^{h}s 'opening (of a bag, pocket)', cf L11b, CL19, *aχs* CL19, *as* L17a, CL19 'id', *χąs* T219a, T28, *axs* M19b, *ags* PotII:436a, Man65, *axïs* T174a 'mouth', *axïs* M19b, *aʁïs* M19b 'id; lip'.

¶ <CT **agïz* 'mouth of a human' (cf EDPT 98a, ESTJaI:81), cf Khak *aas* BI12b, Tuva *aas* T30a, Tofa *aas* R9b, Yak *uos* Slp439b.

a^{h}s=, see ***as=*** 'to pass'.

a^{h}s=, see ***ya^{h}s=*** 'to hide'.

a^{h}sar 'village; market', cf L12a, CL166a, *hąsar* C86:11, *asar* L17b 'region, countryside', *hasar* TT16, TT20, *asar* T173b, M18a 'village'.

¶ ←EYu *hsar* B60 'village', cf LM asar Les56a 'a large tent, etc'. The initial *h* in EYu is secondary, cf Mgr *a:sar* Khas1 'storey, a storeyed building'.

a^{h}sïr= 'to turn open; to overturn; to reveal, to expose; to translate; to revenge', cf L12a 'to reverse (clothes); to roll up (sleeves); to rummage, to search; to translate; to expose, to unmask, to bring to light; to suddenly turn hostile', CL179b 'to turn; to control; to take back one's words; to topple; to feel the urge to vomit', *hasïr=* T180b, *asïr=* M18b 'to change'.

¶ <CT **a:šur=* 'to cause to pass over, to extol, to make something go beyond' (cf EDPT 265a, ESTJaI:214), cf Khak *azïr=* BI18b, Tuva *ažïr=* T44a.

a^{h}sïra= 'to adopt (a child)', cf L12b, *hasïra=* T180b, *asïra=* M18b, *asra=* M18a, 'to raise, to educate children', L17b 'id; to raise animals'.

¶ ←EYu *hsėra=* B60, *sra=* B104 'to take care of; to bring up, to raise', *sėra=* S630 'to raise, to rear', *asara=* S122 'to look after', cf LM asara= Les56b. EYu *h-* is secondary.

a^{h}sïrlï= 'to trip, to stumble; to fall backwards', cf *asïrła=* M18b 'to turn a somersault; to rebel', *asïrlï=* L12b 'id, to revolt; to turn over (while sleeping)'.

¶ <CT **a:šurul=* 'to be carried over' (cf EDPT 265a s.v. *a:šrul=*).

a^{h}sïrt= 'to sneeze', cf T171a, *a^{h}sïrt^{h}=* L12b, *asïrt=* M18b, *asserd*[*uter*] Her206.

¶ <CT **asurt=* (cf EDPT 251b, ESTJaI:194), cf Yak *ïtïrt=* Slp533a, Baraba Tatar *azïrt=* RI:569. Elsewhere CT **asur=* (cf EDPT 251a, ESTJaI:194) prevails, cf Tuva *azïr=* T46b, Tofa *azïr=* R10a. Cf further Khak *apsïr=* BI28b.

a^{h}slaq 'lid or cover of small vessels', cf *a^{h}slaq^{h}* L13a.

a^{h}ş= 'to open, to make an opening', cf L11a, CL178a, T26, *haş=* T180b, T173b, *aş=* L16b, *aš'* PotII:437, M20a, and the oblique forms *haç* T179b, *ač* M19b, *adš*[*epter*] Her205.

¶ <CT **ač=* (cf EDPT 18b, ESTJaI:209), cf Khak *as=* BI33b, Tuva *a^{h}š=* T40b, Tofa *a^{h}š=* R14b, Yak *as=* Slp48b.

a^{h}şköz 'insect, mosquito' (an idiolectical formation), cf *a^{h}şk^{h}ük^{h}* L11b, *a^{h}şwek^{h}* L11b, *aš kewek* M20a 'mosquito'.

a^{h}şta= 'to be or become hungry, to feel hungry', cf L11b, *aşta=* L17a, *ašta=* M20b.

• ***i^{h}çikï a^{h}şta=*** 'to be or become hungry, to feel hungry', cf *ečikï ašta=* M67:79.

¶ <NE **ašta=*, cf Khak *asta=* BI34a, Tuva *ašta=* T78a, Tofa *ašta=* R13a. In view of *-š* (instead of *-č*), Alt *ašta=* BT24a ←NE. From CT **a:č* 'hunger' (cf EDPT 17a, ESTJaI:208) + verbalizer.

a^{h}ştï= 'of the sky to be or become clear', cf *haştï=* T180b 'id', *a^{h}ştï=* L11b, *aştï=* L17a 'id; of a rift, crevice, crack, fissure to appear', *a^{h}şït^{h}=* CL178a 'of the sky to be clear', L11b 'id; to pass through', *ašt=* M20b, *aštï=* M20b 'to open the eyes'.

¶ <CT *ačïl= (cf EDPT 26b), cf Khak *azïl*= BI18a, Tofa *aʰhil*= R13b.

° →EYu *ačʰėl*= B6 '(of the sky) to clear'.

at 'name', cf T173b, M19a, Her205, *atʰ* L2b, CL8.

¶ <CT **a:t* (cf EDPT 32a, ESTJaI:198), cf Khak *at* BI34b, Tuva *at* T79a, Tofa *at* R12b, Yak *aat* Slp25b.

aʰt 'horse', cf T173b, *aʰtʰ* L9a, CL159a, *hqtʰ* CL8, *hqt* T8, *hatʰ* L15a, *χat* T219a, *at* M19a, PotII:436a, *ad* Her198.

¶ <CT **at* (cf EDPT 33a), cf Khak *at* BI34a, Tuva *aʰt* T79a, Tofa *aʰt* R14a, Yak *at* Slp50b.

aʰt= 'to shoot', cf T173b, *aʰtʰ=* CL176b, *hat=* T180b, *at=* T173b 'id', *aʰtʰ=* L9b 'id; to appear (e.g. of the morning)', *at=* M20a 'to shoot; to arrange, to organize'.

¶ <CT **at=* (cf EDPT 36a, ESTJaI:199), cf Khak *at=* BI34, Tuva *aʰt=* T37a, Tofa *aʰt=* R14a, Yak *ït=* Slp532a.

aʰtqï 'horseherd', cf T174a, *aʰtʰqɻ* L9b, CL163a, *aʰtǯï* T16, *hatqɻ* T180b, *atčï* M19a.

aʰtemaq (speech of older people), see ***aʰtimaq*** 'little finger'.

aʰti 'young of age, small; the young of an animal', cf *aʰtey* CL73 'small', L9a 'id; baby; young animal; interest', T174a 'small; child; foal', *atey* M19a 'small; dear', T174a, *hatey* T180b, *hatiy* T180b 'small; child; foal', *aʰte* L8b 'small; baby; young animal', *ati* M19a, TT38, *hati* T180 'small; grandchild'.

¶ <CT **atay* 'small' (cf Röhrborn 1977: 258b).

° →EYu *htai* B61, *htei* B61 'small, little; child; young of an animal', *htai* Ǐ84, *hti:* S130, *atei* Kot452, *ateĭ* TT77, *atay* PotII:416a 'small, little'.

aʰtimaq (~ ***aʰtemaq***) 'little finger', cf *aʰtemaqʰ* L9a, *aʰteymaqʰ* L9a, *atïmaq* M19b, *xetagamak* PotII:436a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *aʰti* 'little' + *tarmaq* 'finger'.

aʰtïs= 'to make war', cf L8b, *aʰtʰïs=* L9b, *aʰtʰis=* L9b, CL91 'id; to shoot at one another', *aʰtʰɻs=* T174a, T9, *oʰtʰɻs=* T12 'to shoot at one another'.

¶ <CT **atïš=* (cf EDPT 72b), cf Khak *atïs=* BI35a, Yak *ïtïs=* Slp533b.

attïɣ 'famous', cf T173b, *atʰtïɣ* L2b, CL143.

¶ <CT **a:tlïg* (cf EDPT 54b), cf Khak *attïɣ* BI35a, Tuva *attïɣ* T76b, Tofa *attïɣ* R12b.

awa 'father' (occurring only in a folk tale), cf CL165a, T174a 'id', M11a, L17a 'id (only in a song)', *awu* M11a 'older relative, kinsman'.

¶ <CT **aba* 'ancestor' (cf EDPT 5a, ESTJaI:54), cf Khak *aba* BI13a 'bear (taboo)'.

° For similar forms, cf EYu *aβa* Ǐ75 'paternal grandfather', B2 'id; maternal grandfather', Mgr *a:wa* S/M16 'father'.

awaka (~ ***ɷka***) 'old man, grandfather', cf *awaka* L17a, CL162b, T174a, Her193, *awaqa* M11a, *awqa* M11a, *auqa* M19b, *oka* L33b, CL165a, T193b, *oqa* L34b:Da 'id', *awuga* Her193 'paternal grandfather'. See also ***anïka*** 'old woman, grandmother'.

¶ From *awa* 'father' + affective suffix *-ka*.

ay (~ ***e***) 'moon; month', cf L13b, CL157a, M13a, Man63, *æy* CL6, T174a, M20b, *ey* CL6, T178b, M25a 'id', *ay* Her196 'moon', PotII:436a, [*ber*]*ae* Her197 'month' (*ber* for *pïr* 'one').

• ***pïr e*** 'January', calqued from Ch yīyuè (yī 'one', yuè 'month'); ***ïskï-yiɣïrmï e*** 'December', calqued from Ch shí'èryuè (shí'èr 'twelve', yuè 'month').

¶ <CT **a:y* (cf EDPT 265a, ESTJaI:98), cf Khak *ay* BI19b, Tuva *ay* T46b, Tofa *ay* R10a, Yak *ïy* Slp522b.

ayaq 'large bowl (especially one used for dogs)', cf M13a, *ayaqʰ* L14a, *ayak*

PotII:436b, Man62 'bowl'.

¶ <CT *ayak* (cf EDPT 270a, ESTJaI:105), cf Khak *ayax* BI37b, Tuva *ayak* T80a, Tofa *ayaq* R10a, Yak *ayax* Slp33b.

° →EYu *ayak* Man70.

ayaq 'ten thousand', cf T171b, M13b, *ayaq*^{h} L14a, CL173a, *ak* PotII:437b, *agak* Her198.

¶ Secondary meaning of ***ayaq*** 'bowl', calqued from Ch wàn 'ten thousand', and its near homophone wǎn 'bowl'.

ayar 'slowly', cf L14b, CL175a, T171b, M13b.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM ayar Les24a.

ayka, see ***anika*** 'old woman'.

ayt= 'to ask (for), to ask somebody (about) something; to greet (+ ACC)', cf *ayt*^{h}= L15a, CL178b, *aid*[*ine*] Her205 'to ask', *ayt*^{h}= L15a 'to greet', *ayt*= T171b, M13a, *æyt*= T174b, *ayd*= M13a 'to speak'.

¶ <CT **ayït*= (cf EDPT 268b, ESTJaI:111), cf Khak *ayt*= BI21a, Yak *ïyït*= Slp523b.

aytïŋ 'moonlight', cf L15a, M13a, *æytïŋ* T174b, *aydïŋ* M13a.

¶ <CT **a:ytïŋ* (cf EDPT 268b, ESTJaI:108), cf Tuva *aydïŋ* T47a, Tofa *aydïŋ* R10b, Yak *ïydaŋ* Pek3763.

az 'few, little', cf L17a, CL171a, T174a, M12a, *as*[*bröör*] Her200.

¶ <CT **a:z* (cf EDPT 277a, ESTJaI:93), cf Khak *as* BI33a, Tuva *as* T72b.

aza= 'to decrease, to lessen', cf L18a, C82:69b, M12a, *az*= M12a.

azaq 'foot', cf T174a, M12b, *azaq*^{h} CL162a, T174a, *azak* Man65, PotII:436b, *acaq*^{h} T174a, *asak* Her194 'id', *azaq*^{h} L18a 'id; chairleg; underside'.

¶ <CT **adak* (cf EDPT 45a, ESTJaI:103), cf Khak *azax* BI17b, Yak *atax* Slp51b.

azɣïr 'stallion', cf L18b, CL159a, T174a, *azʁïr* M12b, *asegör* Her198.

¶ <CT **adgïr* (cf EDPT 47b, ESTJaI:107), cf Khak *asxïr* BI34a, Tuva *askïr* T73a, Tofa *asqïr* R12b, Yak *atïïr* Slp53a. The development of **d* in Tuva and Tofa is irregular.

azïq 'grain, food', cf T174a, M12b, *azïq*^{h} L18a, *azuq*^{h} CL169b, *azuq* M12b.

¶ <CT **a:zuk* 'food for a journey' (cf EDPT 283a, ESTJaI:98), cf Khak *azïx* BI19b 'stock, food supplies', Yak *ïhïk* Slp531a.

azïr= 'to separate, to divide; to split, to chop; to sort', cf L18b 'to separate; to split, to chop, to cleave, to break off, to rip, to tear', CL176a 'to open, to unfold, to turn on, to turn over, to part so as to form a fork', M12b 'to separate', *asr*[*ine*] Her204, *ɣazïr*= L218a:Da 'to split, to chop'.

¶ <CT **adïr*= (cf EDPT 66b, ESTJaI:114), cf Khak *azïr*= BI18b, Tuva *adïr*= T38b, Tofa *adïr*= R10a.

azïrlï= 'to divide; to leave', cf L18b 'to separate, to sever; to divorce; to part company', *azïrïl*= M12b, *azïrłï*[*p tro*] M12b 'to separate'.

¶ <CT **adïrïl*= (cf EDPT 68b), cf Khak *azïrïl*= BI19a, Tuva *adïrïl*= T38b, Tofa *adïrïl*= R10a.

azïrt= 'to separate', cf *azïrt*^{h}= L18b 'id, to divide'.

¶ <CT **adïrt*= (cf EDPT 68b), cf Khak *azïrt*= BI19a.

azur 'some, a bit', cf T232.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *az* 'few' + *pïr* 'one', cf *az pïr* T232.

can, see ***zan*** 'station'.

cï 'self'. Equivalent of ***uzï***.

¶ ←Ch zì.

coɣun, idiolectical for ***cona*** 'bee; wasp'.

cona (~ ***zona***, ***conaɣ***, ***coɣun***) 'bee, wasp', cf *zona* L338a, CL160a, *zïuna* L337a:Da 'id', *ʤsona* Her212 'bee', *zona* T220b, *sona* M104a 'hornet'.

• ***sarïɣ cona*** 'bee, wasp', cf *sarïɣ zona* L338a 'wasp'.

¶ ←EYu *cu:na* B151, *cu:na:* J̌7 'fly', *šra cu:na* B111 'wasp', *šėra cu:na* S339 'bumble-bee' (*šra* ~ *šėra* 'yellow'), *ɸarkan cu:na* S458 'wasp, bee', *farkan cu:na* B41 'large species of wasp' (*farkan* meaning unknown, not occurring independently), *arakʰė cu:na* S458 'wasp, bee', S339 'bumble-bee' (*arakʰė* 'liquor'), *ʤsona* Her212 'bee', cf LM sono Les727b 'gadfly, horsefly'. The EYu initial *c-* is peculiar, as is the vocalism.

conaɣ, idiolectical for ***cona*** 'bee; wasp'.

cuanna= 'to make one's way into'.

¶ ←Ch zuān.

cueɣxoutï 'final, last; finally, at last'.

¶ ←Ch zuìhoùde.

cʰaɣ, see ***seɣ*** 'vegetables'.

cʰï 'time, occurrence'.

¶ ←Ch cì.

cʰunçaŋ, see ***sunçaŋ*** 'head of a village'.

cʰunzï, see ***sunzï*** 'village'.

cʰuŋ 'onion'.

¶ ←Ch cōng.

cʰuŋmiŋ 'clever, bright, intelligent'.

¶ ←Ch cōngming.

ɕa 'really, truly', cf L281a, *dša* Her212 'id', *ča* M138a 'look at that!'

ɕaɣasun (Dàhé speech) 'fish', cf *dšarassön* Her210. Equivalent of ***yür***.

¶ ←EYu *čaɣasėn* B142a, S423, *čėɣasėn* B143, *dšarassön* Her210, cf LM ǰiɣasu(n) Les1050a.

ɕal= 'to pray', cf L282b, CL180b 'id', *ɕał=* T175b, *šał=* M149a 'id; to bow, to greet, to thank'.

• ***paʂ ɕal=*** 'to pray', cf L282b 'to kowtow', *paš čał=* M139b 'to pray, to bow'.

¶ <CT **čal=* 'to knock' (cf EDPT 417b). WYu probably calqued the meaning 'to pray' from Ch kòutóu 'to kowtow (to touch the forehead to the ground as a sign of respect)' (kòu 'to knock', tóu 'head').

ɕala 'tassel', cf L282b, CL169a 'id', *ɕała* T175b, *ʒała* M28a 'red tassel on a hat'.

¶ ←EYu *čala:* B142 'tassel on a hat', *čala* J̌106a, S425 'ribbon, tassel', cf LM ǰalaɣa Les1029b 'tassel'.

ɕalïm (~ ***ɕalïn***) '(hoar)frost; dew', cf L282b '(hoar)frost; icicle', CL157a 'icicle', *ɕałïm* T176a 'dew', *ʒałïm* M28a, *ʒałïn* M28a 'hoarfrost; dew; drop (of wine)'.

¶ <NE **čalïm* ~ **čalïn* 'hoarfrost; dew', cf Khak *salïm* BI180a 'dew', Tuva *šalïŋ* T566a 'id', Tofa *šalïn* R95b 'id; hoarfrost', Yak *čalïm* Pek3565, *čaalïm* Pek3565 'splash'.

° →EYu *čalėn* B143, J̌199b, *čalėm* S354 'hoarfrost', *χarʁam čalėm* S562 'id' (*χarʁam* 'hoarfrost').

ɕalïn, see ***ɕalïm*** '(hoar)frost; dew'.

ɕan 'life', cf L282a, C82:70b, T176a, *čan* M140a, *ʒan* M28a, *ɕan* T221a 'id, soul'.

¶ Ultimately ←Ir *ʒa:n*.

ɕan= 'to light a fire', cf *ɕa=* L282a.

ɕaʰpɕïɣïr 'hoe', cf *ɕaʰpʰɕïɣïr* L284a, *ɕʰapʰɕïɣïr* L292a, CL167b 'id', *ɕʰapɕïɣïr* T177b, *ɕapɕïɣïr* T176a, *čapčïʁïr* M141a 'id; rake', *dšabd'agör* Her209 'carpenter's hatchet'.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf EYu *d'abd'ur* Her209 'carpenter's hatchet', LM čabčiɣur Les154b. WYu intervocalic *ɣ* is attested only in LM.

ɕaqïsqan (speech of Mínghǎi), see **saqïsqan** 'magpie'.

ɕarla=, see **şarla=** 'to visit'.

ɕas, see **ɕaʰs** 'sunlight; lightning'.

ɕaʰs (~ **ɕas**) 'sunlight; lightning', cf L284b, *ɕas* L284b, CL157b, *ɕaʰş* T176a, *čaš* M141a '(sun)light'.

° EYu *naran čas* B24 'sunlight, rays of light at daybreak' (*naran* 'sun').

ɕaʰstal= '(of the sun) to shine; to light up', cf *ɕastal=* L285a, CL89.

ɕeɣɣaŋ 'this kind'.

¶ ←Ch zhèiyàng.

ɕï 'resource, resourcefulness, wit'. Equivalent of **tʰaŋşa**.

¶ ←Ch zhì.

ɕïl: **qoɣ ɕïl** 'sheep droppings', cf *ɕïl* L285b 'powderlike sheep dung', *qoɣžil* M29a 'dry sheep dung (not a slab)', *žil* PotII:436a 'dry sheep dung used as a fuel'.

¶ Perhaps related to *čïla* 'fresh horse dung in a stable', recorded by Kashgari (cf EDPT 418a); cf further Kir *čïla* Jud885b 'dirt, filth', *attïn čïlasï* Jud885b 'horse dung slush', NUyg (Khotan dial.) *čilɛ* Ghop118 'dung', NUyg (Ghulja dial.) *čilɛ* Ghop118 'mixture of faeces and urine of livestock'.

° →EYu *čėl* B144 'sheep dung'.

ɕïla= 'to point at'. Equivalent of **ɕor=**.

¶ ←Ch zhǐ.

ɕïla= 'to treat, to cure a disease; (of a disease) to get cured'.

¶ ←Ch zhì.

ɕïlaɣa 'resembling, like', cf *ɕɻla=* L287a, *čïɬa=* M148b 'to resemble, to be like', *ɕïɬu* (+ CON2) T177a 'resembling, similar to, as, like'.

¶ < **čïla=* ~ **čile=* 'to resemble' (cf R78:260), cf Tofa *čïla=* R78:260. Occurring in few Turkic languages, usually only in converbal forms, cf Khak *čïli* BI318b 'like, as', Shor *čɛlɛ* RIII:1976 'of the same size', Tofa *čïlažï* R93a, Tožu *šïlay* Čad95, Alt *čïlap* BT183b, *čilep* BT179a 'like, as'.

ɕïmaq, (~ **ɕumaq**) 'stick', cf *ɕïmaqʰ* L285a, CL168a, *ɕɣmaqʰ* L286b, CL32, *ɕʰïmaqʰ* CL32, *ɕumaq* T177a, *ɕumaqʰ* T177a, *ɕomaq* T176b, M144a, *žomaq* M30a, *čumuq* M146b, 'id', *ɕumaqʰ* L291a, *ɕomaqʰ* L288a 'id, walking stick; cudgel', *dšemak* Her200 'pole'.

¶ <CT **čomak* (cf EDPT 422b).

ɕïn 'true', cf L285a, CL172a, T177b, *čïn* M148b, *ɕïŋ* T177b, *čin* M143a.

¶ Ultimately ←Ch zhēn, either directly or through CT **čïn* (cf EDPT 424a).

° Also loanword in EYu *ɕėŋ* B151 ←NwM *ɕəŋ*[44] CZW361a.

ɕïnɕïŋ 'really, truly'.

¶ ←Ch zhēnzhèng.

ɕïnşï 'true, real, authentic'.

¶ ←Ch zhēnshí.

ɕïntï 'really'.

¶ ←Ch zhēnde.

ɕïŋxo 'just in time'.

¶ ←Ch zhènghǎo.

ɕïŋzï 'a moment', cf *ɕïŋzɪ* L286a 'a period of time'.

¶ ←Ch zhènzi; for the first element, cf NwM *ɕəŋ*^{213} CZW361a.

ɕïta= 'can, to be able, to be capable of; to succeed in', cf *ɕɻta=* L287a, CL179a, T176b, *čïda=* M148b, *čïta=* M149b, *šïda=* M153b 'to be able, can'.

¶ ←EYu *šta=* B110, *J̌*106b, *šėta=* S556, *hta=* S556, *šda=* TT52, cf LM čida= Les176b.

ɕïwïn 'mosquito; fly', cf L286b, *ɕɻwïn* L288a, CL176b 'mosquito', L288a:Da, T176b, *čiwin* M142b 'fly', *dšöwen* Her212 'gnat'.

• ***pïra ɕïwïn***, ***pïra tïmsïɣ ɕïwïn*** 'mosquito', cf *pratïmsïɣ* L67b; ***qara ɕïwïn*** 'fly', cf *qara ɕɻwïn* L288a.

¶ <CT **čï:pïn* (cf EDPT 397b, read *čïbïn*), cf Shor *šïbïn* RIV:1062 'midge'.

ɕoɣ 'glowing piece of dung used as fuel; spark', cf L289a 'burning charcoal', *čoʁ* M143b 'hot ashes'.

¶ <CT **čog* (cf EDPT 405a), cf Khak *čoʁ* BI191a.

ɕola= 'to reflect', cf L288b, *ɕoła=* T176b.

¶ ←Ch zhào.

ɕoŋïl 'Yugur surname (Chinese equivalent: Zhōng)', cf L288b, *ɕuŋïl* L291b, *ǯunïl* T62:62, *čoŋïɬ* M144b, *čuŋïɬ* M146b 'a Yugur clan name'.

¶ ←Mongolic (cf T62:63).

ɕoq= 'to be or become successful, to succeed; to manage, to accomplish', cf *ɕoq*^{h}= L289a, C92:35 'id; to be content'.

• **ɕoqpa=** 'cannot refrain from, cannot help but; cannot bear or stand (+ CCO)'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **u:čuk=* (cf EDPT 23a) 'to reach its conclusion, to come to an end'.

ɕo^{h}qɕïla= 'to gather together, to pile up', cf *ɕo^{h}q^{h}ɕɻla=* L289b, *ɕo^{h}q^{h}ɕïla=* CL178b, *ɕ^{h}o^{h}qɕïɬa=* T178a, *čoqčïɬa=* M143b, *doxd'ala* Her206.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM čoɣčala= Les194b.

ɕoqï= 'to pinch', cf L289a 'id', *ɕoqo=* T177a, *ɕoq*[*o*] T253 (+ CSIM) 'to peck'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **čok=* ~ **čoku=* (cf EDPT 406a) 'to swoop down; to peck', or else ←Mongolic, cf LM čoki= Les196b 'to peck, pick (of birds)'.

ɕoqïl= 'to be or become successful, to succeed', cf *ɕoqïl=* L289a.

ɕor= (~ **ɕorï=**) (*ɕorɣi* ~ *ɕorɣa*) 'to point to (+ ACC or DAT)', cf L290a 'id; to indicate, to point out; to direct towards; to marry off', CL180b 'to appoint as; to marry off', *čörï=* M145b 'to marry off; to accompany the bride to the house of the groom', *ǯoru*[*ptïrna*] M30b 'to marry off', *alïsqa čör*[*ærɣa*] M145b 'to marry off far away'.

¶ ←EYu *čɔrė=* B146 'to aim at, to take aim', cf LM ǰori= Les1071a 'to move in the direction of'.

ɕorï= (*ɕorïɣa*), see **ɕor=** 'to point at'.

ɕot: **ɕot et=** 'to cause misfortune', cf *ɕot^{h} et^{h}=* L288a 'to stir up trouble', *čot et=* M144b, *ǯot et=* M30b 'to be angry'.

ɕotta= 'to scold'.

° EYu *dsodlo*[*lsuna*] Her205.

ɕottas= 'to scold one another, to have an argument or fight', cf *ɕot^{h}tas=* L288a, *ǯotas=* M30b, *ǯottas=* M30b, *dšodas*[*uter*] Her205.

ɕowat= 'to oblige, to thank (+ DAT)', cf *ɕowat^{h}=* L290a 'to thank; to trouble', CL179b, *ǯowat=* M30a, *čowat*[*ar*]= M143b, *dšowad*[*i*] Her208 'to thank'.

• **ɕowattï** 'thanks', cf *ɕowat^{h}tï* L290a, *ɕowatte* T177a, *ǯowatte* M30a, *čuatte* Man62; **ɕowatma^{h}tï** 'no thanks, it is nothing at all, you're welcome'.

¶ CAUS of *ɕowa=* L290a 'to trouble about, to worry; to be concerned with' ←EYu *čoβo=* J̌36 'to trouble, to bother', *čɔ:=* B145 'to be sad, to grieve, to feel miserable', cf LM ǰoba= Les1065b 'to be in trouble'. Cf further EYu *čɔβɔ:βa šo* B146, *čuová* Man62 'thanks', *ǯowowa* Kot453, *dsowd'üwai* (+ CAUS) Her208 'to thank'.

ɕozï 'table', cf T177a, *ɕozɿ* L290a, CL166b, *ǯoza* M30a, *ǯouza* M30b, *čöza* M145a.

¶ ←Ch zhuōzi.

ɕozïwaʂ 'table top'.

¶ Compound consisting of *ɕozï* 'table' + *waʂ* 'head'.

ɕumaq, see ***ɕïmaq*** 'stick'.

ɕuanmïŋ 'special(ly)', cf *ɕuanmïn* L290b.

¶ ←Ch zhuānmén; for the second element, cf NwM *məŋ*[51] CZW360a.

ɕuaʂï 'really, very, severely, vehemently, extremely, in a high degree', cf *ɕuaʂɿ* L290a, CL130, *ɕoʂɿ* CL130.

¶ ←Ch zhuóshí 'really, indeed, severely'; the development of *a* is peculiar of WYu.

ɕuŋ 'clock, o'clock', cf L291b.

• ***ʂï fïn ɕuŋ*** 'ten minutes'.

¶ ←Ch zhōng.

ɕuŋkuo 'China', cf L291b.

¶ ←Ch zhōngguó.

ɕuŋna= 'to put in a bag, to pocket, to load', cf *ɕuaŋna=* L290b 'to dress up; to disguise; to pretend, to feign', *ɕoŋna=* L288b 'id; to load a gun; to put into', CL65 'to pocket', T176b 'to fit into', *čonna=* M144a 'id', *ǯonna=* M30a 'to pocket'.

¶ ←Ch zhuāng 'to pretend etc; to load, etc'.

° Also loanword in EYu *čɔŋlɔ=* B145, *čoŋlo=* J̌83 'load, charge (a fire arm)'.

ɕunpeyla= 'to prepare; to get ready', cf *ɕuïnpele=* L291a. Equivalent of ***peʰk=***.

¶ ←Ch zhǔnbèi.

ɕuyila= 'to pay attention to', cf L292b.

¶ ←Ch zhùyì.

ɕʊ 'Lhasa', cf *ɕo* L288a 'id; name of a large temple', T176b, *čo* T143b, *ǯo* M29b, M67:208, *ǯo:* M67:208, *ǯou* T30b, *ǯu* T30b 'Lhasa', *dšo* Her40:86 'Tibet'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT ǰo-bo Jä173a 'lord', Amdo *ʒo-wo xʰa-ťa-mu-ne* MG438, Xiàhé *ɕo-wo sa-k/ɕa-mė-ne* HL204b 'Śākyamuni Buddha', LT ǰo Jä173a, Reb-koň *ču:* Roe116 'lord, sir, master', Xiàhé *ɕu-kʰaŋ* (written ǰoʿi-khaň) HL204b 'Śākyamuni temple' (LT ǰo-khaň Zhāng878b).

° Also loanword in EYu *ču:* B147 'Lhasa', *ču:n kʰi:t* BǰJ229 'temple of Lhasa' (*kʰi:t* 'temple'), LM ǰuu Les1081a 'monastery', baraɣun ǰuu Les1081a, möngke ǰuu Les1081a 'popular name for Lhasa' (baraɣun 'west', möngke 'eternal'). According to Lessing, LT ǰo-bo was the name of a famous Buddha statue in a Lhasa temple, and apparently this name later on became to denote Lhasa in its entirety.

ɕʰa 'tea', cf L292a, CL170a, T177b, *ɕa* T175b, *ča* M138a, *sa* M98a.

¶ ←Ch chá.

ɕʰala= 'to stick into, to insert', cf L293a. Equivalent of ***tïʰq=***.

¶ ←Ch chā.

ɕʰamɕa 'shirt, chemise', cf L292b, CL53, T177b, *ɕamɕa* T176a, *čamǯa* M140a, Man65, *ɕomɕa* T16.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM čamča Les164a, typical of Eastern Mongolic.

ɕʰantʰou (speech of elder people) 'Uygur', cf *ɕʰantʰïu* L292b 'id', *čantu* M140b 'Muslim of Xinjiang'. Equivalent of ***sart***.

¶ ←Ch chán 'to wind' + tóu 'head'.

ɕʰayiteyzï 'a kind of bag used for tea'.

¶ Perhaps ←Ch cháyè 'tea leaves' + dàizi 'bag'.

ɕʰï: ***ɕʰï kel=*** 'to become angry', cf *ɕʰɿ* L295a 'anger'.

¶ Cf perhaps Sal *čïχ kel=* ZT1741.

ɕʰïla= 'to be or become angry', cf *ɕʰɿla=* L295a, CL17, *ɕʰɿɬa=* T178a, *ɕïɬa=* T177a, *čïɬa=* T175b, M148b, *čele=* M148b.

ɕʰïlat= 'to make angry, to provoke', cf *ɕʰɿlat=* L295a 'id', *čïɬat=* M148b 'to upset'.

ɕʰïmïkɕï 'thief', cf *ɕʰɣmïkʰɕɿ* L295a, C163b, *čïmïqčï* M148b, *ɕʰumuqʰɕɿ* L297b, *tumuqčï* M125a '(petty) thief'.

° EYu *čʰėmėkčʰė* B135.

ɕʰïmïkti= (*ɕʰïmïktiɣi*) 'to steal', cf *ɕʰɣmïkʰte=* L295a, C179a, *čïmïqta=* M148b, *čumuqte=* M146b, *tšömaxde*[*bdro*] Her202.

° EYu *čʰėmėk kė=* B135 (*kė=* 'to do').

ɕʰïntïr (*ɕʰïntïrɣi*) 'chain', cf L294a, CL15, T178a, *čïndïr* T175b, *činder* M143a, *čendïr* M142a, Man69.

¶ Ultimately ←Ir *zinǯi:r*.

° Also loanword in EYu *čʰentėr* S295.

ɕʰïŋ 'city, town', cf *ɕʰïŋ* L294b, *ɕïŋ* T177b, *čïn* M148b, *čin* M143a, *čen* M142a.

¶ ←Ch chéng.

° Also loanword in EYu *čʰėŋ* J100a.

ɕʰïŋɕiŋna= 'to change appearance as a result of magic', cf L294b.

¶ ←Ch chéngjīng.

ɕʰïŋɕʰaŋ 'city wall'.

¶ ←Ch chéngqiáng.

ɕʰïŋfala= 'to punish'.

¶ ←Ch chéngfá.

ɕʰïŋmïŋ 'city gate'.

¶ ←Ch chéngmén; for the second element, cf NwM *məŋ*[51] CZW360a.

ɕʰïŋna= 'to put underneath'.

¶ ←Ch chèn; for the first element, cf NwM *ɕʰəŋ*[213] CZW361b.

ɕʰïnsan 'shirt'.

¶ ←Ch chènshān.

ɕʰïqan 'cousin', cf *ɕʰɿqʰan* L295b, *ɕʰɿqan* L295b 'id, cousinship; relationship between cousins of the same paternal grandfather or great-grandfather', CL165b, *dšekan* Her193 'cousin'.

¶ <CT **čïkan* 'son of one's maternal aunt' (cf EDPT 409a, Räs108a), cf Yak *sïɣan* Slp355b 'cousin'.

ɕʰoɕaŋ: ***ɕʰoɕaŋ pʰerk*** 'Yugur woman's hat', cf *ɕʰoɕaŋ pʰerekʰ* L297a 'Yugur woman's pointed felt hat', *čöčæn perük* M146a 'felt hat', *ɕʰocaŋ* L297a, CL168b 'pointed', *čöčin* M146a 'high'.

ɕʰolï 'small strainer, filter (used for e.g. tea)', cf L296a, CL167a, *čoɬï* T144a 'bamboo, wicker or wire strainer; colander'.

¶ In view of the aspiration of the initial consonant and the back vocalic *ï* more

likely to be inherited from *čovlï* (cf EDPT 397a ←Ir *ča:wli:*) than borrowed from Ch zhàoli.

° →EYu *čʰɔ:lė* B136.

ɕʰolwan 'Big Dipper', cf CL130 'Venus; a proper name', L296b 'Venus; a blaze', *ɕołwan* T176b, *ɕʰołwan* T176b, *ɕołwon* T14 'Venus; a horse with a blaze', *čołwan* M144a 'a blaze; a horse with a blaze', *šołwan* M151b, *čolbon* PotI:338 'Venus'.

¶ <CT **čolpan* 'Venus' (cf EDPT 418b), cf Khak *solban* Bas192b, Tuva *šolban* T577b, Tofa *šolban* R97a.

ɕʰoqe= (***ɕʰoqeɣa***) 'to sit, to sit down', cf L296b, CL176b, T178a, *ɕoqe=* L289a:Da, T177a, *čoqï=* M143b, *čo:qï=* M145a, *ɕoqïy=* T177a, *čokïy=* M143b.

• ***kuan ɕʰoqe=*** 'to hold an official's post', cf *pʰeɣ ɕʰoqe=* L71b, calqued from Ch zuò guān 'to be engaged as an official' (zuò 'to do, to engage in', guān 'official') and its homophone zuò 'to sit'; ***tʰerɣinti ɕʰoqeɣa maŋ=*** 'to go by car', calqued from Ch zuò qìchē qù (zuò 'to sit', qìchē 'car', qù 'go').

° EYu *čɔɣqɔ=* BǰǏ326, *čoqqui=* J̌24 'to sit, to sit down', *čɔɣqɔi=* B146 'id, to squat', S610 'to sit; to live, to stay', *dox wueid'ige* Her206 'to sit'.

ɕʰoqes= 'to sit together, to sit down together', cf L297a, T178a.

ɕʰoqet= 'to cause to sit, to make or let sit down, to seat', cf T178a, *ɕʰoqetʰ=* L297a, *čoquyt=* M143b, *čoqïyt=* M143b.

ɕʰoşïŋna= 'to go on a pilgrimage'.

¶ ←Ch cháoshèng 'pilgrimage'.

ɕʰot 'exclamation uttered when making a libation', cf *ɕʰotʰ* L296a 'an oblation of sprinkling wine or milk for a deity (on the first month of the lunar year, early in the morning, a man takes a bowl of milk tea or butter tea and walks three times around his house, asking the gods for blessing and protection; afterwards he dips chopsticks in the tea and sprinkles it, while calling in a loud voice *ɕʰotʰ, ɕʰotʰ*)', *čöt* M145b 'exclamation uttered by a shaman when making a sacrifice'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT mčhod-pa Jä166b 'offering, oblation, libation'.

ɕʰotta= 'to libate', cf *ɕʰotʰta=* CL180b, *čotta=* M144b, *čotła=* M144b, *čötta=* M145b, *čötła=* M145b, *čötlor=* M145b.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT mčhod-pa Jä166b 'to honour (..) saints or deities by offering articles (..)'.

ɕʰuan 'ship, boat', cf L297b, CL168a, T178a, *čuan* M146a.

¶ ←Ch chuán.

ɕʰuanna= 'to pass through, to penetrate', cf L297b 'id; to wear'.

¶ ←Ch chuān 'to pass through, to wear, etc'.

ɕʰuaŋ 'bed', cf L297b.

¶ ←Ch chuáng.

ɕala= 'to put up, to erect, to stack'.

¶ ←Ch jià.

ɕaŋ 'just at that moment, just now', cf L224b, CL174b, T221a, *čan* T221a, *čaŋ* M140b, *čɛŋ* M141a, M67:119.

¶ ←NwM *ɕiaŋ*[44] CZW171a 'just at that moment', cf Ch jiāng 'to be about to'.

ɕaŋlay 'in the future'.

¶ ←Ch jiānglái.

ɕaŋna= 'to speak, to explain', cf L225a.

¶ ←Ch jiǎng.

ɕar 'emaciated, meagre, lean', cf L226a, T221a, *ɕʰar* T221b.

ɕara 'hedgehog', cf L226a, CL160a, *ɕʰara* T221b.

¶ ←EYu *čara:* B143, *čara* J̌106a, *ča:ra:* S432 'id', cf LM ǰaraɣa L1037a.

ɕayükuan 'Jiāyùguān', cf CL107.

¶ ←Ch Jiāyùguān.

ɕazï 'family, dwelling, household', cf *ɕazɿ* L225b 'id', *ɕacɿ* T221a 'family member'.

¶ ←Ch jiāzǐ.

° Also loanword in EYu *ɕiacɿ* B150 'clan, tribe, village'.

ɕes, see ***ɕis*** 'malachite'.

ɕɛɕüɛla= 'to solve'.

¶ ←Ch jiějué.

ɕɛkuo 'as a result, consequently'. Equivalent of ***antaqanta***.

¶ ←Ch jiéguǒ.

ɕɛn 'smartish, scheming, calculating; schemingly, with a calculating mind'.

¶ ←NwM *ɕiɛn*[44] CZW170a 'smartish', cf Ch jiān 'point; sharp'.

ɕɛnɕï 'simply, at all'.

¶ ←Ch jiǎnzhí.

ɕɛnyü 'prison'.

¶ ←Ch jiānyù.

ɕi 'how many'. Equivalent of ***niɕi***.

¶ ←Ch jǐ.

ɕiɕi 'vagina, small girl's genitals', cf L231b, *ɕʰïɕʰï* L235b 'small boy's genitals'.

ɕiɣin 'donkey', cf L231b, *ɕiɣen* L231a, CL159b, *ɕigin* T176b, *ǯiɣen* M29a, *ɕiken* L230a, *d'igen* Her199, *elǯiɣen* M25a.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf Mgr *ǯiǧė* S/M87, EYu *elčiɣen* B10, *ėlčiɣen* BJ̌351, *ėɬčiɣen* J̌94a, *ilǯigen* Man65, *ėnčiɣen* S256, *d'igen* Her199 'id', LM eljige(n) Les311a. The WYu forms are generally more abraded than the EYu forms.

ɕiɣti (~ ***ɕiuti***) 'jujube, a kind of small, red berry', cf L231b, CL31, *ɕiɣte* CL161a, L231b, *ɕïɣte* L286b 'Elaeagnus angustifolia L., narrow-leaved oleander or Russian olive', T221a, *ɕigte* T221a, *ɕigte* T176b, *čiɣde* M67:100 'džigda, a kind of berry'.

¶ In view of the initial affricate an irregular development of CT **yigde* (cf EDPT 911b, ESTJaI:325), or ←Mongolic, cf LM ǰigde Les1226a 'oleaster'.

ɕila= 'to post, to mail'.

¶ ←Ch jì.

ɕili= 'to jostle, to squeeze in'.

¶ ←Ch jǐ.

ɕimi=, see ***ɕümi=*** 'to pluck'.

ɕinaq 'cup, small bowl', cf T221b, *ɕinaqʰ* L229a, C82:66b, T221b, *činaq* M143b, *čïnaq* M148b (mountain dial.), *ǯïnaq* M31b, *ɕanaq* L224a:Da '(wooden) bowl'.

¶ <CT **ča:nak* 'bowl' (cf EDPT 425b). WYu *ɕi-* is irregular.

ɕintʰou 'by the time when', cf *ɕintʰïu* L229a, *ɕitʰïu*.

ɕiŋ 'spring, well', cf L230a, *ciŋ* T175a, *ɕin* CL157b. Equivalent of ***su tʰelk***.

¶ ←Ch jǐng.

° Also loanword in EYu *ɕiŋ* BJ326.

ɕiŋʂïn 'vigour, vitality'.

¶ ←Ch jīngshen.

ɕiʰpɕï 'pitchfork, hayfork', cf *ɕʰipɕi* L236b 'big wooden fork', CL12 'pitchfork', L236b:Da 'rake', *ɕeʰpɕe* T221a, *čipči* M143b 'wooden fork'.

ɕis (~ ***ɕes***) 'malachite', cf L231b, CL158a, *ɕes* L227b 'id (a kind of copper ore)', *ɕis* T221b, *ɕïs* T177b, *ǯes* M29a 'a green gem, nephrite, jade; copper'. Equivalent of ***tʰutuqus tas***.

• Also occurring as a last element in Yugur women's names, see ***kʰunɕis***, ***norɕis***, ***sutɕis***, ***insiŋɕis***.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM ǰes Les1047a 'copper'.

ɕitan 'egg (of a chicken)', cf L228b, T221b, *čïdan* M148a. Equivalent of ***tan***, ***taʰqaɣï oʰsïrïq***.

¶ ←Ch jīdàn (jī 'chicken', dàn 'egg').

ɕiuti, see ***ɕiɣti*** 'jujube'.

ɕo 'to let, to allow, to permit'.

¶ ←NwM *ɕiɔ*^{213} CZW172b, cf Ch jiào 'to call'.

ɕo 'cellar, underground storage', cf L231b.

¶ ←Ch jiào.

° Also loanword in EYu *ɕiao* BJ149.

ɕo, see ***ɕozï*** 'sedan (chair)',

ɕoɾɣawaş 'Chorghawash (a girl's name from a tale)', cf *čorʁa waş* M30b 'woman's name (from a tale)', *ɕoɾɣa paş* L233a 'harsh and unreasonable person; person who uses lame arguments'.

¶ Perhaps a compound consisting of *ɕoɾɣa* L233a 'spout' ←EYu *čʰorʁo* S576, cf LM čoɾɣo Les198b + *waş* 'head'.

ɕouşï 'well, quite, only'.

¶ ←Ch jiùshì.

ɕouɕʰüɛn 'Jiǔquán (formerly Sùzhōu)'. Equivalent of ***sukɕi***.

¶ ←Ch Jiǔquán.

ɕozï (~ ***ɕo***) 'sedan (chair)', cf *ɕozɿ* L232b, *ɕo* L231b, CL54, *ɕoʊ* T221b, *ǯo* M29b.

¶ ←Ch jiàozi, jiào.

° Also loanword in EYu *ɕiao* BJ149.

ɕula= 'to save, to rescue', cf *ɕïula=* L226b, CL69, T221b.

¶ ←Ch jiù.

° Also loanword in EYu *ɕiula=* B150.

ɕüɣer 'healthy', cf CL172b 'id, safe and sound', L234a, *ɕüker* L233b 'id; careless, casual, not so bad, not very good', *čüɣer* M147a 'only'.

¶ ←EYu *čüɣer* S467 'very well; it doesn't matter, never mind; ordinary', *čüɣeːr* B148 'smooth, steady; customary (?)', cf LM ǰüger ~ ǰügere Les1083a 'doesn't matter, all right', ǰüger bolxu Les1083a 'to recover from an illness'.

ɕümi= (~ ***ɕümü=***, ***ɕimi=***) 'to pluck (flowers), to weed (grass), to pull up (trees, turnips)', cf *ɕüme=* L233b, CL177b, *čüme=* M147b, *ɕöme=* L233a, *čömi=* M145a.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM čömü= Les202b 'to pluck, to pick, to reap'.

ɕümü=, see ***ɕümi=*** 'to pluck'.

ɕünkʰin 'marsh land, meadow', cf *ɕünkʰen* L233b, CL152, *ɕümkʰen* L233:Da 'beach; marsh', *ɕünken* T221b, *čünkʰin* T175b, *čünkʰïn* T175b, *ɕïŋkʰen* T177b, *čünɣen* M147b 'a certain kind of grass; meadow where this grass is growing'.

• ***soqalïɣ ɕünkʰin*** 'meadow with *soqa* grass'.

¶ <CT **čömken* 'meadow, peat' (cf EDPT 423a s.v. *čimgen*).

cürs-çars 'wrinkled (of dried leather; around the eyes)', cf L234b 'wrinkled'.

cürstïr=: ***yüzïn cürstïr=*** 'to wrinkle one's face, to make faces at', cf *çürïs=* L234b 'to wrinkle, to crumple; to frown, to knit one's brow'.

cüt 'meagre, thin, lean', cf *çüt^{h}* L233b, CL171b, *ʒüt^{h}* T186b, *ʒüt* M31b.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM ǰud Les1077a 'starvation, famine'.

çʰala= 'to hold a child', cf L235a.

çʰala= 'to pinch'.

¶ ←Ch qiā.

çʰaxotï 'exactly right'.

¶ ←Ch qiàhǎode.

çʰe, see ***çʰi*** 'camel'.

çʰi (~ ***çʰe***) 'camel', cf L236a, CL159b, *çʰiy* C82:69b, *ɕʰi* T222a, *če* M141b, *tʰi* L126a, CL159b, *tʰiy* L127b, *ti* T213a, M118b, *te* M114b, *tiè* PotII:435a.

¶ <CT **tebe* (cf EDPT 447b, ESTJaIII:313), cf Khak *tibe* Bas224a, Tuva *teve* T409a, Tofa *tebe* R75a. WYu *çʰi* < **ti* <CT **te* is irregular.

çʰi 'to go'.

¶ ←NwM *çʰi*^{213} CZW179a, cf Ch qù.

çʰiɕï 'camelherd', cf *çʰiɕɻ* L237b, CL163a, *çiçï* T176a, *čiʒi* M142b, *tʰiɕɻ* L127b, CL163a, *tʰiçï* T216a, *tiči* M119b.

çʰiçʰou 'balloon'.

¶ ←Ch qìqiú.

çʰikinik 'elbow', cf *çʰikenekʰ* L236b, C87:566, *çʰikʰenekʰ* L237a, *čikenek* M142b, *tšikenaik* Her194, *tikenek* M119a (mountain dial.).

¶ <CT **čikenek* ~ **čïkanak* (cf EDPT 553b s.v. *tirsgek*, Räs96a, Räs107a), cf Khak *čïʁanax* BI325b, Sagay *sïʁanax* Čan355a, Tuva *šenek* T570a, Tofa *čeʰhenek* R87a.

° →EYu *čekʰenek* BǰǏ325, *čikʰenek* B145, *čikenek* Kot446, TT77, *čeɣenek* J̌104b.

çʰili= 'of an animal to hold in the mouth or beak', cf *çʰile=* T222a, T17, *çile=* T221b 'id', *çʰile=* L236b, *çʰele=* L235b, CL175b 'id; of birds to peck'.

¶ ←NwM *çʰie*^{51} CZW182b, 'to hold in the mouth'.

çʰin 'bride'. Equivalent of ***kʰeln***.

¶ ←Ch qīn.

çʰinçʰi 'relatives'. Equivalent of ***orïɣ-tarïɣ***.

¶ ←Ch qīnqī.

çʰişï 'in fact, actually'.

¶ ←Ch qíshí.

çʰola= 'to pry open', L237b.

¶ ←Ch qiào.

çʰörmi 'dried cheese', cf L238b, *çʰörme* L238b, CL170a, T222b, *çʰürme* CL30, *čörme* M145b, *čürme* M147a, *čurme* Man62, *çʰorme* L237b, *çʰormi* L237b.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT čhur-ba ~ čhur-ra Das423a 'cheese made of milk', čhur-ba Jä159b 'a kind of vermicelli, prepared from butter-milk boiled', Amdo *çʰėr-wa* MG437, *çʰė-ra* MG23 'milk residue, cheese, chura'.

° Also loanword in EYu *čʰüra* B139, *čʰörme* B138, S91, S247, *čʰö:rmɛ* J̌85 'a kind of dairy product, curds, dried cheese', *čʰüerme* J67, *čėrmî* Man62, *čürme* PotII:420a 'cheese'. Note that WYu and EYu have an *-m-* apparently not found in any adjacent Tibetan dialect.

çʰük 'braid', cf *çʰüwük*ʰ L239b, *çʰüwek*ʰ L239b '(a man's) braid; tassel, fringe', *čuwek* M147a, *čuwik* M147a 'braid; ribbon on a shaman's pole', *tšöwök* Her194 'plait of hair'.

çʰük= (*çʰükki*) 'to kneel, to kneel down', cf *çʰük*ʰ= L239a, CL17, *čük=* M147b, *çʰök*ʰ= L238a, CL176b, *suk*ʰ= L333b.

¶ <CT **čök=* (cf EDPT 413b).

çʰüŋker 'Buddhist amulet; safe and sound', apparently a distortion of *şuŋkar* CL168b 'image of Buddha [worn] in a bag', L309b, *şuŋqar* L309b, *şoŋkar* L307a, *şonqar* L307:Da 'amulet, protective talisman (an image of Buddha etc, worn on the chest)' *šoŋɣar* M151b 'small bag containing a figure of Buddha, usually worn as a pectoral', *şoŋɣar* T209b 'embroidery worn on the chest by girls', perhaps contaminated with *çüɣer* 'healthy'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT sruṅ-ʿkhor Das1293a 'a talisman, a disk made gen. of threads consecrated by an incarnate lama', bsruṅ-ʿkhor Das1322b 'magic charm used as a protection against evil spirits', Xiàhé *şoŋ-kʰor* HL610a 'amulet (hung around the neck)', Reb-koṅ *šuŋ-kʰor* Roe142 'amulet'.

e, see ***ay*** 'moon, month'.

e, see ***yay*** 'summer'.

eɣin, see ***iɣin*** 'nephew'.

eʰlçï 'shaman', cf *eʰlçl* L27b, *eʰlçi* L27b, *yeʰlçl* L260b, CL164a, *yelçl* L259b:Da, *iɻʰçï* T181a, *iɻçï* T18, *ilčï* M1b, *elčï* M25b.

¶ <CT **elči* 'ambassador' (cf EDPT 129a), cf Tuva *elči* T612a 'courier'.

emen, see ***emin*** 'all over; often'.

emin (~ ***emen***) 'all over, altogether; often', cf L25b:Da, *emen* L25a 'often', *yimin* L263b, *yimen* L263b, *nïmen* L136b:Da 'id; whole, complete, total; consistently', *yemin* M39a, *yimin* M41a 'altogether'.

¶ ←NwM $i_{13}^{213}man^{51}$ CZW257a 'all, completely, entirely; altogether, in all'.

emis 'is not; mistake, failure, fault; mistaken, wrong', cf *emes* L25a 'id', CL123, M24a, *emes*[*dro*] Her200 'it is not', *ermes* L30b:Da 'mistaken'.

¶ < **emeɀ* < **ermeɀ*, cf Khak *nimes* BI117b, Tuva *eves* T603a, Tofa *emes* R104a.

emisi 'otherwise, or, then', cf *emese* M67:31 'or'.

¶ From an older **emese* < **ermese* 'if it is not', cf Khak *nimeze* BI117b 'or'.

enek, see ***enik*** 'cow'.

eneʰt= (~ ***eʰt=***, ***iʰt=***) 'to sound, to make a sound', cf *eneʰtʰ*= L26b, CL180b, *enext=* M26a, *enetʰ*= L26a, *enet=* M25b 'id', *ened*[*apter*] Her205 'to utter'.

¶ The first element unclear, the second <NE **et=* '(of birds) to sing' (cf EDPT 39a s.v. *öt=*, ESTJaI:556), cf Tofa *eʰt=* R106b 'of animals to utter a sound', Tuva *eʰt=* T606a 'id; of instruments to sound; to utter', Yak *et=* Slp548b 'to speak; of birds to twitter; of the thunder to roll'. Cf also Old Uygur *etin* 'sound' (cf EDPT 60b). Elsewhere CT **öt=* (with rounded vowel) prevails.

eni 'again, another time; also, too; in its turn, this time', cf *ene* L26a, CL175a, T178b, M25b, *yene* L258b, CL32, M39a, *enne* Her213, *ele* T178b.

¶ <CT **yene* (cf ESTJaIV:115) ~ **yana* (cf EDPT 943a, ESTJaIV:114).

enik (~ ***enek***, ***inik***) 'cow', cf Man63, *enekʰ* L26a, CL159a, T178b, *enek* T178b, M25b, *inek* T8, M32a (steppe dial.) 'id', *nek* M80a (mountain dial.) 'cow having thick fur'.

¶ <CT *inek* (cf EDPT 184a S.V. *ingek*, ESTJaI:358), cf Khak *ĭnek* BI67b, Tuva *inek* T208a, Tofa *inek* R24b, Yak *ïnax* Slp526b.

ennïɣ 'broad, wide', cf L26b, *yinnïɣ* L265a, *yennïɣ* L258b, CL171a. See also ***ennïs*** 'narrow'.

¶ ADJ of *en* L26a <CT **e:n* 'breadth' (cf EDPT 165b, ESTJaI:352), cf Khak *innĭɣ* BI60a, Yak *ienneex* Slp160a.

ennïs 'narrow', cf L26b, *yennïs* CL171a, L258b, *yenïs* L258b, *yinïs* L265a. See also ***ennïɣ*** 'broad'.

¶ <CT **e:n* 'breadth' (cf EDPT 165b, ESTJaI:352) + privative suffix **-siz* (with irregular *ns* > *nn*), which, as elsewhere in NE, was lost in WYu altogether.

° →EYu *eŋės* B9, *eŋcės* B9, which preserved a reflex of *s*; the development of *s* > *c* can be seen more often in EYu, but not regularly.

entiaq 'the east', cf *intiaq*^{h} L31a, *indʏaq* T181b, *indæk* M32a, *endæk* M25b, *ïntiaq*^{h} L21a, *untiyaq*^{h} L40b.

¶ Crasis of *untïn* 'east' + *yaq* 'side', cf *untun yaq*^{h} L41a.

erin (~ ***yerin***, ***yörin***) 'man; husband', cf *eren* L30a, CL162b, M26b, Her192, *erẹn* T178b, *ören* T194b, *elen* Man63, *yeren'* PotII:436a.

¶ <CT **eren* (cf EDPT 232b, ESTJaI:290), cf Khak *iren* BI62b.

e^{h}rkiçik 'young male goat (not castrated)', cf *ï^{h}rkeçik*^{h} L22b 'castrated male goat'.

¶ Contraction of *e^{h}rkiş* 'wether' + DIM *-çik*.

e^{h}rkik 'male', cf *e^{h}rkik*^{h} L28b, *e^{h}rkek*^{h} L28b, CL9, *ï^{h}rkek*^{h} L22b, *hṛkek*^{h} CL9, *hrkik* T181a, *erkek* M27a 'id, male animal'.

¶ <CT **erkek* (cf EDPT 223b, ESTJaI:297), cf Khak *ĭrɣek* BI68a 'male', Tuva *irɣek* T210a 'male bear', Tofa *i^{h}rhek* R201 'id, male sable animal', Yak dial. *irɣex* Slp153b. Except for WYu, NE points to **irkek*.

e^{h}rkiş 'wether, castrated male goat', cf *e^{h}rkeş* L28b, *ï^{h}rkeş* L22b, CL159a, *ï^{h}rkïs* C86:2, *hṛkïs* C86:2 'id', *erkeš* M27a 'stolen goat', *rgiš* Her199 'kid of one year'.

¶ <CT **erkeč* (cf EDPT 223b, ESTJaI:300).

e^{h}rkï 'old (of things)', cf L28b, CL172a, *eɹ^{h}ke* T179a, *ye^{h}rkï* L260b, T183b, *erke* M27a, *erki* M27a.

¶ <NE **erki*, cf Khak *irɣĭ* BI62a, Tuva *erɣi* T617a, Tožu *e^{h}rɣi* Čad47, Tofa *e^{h}rhi* R106a, Yak *erɣe* Slp544b.

e^{h}rkïs 'twins', cf *ï^{h}rkïs* L22b, *erkes* M27a, *örkös* [*möla*] Her193 (*möla* for *mïla* 'child').

¶ <CT **ekiz* < **ekkiz* (cf EDPT 119b, ESTJaI:252), cf Khak *ĭkĭs* BI67a, Tuva *iyis* T204b, Tofa *i^{h}his* R73. WYu *r* is secondary. Except for WYu, NE points to **ikiz*.

e^{h}rti 'early; earlier, in the past', cf *e^{h}ɹti* T179a, *erti* M27b, *e^{h}rte* L28b, CL172a, *erte* M27b, *ï^{h}rte* L22b, *rte* M97b 'early'.

• ***taŋqar e^{h}rti*** 'early in the morning', cf *taŋqar e^{h}rte* L94a, *taŋʁar erte* M27b.

¶ <CT **erte* (cf EDPT 202b, ESTJaI:302), cf Khak *irte* BI63b, Tuva *erte* T618b, Tofa *e^{h}rte* R106a, Yak *erde* Slp544b.

et= (~ ***it=***) 'to make; to fashion, to mold', cf T179a, M28a, *et^{h}=* L26a, CL177a, *it=* M32b, *yet^{h}=* L258b, *yet=* M39b, *e^{h}t=* T179a 'to make'.

• ***arɣa et=*** 'to be or become lazy'; ***emis et=*** 'to commit a fault, to make a mistake', cf *emes et^{h}=* L25a; ***uzït yüz et=*** 'to make faces', calqued from Ch zuò guĭliăn (zuò 'to do', guĭ 'devil', liăn 'face'); ***örek et=*** 'to be pregnant'; ***yoq et=*** 'to destroy, to demolish', synonym of ***yoq qïl=***.

¶ <CT **e:t=* 'to put in order; to do' (cf EDPT 36b, ESTJaI:312), cf Khak *it=* BI65a 'to

do', Tuva *et=* T606a 'to put in order'.

eʰt= (~ ***iʰt=***) 'to arrive, to reach, to get at, to get to', cf T179a, *eʰtʰ=* L27a, C86:2, *heṭ=* T180b, T8, *hit=* T180b, *yeʰtʰ=* L260b, CL179b, *yeʰt=* T184a, *yiʰt=* T184b, *et=* M28a, *yetʰ=* L258b, *yet=* M39b, *yit=* M41b.

• ***ïlïkki eʰt=*** 'to receive, to get (e.g. a letter)'; ***satqa eʰt=*** 'to become time to (+ PFUT)', cf *satʰ eʰtʰ=* L314a; ***yolɣa eʰt=*** 'to get on one's way, to be underway, to continue one's way'; ***sïk artqa eʰtkinti*** 'stealthily' (lit. having got behind the door); ***pïr kʰunki eʰtkinti*** 'one day, on a certain day'; ***yolɣa eʰtkinti*** 'on the way, along the way', cf *yoɬɣa hetkente* T245.

¶ <CT **yet=* (cf EDPT 884b, ESTJaIV:193), cf Khak *čit=* BI317b, Tuva *čeʰt=* T524b, Tofa *čeʰt=* R87b, Yak *sit=* Slp327b.

eʰt=, see ***eneʰt=*** 'to make a sound'.

eʰtïs= 'to surpass, to outdo, to overtake, to catch up with', cf L27a, *eʰtis=* L27a 'id', *yeʰtïs=* L260b, *yeʰtis=* L260b 'id; to be sufficient', *yetis=* M40a, *yitis=* M41b 'to arrive together'.

¶ <CT **yetiš=* (cf EDPT 894a, ESTJaIV:194), cf Khak *čidïs=* BI316a, Tuva *čediš=* T530b, Tofa *čeʰtiš=* R87b, Yak *sitis=* Slp327b.

eʰtkïr= 'to cause to arrive', cf *eʰtʰkïr=* L27b, *yeʰtʰkïr=* L260b, CL91, CL156 'id; to postpone; to see somebody off', *yetqïr=* M40a, *yetker=* M40a, *yetkir=* M40a, *yetkïr=* M40a 'to show up, to appear'.

¶ <CT **yetkür=* (cf Erdal 1991: 755), cf Tofa *čeʰtkir=* R88a.

ewer 'devil', cf L29a, *öwar* Her211 'soul', *ewer* M24b, *ewerï* T179a, M24b, *yewerï* M38b 'spirit; spirit of a deceased'.

° EYu *öwar* Her211 'soul'.

eynta 'in summer', cf *yeyinta* L261a.

¶ Contraction of an older **yayïn* (cf EDPT 980a), instrumental of *yay* 'summer', to which apparently a LOC has been added.

ezeŋkï 'stirrup', cf L29b:Da, *ezenkï* L29b, T179a, *ezïnkï* CL20, *ezenɣï* M25a, *ezenɣo* M25a, *ezeŋɣo* M25a, *eseŋe* Her204, *üzeŋkï* L48b.

¶ <NE **ezeŋgi* ~ **izeŋge* (cf RT82:120), cf Khak *ïzeŋe* BI66a, Tuva *ezeŋɣi* T608a, Tofa *ezeŋgi* R103a, Yak *iŋehe* Slp153a. Elsewhere CT **üzeŋgü* (cf EDPT 289b, ESTJaI:624) (with rounded vowels) prevails.

ezer 'saddle', cf L29b, CL167b, M25a, *ezeṛ* T8, *izer* Man64, *eser* Her204.

¶ <CT **eder* (cf EDPT 63b, ESTJaI:241), cf Khak *izer* BI56b, Tuva *ezer* T608a, Tofa *ezer* R103a. The development of **d* in Tuva and Tofa is irregular here.

ezer= (*ezerɣi*) 'to follow', cf L29b, CL90, M25a, *ïzer=* T220b, *eser*[*ges*] Her208.

¶ <CT **eder=* (cf EDPT 67a, ESTJaI:242), cf Tuva *eder=* T606a, Tofa *eder=* R103a.

ezert= 'to lead, to take somebody along or with one', cf T179a, M25a, *ezertʰ=* L29b, CL181b, *ezeɹt=* T179a, *ïzeɹt=* T220b, [*yol*] *eserd*[*ine*] Her202 (*yol* 'way, road').

¶ <CT *edert=* (cf Erdal 1991: 771), cf Khak *izert=* BI57a, Tuva *edert=* T606b, Tofa *edert=* R103a.

ezertpi 'leader, chief', cf *ezertʰpe* L30a.

fanɕïŋ 'anyway'.

¶ ←Ch fǎnzheng.

faŋɕala= 'to have a holiday', cf L88b, *ɕa faŋna=* L88b.

¶ ←Ch fàngjià.

fïn 'minute', cf L89a, *fïŋ* L89a, *fuŋ* L90b.

¶ ←Ch fēn; for the forms ending in *-ŋ*, cf NwM *fəŋ*^{44} CZW360a.

° Also loanword in EYu *fėn* B41.

fïŋ 'grave, tomb'

¶ ←NwM *fəŋ*^{51} CZW360b 'grave, tomb', cf Ch fén.

fïŋfïŋzï 'crack, crevice'.

¶ ←NwM *fəŋ*$^{213}_{13}$*fəŋcɿ* CZW42b, cf Ch fèngzi (spoken language).

fïŋyüɛn 'graveyard'.

¶ ←NwM *fəŋ*$^{51}_{44}$*üɛn* ZW116.

fu 'rich, wealthy'. Equivalent of ***pay***.

¶ ←Ch fù.

fuyn 'grave, tomb', cf *fuyin* L89b 'id; graveyard', M134b 'interment, funeral ceremony'. Equivalent of ***tur***.

¶ ←Chinese, perhaps a contraction of Ch fényíng 'grave, tomb; graveyard'.

haɕï: ***haɕï oɣïl*** 'nephew', ***haɕï qïz*** 'niece', cf *haɕɿ* CL165b 'nephew (brother's son)', *haɕɿ oɣïl* L220a 'nephew', *haɕɿ qïz* L220a 'niece', *ačï qïs* M19b 'niece (sister's daughter)'.

¶ ←EYu *hačė*: *hačė kʰon* B55 'niece', *hačė kʰün* B55 'nephew', cf LM ači Les8a 'grandson', ači ökin Les8a 'granddaughter, niece' (ökin 'daughter'), ači kübegün Les8a 'grandson, nephew' (kübegün 'son'). EYu reflects initial **h*, as do HY *hači kö'ün* Mos59 'grandson', and Dgx *haɕʰɿ* Bökh65 'grandchild'.

hal 'force', cf L219a.

halta 'just now, a moment ago, an instant ago', cf L219a.

halɣar (~ ***harɣa***) 'bovine dung', cf L219b, CL14, *xałʁar* M135a, *harɣal* L220b:Da, *xarʁał* M135b, *xargal* PotII:436a, *xarʁar* M135b, *haɣar* L219b, *xaʁar* M134a 'dry cow dung (used as fuel)', *hayṛar* Her207 'manure'.

¶ ←EYu *harʁal* B55, J̌94a, S118, *xargal* Kot444 'cow dung', cf LM arɣal Les52a. The form seems to be restricted to Central and Eastern Mongolic, elsewhere forms related to LM arɣasun Les52b prevail. EYu reflects initial **h*, as do Dgx *haʁa* Bökh65, Dag *xarɣėl* Enk106, and BaoÑ *ħárqal* CN66.

hanï= 'to go, to go away, to leave', cf L219a, C86:6 'to go, to get away', T180a, *xanï=* T17, M135a, *hana=* T180a, *xana=* M135a 'to run away, to escape'.

° EYu *hanė=* B55, J95b 'to go'.

hapta= (~ ***hatta=***) 'to step', cf *hapʰta=* L218a, *xapta=* M135a, *atʰta=* L2b, CL176b 'to step (over), to go beyond'.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **a:tla=* (cf EDPT 58a s.v. *atlan=*, ESTJaI:322), cf Khak *alta=* BI24a.

har= 'to be or become tired; to go, to leave', cf L220a, CL180b 'to be tired, tired out, fatigued, worn out, weary', *xar=* T219b, M135b, *har*[*btör*] Her200 'to be tired'.

¶ <CT **ha:r=* (cf EDPT 193a, ESTJaI:160).

harɣa, see ***halɣar*** 'bovine dung'.

harwa (~ ***hïrwa***) 'highland barley (grown in Tibet and Qīnghǎi)', cf L220b, CL161a, T180a, *xarwa* M135b, *hïrwa* L221a 'id', *xarba* PotII:398 'id (Hordeum vulgare L.)'.

¶ <CT **harpa* (cf EDPT 198b, ESTJaI:176). Initial *h* is only attested in WYu.

hatta=, see ***hapta=*** 'to step'.

haya 'palm of the hand', cf L219b, CL14, *xaya* T219b, M134b, *xayan* M134b.

¶ <CT **a:ya* (cf EDPT 267a, ESTJaI:100), cf Khak *aya* BI37a; initial *h* is only attested

in WYu, perhaps inspired by EYu *halʁan* B55, *halaʁan* J̌93a, cf LM alaɣa(n) Les26b.

heɣïn 'the day after tomorrow', cf L221a, CL158b, *heɣen* C86:6, *xeʁïn* M136a, *xeɣïn* M136a, *higen* Her209.

¶ The first element unknown, the second probably *kʰun* 'day'.

hïrwa, see ***harwa*** 'highland barley'.

hïrwa= 'to be or become worn out (of clothes); to be or become worn out, exhausted (of a person)', cf L221a, CL180a, *xïrwa=* L179b, *harwa=* L220b 'to wear out, to damage', T180a '(of power) to break', *xarwa=* M135b 'to wear out clothes'.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **opra=* 'to decay; of clothes to wear out' (cf EDPT 14a).

hora= 'to lack', cf L222b, *xora=* L180a 'to lack, to be short of (money), (of money) to be deficient; to owe (money)', M137a 'to lack, to become less (of money, cattle)'.

¶ Perhaps related to SH ho'ara= Haen76 'to neglect, to fail one's duty etc', cf Mgr *fo:ro=* Khas59 'to suffer from paralysis; to neglect, to fail'.

hora= 'to coil, to twist; to strangle', cf L222a, CL176a, *xora=* M137a, *ora=* M82b 'to wind, to twine, to turn, to wrap, to bind'.

¶ ←EYu *horo:=* J̌95b, S531, *horo=* J̌102a, *χɔrɔ:=* B50, 'to wind, to turn, to wrap', cf LM oriya= Les618a, oroɣa= Les621b. EYu, Mgr *furo=* S/M111, *χuro=* S/M185, BaoÑ *ɦòrė=* CN70, Dgx *xŭorŭo=* Bökh60 reflect initial **h*.

horal= 'to be missing, to be lacking', cf *horalï=* L222b.

horat= 'to miss, to lack something', cf *horatʰ=* L222b 'to treat unfairly, to treat shabbily; to cause to come to grief, to cause to suffer losses'.

horɣï= 'to boil (of water, tea, meat)', cf L223a, C179b, L223a, *horuɣu=* L222b, *xorɣï=* L180b, *xorɣu=* L180b 'to boil'.

¶ ←EYu *hɔrʁė=* B57, *χɔrʁė=* B51, *χorʁo=* S172 'to cook, to boil', *χorʁė=* S369 'to boil over', cf LM orgi= Les618a 'to boil up etc'. EYu reflects initial **h*, as does Dag *xɔrɣʸe:l* Enk122 'whirlpool', *xɔrɣʸe:d=* Enk122 'to whirl, seethe, etc'.

horɣït= 'to cook or boil something', cf *horɣïtʰ=* L223a, *xorʁït=* M137a.

horiʂ 'sling-shot (used to e.g. drive sheep back to the herd)', cf *horeʂ* L222b, *xoreʂ* L180a 'sling-shot'.

i (~ ***yi***) 'one'. Equivalent of ***pïr***.

¶ ←Ch yī.

iɕi 'aunt (father's younger brother's wife)', cf L31b, CL27, *iʒi* M31a, *eɕi* L28b, *eɕe* L28b, CL165a.

¶ <CT **eče* 'mother's younger sister; one's elder sister' (cf EDPT 20a, ESTJaI:231), cf Khak *ǐʒe* BI69 'mother'.

iʰɕikï 'intestines, entrails, guts; abdomen, belly', cf *hiɕikï* L221b, CL162a, T181a, *hiɕʰikï* L222a, CL32, *siɕikï* T210b, *ïʰɕikï* L22a, C86:9, *eʰɕikï* L27b, *eɕikï* L29a, CL162a, T181a, *ečikï* M28b, *ičike* M32b, *ičiki* M32b, *ičikï* M32b, *ičeki* M32b, *ičïki* M33a, *ičiɣe* M32b, *čiká* Man65, *gčeg* PotII:435a 'id', *d'ige* Her195 'belly', *ded'ige* Her195 'abdomen'.

• ***iʰɕikï-pezïk*** 'pregnant'.

¶ <CT **ičekü* (cf EDPT 25b, read *ičegü*, ESTJaI:392), cf Khak *ǐčeɣe* BI69b 'entrails'.

iʰɕikïlïɣ 'having intestines', cf *ičikïlïʁ* M32b.

iʰɕir= 'to give to drink or eat', cf *hi̯ɕir=* CL37, *hiɕir=* L222a, T181a, *hi̯ɕer=* CL37, *hïɕir=* T181a, *siɕir=* L243a, T210b, *hiɕer=* L221b, C86:6, *ečir=* M28b, *ičer=* M32b, *ičir=* M33a.

¶ <CT **ičür=* (cf EDPT 30a), cf Khak *ǐčǐr=* BI69b.

iʰɕiraqqa 'inwards, to the inside'.

¶ From *ïʂ* 'inside'. For a similar formation, see ***uʰtïraqqa*** 'ahead'.

içʰɛn 'before, previously'. Equivalent of ***pʰornta***.

¶ ←Ch yǐqián.

içʰi 'together; altogether', cf *yiçʰi* L268b, CL55, T184b, *yiče* M41b.

¶ ←Ch yīqǐ.

iɣin (~ ***eɣin***, ***öɣin***) 'nephew', cf *eɣen* M24b, *yeɣen* M38b, *yiɣen* M40a 'id', L268b, CL22, *eɣen* L27a, CL165b, *yeɣen* L260a 'nephew (sister's son)'.

¶ <CT **yegen* (cf EDPT 912b, ESTJaIV:166), cf Khak *čeen* BI315a, Tuva *čeen* T561a, Tofa *čeen* R94, Yak *sien* Pek2189.

iʰki-sïŋnï 'elder and younger sisters', cf *eʰke-sïŋnï* L27b, *hikesïŋnï* L221b 'id, brothers and sisters, siblings', *heke sïŋnï* T233 'siblings', *exke sïŋnï* M108b, *ekesiŋnï* M25a 'wife of a younger relative'.

• ***çʰïqan iʰki-sïŋnï*** 'female cousins', cf *çʰŋqan qïzaqa* L295b 'elder female cousin', *çʰŋqan sïŋnï* L195b 'younger female cousin'.

¶ Hendiadys consisting of *sïŋnï* 'younger sister' + a first element *exke* Her193 'elder sister', M25a, *hęke* T8, *yexke* M38b 'id, older woman' <CT **eke* 'elder sister, older female relative' (cf EDPT 100b, ESTJaI:222), cf Tuva *iye* T202a, Tofa *iʰhe* R25 'mother'.

iʰkin 'surely' (a particle), cf *eʰkïn* L27b.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **eken* ~ **erken* 'while (being)' (cf EDPT 224b), cf Tuva *irɣin* T210a, *iyin* T204b, Tofa *erɣen* R105a 'a particle indicating probability'.

ila= 'to comply with'.

¶ ←Ch yī.

ilïm 'glue', cf *yilïm* L265b, CL46, *yelïm* L259b, *yiɬïm* M40b.

¶ <CT **yelim* (cf EDPT 929a, ESTJaIV:179), cf Sagay *čɛlim* RIII:1979, Tofa *čelim* R86b, Yak *silim* Slp323a.

° →EYu *yelėm* S555.

ilïmni= (*ilïmniɣi*) 'to glue', cf *yilïmne=* L265b, CL46, *yiɬïmne=* M41a.

¶ <CT **yelimle=* (cf EDPT 929a), cf Sagay *čɛlimnɛ=* RIII:1979, Yak *silimnee=* Slp323a.

imsa=, see ***yimsa=*** 'to use'.

imsaq (~ ***yimsaq***) 'soft', cf *yimsaʰq* T184a, *yemsaq* T183b, *emsaq* T178b, *yumsaq* M44a 'id', *yimsaqʰ* L264a, CL171b, C93:45, *yïmsaqʰ* L257a, *yumsaqʰ* L274b 'id; flour'.

¶ <CT **yïmšak* ~ **yumšak* (cf EDPT 938b, ESTJaIV:253), cf Khak *nïmzax* BI120a, Tuva *čïmčak* T557a, Tofa *ňïmčaq* R48b, *čïmžaq* R93a. In NE the unrounded variant prevails.

imsart= 'to make soft, to soften', cf *yimsart=* T184a, *yimsartʰ=* L264a, *yimsaɹt=* T184a, *yumsart=* M44a.

¶ <CT **yïmšat=* ~ **yumšat=* (cf EDPT 939b), cf Khak *nïmzat=* BI120a, Sagay *čïmžat=* BI327a, Tuva *čïmčat=* T557a, Tofa *čïmžat=* R93b, Yak *sïmnat=* Slp358b. In NE the unrounded variant prevails. WYu *r* is secondary, unless the verb is perhaps a CAUS of an otherwise Kypchak form **yumsar=* (cf ESTJaIV:253).

imtaq, see ***intaq*** 'equine dung'.

inaq 'felt blanket, used on the kang or as a saddle pad', cf *yinaqʰ* L265a, CL169b, *yünaqʰ* L278a, *yönaqʰ* L276a, *yonaqʰ* L270a, *yunaqʰ* L275a 'felt rug or felt blanket', *yïnaq* T186a 'felt rug used on the kang', *yunaq* M44b 'id; saddle pad', *oynaq* M81b 'felt rug', *yonak* Her196 'felt', *yünak* Her204 'saddle-cloth'.

¶ <CT **yonak* 'saddle pad' (cf EDPT 949a, ESTJaIV:222), cf Tuva *čonak* T539a, Tofa *ňonaq* R48a. WYu *i* is irregular.

inik, see ***enik*** 'cow'.

insiŋçis 'a Yugur woman's proper name'.

¶ The first elements ←Ch yín 'silver' + xìng 'apricot', the second element *çis* 'malachite', frequent in women's names.

intaq (~ ***imtaq***) 'equine dung', cf *yintaqʰ* L265a:Da, C92:35, *yimtaqʰ* L263b, C92:35, T184a, *yindaq* M41a, *yomdoq* M42a, *yondaq* M42a, *yuntaq* M44b 'id', *yendak* PotII:436a 'dried horse dung used as a fuel'.

¶ <CT **yuntak* ~ **yundak* (cf EDPT 947a). WYu *i* is irregular.

iŋna= 'to answer'.

¶ ←Ch yīng.

iŋnek 'a large sieve to sieve flour', cf *iŋnekʰ* L31b, *eŋnekʰ* L26b, *yiŋnekʰ* L267a, *yinekʰ* L265a, *ïnnikʰ* L21a 'id', *iŋnek* M32a, *eŋnek* Her212 'sieve'. See ***yiŋni=*** 'to sieve'.

¶ < **eglek* <CT **elgek* (cf EDPT 143a, ESTJaI:263), cf Khak *ilɣek* BI57b, Tofa *elɣek* R103b.

isin 'healthy', cf *eʰsen* L28a, C86:2, *esen* L29a, CL172b, M27b 'id, peaceful, safe'.

¶ <CT **esen* (cf EDPT 248a, ESTJaI:308), cf Khak *izen* BI56b.

isï 'self', cf M32b, *eʰsɿ* CL31, T179a, *eʰsï* C82:73a, T179a 'id', L28a, *eʰsɿ* L28a 'id; host; someone, stranger', *ise* M32a 'lord, master of the house', *exse* Her200 'gentleman'.

¶ Perhaps an irregular development of CT **idi* ~ **ige* 'master, owner' (cf EDPT 41a, ESTJaI:237) + POS3, cf Khak *ee* BI335b, Tuva *ee* T622a, Tofa *ee* R106b. Cf further *isim* M32a, *yisim* M41b 'important guest', *isïm* M32b 'my lord', *isïm* M32b 'widow' (+ obsolete POS1). For the semantics, cf EYu *ečen* B11, J94a 'owner, master; self, oneself, I', LM eǰen Les336b 'lord, master'. The meaning 'self' is peculiar of WYu and EYu.

isïr= 'to be or become drunk', cf *eʰsïr=* L28a, CL22, *eʰser=* T179a, *eʰsir=* T29, *hesïr=* T180b, *hisïr=* T180b, *esïr=* L29a, CL32, *eser=* M27b, *iser* M32a, *isir=* M32a.

¶ <CT **esür=* (cf EDPT 251a, ESTJaI:309), cf Khak *izǐr=* BI57a, Tuva *eziri=* T608b, Tofa *eʰsiri=* R106a, Yak *itir=* Slp157b.

iskinni= '(of an animal) to scrape with the hoofs', cf *iskenne=* M32a, *heskene=* T180b, *eʰsken=* L28b, *esken=* T179a, *hęsken=* T8 'to raise dust by kicking the hoofs'.

¶ Cf Tuva *eškenne=* T621a 'of a cow to scrape with the hoofs; to scrape with the paws; to shovel the earth', perhaps related to CT **eš=* 'to row; to dig' (cf EDPT 255a, ESTJaI:315), cf Khak *is=* BI64a 'to row; to scoop', Tuva *eš=* T607b, Tofa *eʰš=* R106b 'to row, to shovel', Yak *es=* Pek961 'to throw out; to take off, to take away'.

isɛ 'a bit'.

¶ ←Ch yīxiē.

it=, see ***et=*** 'to do'.

iʰt=, see ***eʰt=*** 'to arrive'.

iʰt=, see ***eneʰt=*** 'to make a sound'.

iʰt (~ ***yiʰt***) 'meat', cf *si̥tʰ* CL32, *sitʰ* L242a, *sit* T210b, *sɿt* T209b, *eʰtʰ* L27a, *eʰt* T179a, *yeʰtʰ* L260b, CL170a, *etʰ* CL32, *et* M28a, Her195, *it* M32b, *yet* M39b, *yetʰ* CL32, *yitʰ* L264b, CL32, *yit* M41b.

¶ <CT **et* (cf EDPT 33b, ESTJaI:311), cf Khak *it* BI65a, Tuva *eʰt* T621b, Tofa *eʰt* R106b, Yak *et* Slp548b.

itali (~ ***yitali***) 'together'.

¶ ←NwM $i^{213}_{13}ta^{51}_{44}ňi$ CZW255a, $yi^{21}ta^{24}ňi^{21}$ Liú167b; for the last element, cf Ch lǐ.

itaq, see ***yitaq*** 'scoundrel'.

iʰtik 'skirt of a garment', cf *eʰtekʰ* L27a, CL168b, *eʰtek* T179a, *hę̥tekʰ* C8, *hetek*

T180b, *hitik* T181a, *etik* M28a, *itik* M32b.

• ***iʰçiʰtik*** 'the inner, smaller of the two skirts of a garment', cf *ič itik* M32b, *hiçi eʰtekʰ* L27a; ***taʰs iʰtik*** 'the outer, larger of the two skirts of a garment', cf *tas eʰtekʰ* L27a, *tas itik* M32b.

¶ <CT **etek* (cf EDPT 50a, ESTJaI:313), cf Khak *idek* BI55b, Tuva *eʰdek* ESTJaI:313, Tofa *eʰtek* R106b.

iʰtikti= 'to put or carry in one's skirt'.

¶ <CT **etekle*=, cf Khak *idekte*= BI55b, Tuva *edekte*= T606a, Tofa *eʰtekte*= R106b.

iwei 'to think'.

• ***cī iwei*** 'to think by oneself'.

¶ ←Ch yǐwéi.

iyaŋ (~ ***yiyaŋ***) 'similar'.

¶ ←Ch yīyàng.

ixa (~ ***yixa***) 'all of a sudden, immediately'.

¶ ←NwM $i_{13}^{213}xa^{213}$ CZW256a, $yi^{21}xa^{44}$ Liú166a, cf Ch yīxià.

ixou (~ ***yixou***) 'afterwards'. Equivalent of ***antan soŋ***.

¶ ←Ch yǐhòu.

ïlïɣ (~ ***ïlïk***) (*ïlïkki*) 'hand', cf CL162a, T220a, *ïɬïɣ* T220a, *eɬïɣ* M25a, *eliɣ* M25b, *eɬiɣ* M25b, *elïk* PotII:436a, *yïllïɣ* Man64 'id', *ïlïɣ* L21a 'id; a unit of length (1/3 decimetre); chopsticks; means, measure, methods; craftmanship', *eluk* Her194 'finger'.

• ***yiɣaş ïlïɣ*** 'chopsticks'.

¶ <CT **ilig* ~ **elig* 'hand' (cf EDPT 140b, ESTJaI:260), cf Khak *ǐlǐɣ* BI67a 'measure of length', Tuva *iliɣ* T206a 'id', Yak *ilii* Slp146a 'hand'. NE points to **ilig*.

ïlïk 'hand; finger', idiolectical for ***ïlïɣ*** 'hand'.

ïnçin-tarçi 'a Yugur man's proper name', cf the names *enǯin tonǯo* M26a, *inǯæn tonǯep* M32a for the first element, and *eratïn darǯï* M26a for the second.

¶ Perhaps ←LT mkhyen-pa Jä54b 'to understand' + an unknown element.

ïnï (*ïnïɣa*) 'younger brother', cf L21a, CL165a, M154a, *ïŋï* T220a, T9, *ini* M32a, *ene* M25b, *eni* M26a, *ïnïɣ* T220a, *õnõ* Man63, *öne* Her193.

¶ <CT **ini* (cf EDPT 170a, ESTJaI:362), cf Yak *ini* Slp150b.

ïŋkar 'pianniu (offspring of a bull and a yak-cow)', cf L22a:Da 'calf of a pianniu'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT ʿgar-ba Jä93a 'a mixed breed of cattle, of a mdzo [crossbreed of a yak-bull and a cow] and a common cow, or a bull and a mdzo-mo [mdzo-cow]'.

ïŋkarwaş 'stupid person', cf L22a, CL172b, and perhaps also *ïŋkarwa* L22a 'blunderer', *ïŋʁarwa* M154a 'stupid'.

¶ Compound consisting of *paş* 'head' + a first element *ïŋkar* L22a 'muddled, confused', *ïŋɣar* M154a 'other; Eastern Yugur', *angar* Her193, *ïŋkar soz* L22a 'the Eastern Yugur language' (*soz* 'word'), possibly related to LT mgar-ba Jä90a 'smith', Das282a 'id, one of low caste', Xiàhé *ŋga-ra* TB186 'blacksmith', Arïk *rçak-mgar* TB186 'id, manufacturer' (LT lčags-mgar).

° Also loanword in EYu *ŋkar* J̌9 'Eastern Yugur'.

ïrçalïŋ 'a kind of flute', cf L25a, CL168b, *ïrçaluɣun* L25a:Da 'zurna', *ʁčaɬïŋ* T205a, T252 [untranslated], *rǯalæn* M97a [tentatively translated as '? a toponym'].

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT rgya-gliṅ Das258b (s.v. gliṅ-bu) 'a larger musical instrument like a hautboy, used in sacred ceremonies'.

° Also loanword in EYu *rčaɣlèŋ* (or *rčaklèŋ*) B156 'zurna horn', *čʰa:lèŋ* S177 'horn,

trumpet'.

ïʰrktïɣ 'strong; loud (of a voice)', cf *ïʰrkʰtïɣ* L22b, *yeʰrktïɣ* L261a, *erktïʁ* M27a 'having power'.

¶ <CT **erklig* (cf EDPT 224a), cf Khak *irĭk* BI62b.

ïʰrq (*ïʰrqqa*) 'divination device; omen, prophecy', cf *ïʰrqʰ* L22b, CL8, *hïr̥qʰ* CL8, *hr̥qʰ* CL9, *ïrq* M154a, *e̊rq* M26b, *erk* M154a, *ïrïq* M154b, *e̊rïq* M27b.

¶ <CT **ïrk* (cf EDPT 213a, ESTJaI:665), cf Tofa *ïʰr̥t̥* R71:240 'highest religious rank'.

ïs 'smoke', cf L24a, CL158a, T220b, M154b, *öss* Her196 'id, fog'.

¶ <CT **iš* ~ **ïš* 'soot, dirty smoke' (cf EDPT 254b, ESTJaI:379), cf Khak *ïs* BI332a 'soot, smoke', Tuva *ïš* T601a, Tofa *ïš* R102a 'smoke'.

ïs 'work, action', cf L23b, CL27, T220b, *is* M32a, *i̊s* M154b 'work, heavy work', [*n*]*is*[*ta bare*] Her201 'to do'.

¶ <CT **i:š* (cf EDPT 254a, ESTJaI:395), cf Tuva *iš* T211a, Tofa *iš* R24b, Yak *iis* Pek963.

ïsï= (*ïsïɣa*) 'to be or become warm or hot', cf L24a, *ïʰsï=* L22a, C82:70a, *ïssï=* L24a, CL46 'id; to have a fever'.

• ***poz ïsï=*** 'to have a fever', cf *poz ïʰsï=* L22a.

¶ <CT **isi=* ~ **ïsï=* (cf EDPT 241b, ESTJaI:669), cf Khak *ĭzĭ=* BI66b, Tuva *izi=* T203a, Tofa *iʰsi=* R25a.

ïsïɣ 'warm, hot', cf L24a, *ïʰsïɣ* L22b, CL172a, *ïssïɣ* L24a, CL46, T220b, M32a, *eʰsïɣ* L28a, *isik* PotII:435b, *ssi*[*ter*] Her209, *sïɣ* T208b, *sɪɣ* T206b.

¶ <CT **isig* ~ **ïsïg* (cf EDPT 246a, ESTJaI:668), cf Khak *ĭzĭɣ* BI66b, Tuva *iziɣ* T203a, Tofa *iʰsiɣ* R25a, Yak *itii* Slp157a.

ïsta= 'to resemble; to be equal, to be the same (+ ACC)', cf *usta=* L44a, M131b (+ DAT or ACC), *sɪta=* L326b, *suta=* L332b (+ ACC).

• ***sen qoŋqïrnï ïstaɣaq*** 'you butthead!' (lit. you resemble a buttock).

¶ Probably related to *usna=* (cf EDPT 249b, read *ösne=* ~ *osna=*), recorded by Kashgari.

ïsta= 'to smoke; to cure, to smoke-dry', cf L24a, M154b 'to emit smoke'.

¶ <CT **išle=* ~ **ïšla=* (cf EDPT 263a S.V. *išlen=*, ESTJaI:380), cf Khak *ïsta=* BI332a, Tuva *ïšta=* T602a, Tofa *ïšta=* R102a.

ïstas= 'to resemble one another, to equal', cf *sɪtas=* L326b, *sutas=* L322b 'id', *stuas* [*xan nemeter*] Her201 'equal, same' (for *ïstasqan nimitï* 'it is a thing that is similar').

ïʂ (*ïʂki*, *iʰç-*) 'inside', cf L23a, CL158a, *iʂ* L31b, *iš* M33a, and the oblique forms *ič* M32b, *hiç* T181a, *siç* T206b, *ʂɪ* T209b.

• ***iʰçinti*** 'in it', cf *hiçinte* CL37, *hiçinte* L221b, *hïçïnta* L220b, *siçinte* L243a, *ičinte* M32b, *dšende* Her202, *g'inde* Her200.

¶ <CT **ič* (cf EDPT 17a, ESTJaI:388), cf Khak *ĭstĭ* BI69a, Tuva *ižin* T202b, *išti* T211b, Tofa *iʰšti* R25b, Yak *is* Slp154a.

ïʂ= (*ïʂki*, *iʰç-*) 'to drink; to eat (soup, fluid food)', cf L23a, CL175b, T220b, *iš=* M33a, and the oblique forms *iʰčʰ* T181a, *ičʰ* T181a, *ïʰč* T220a, *hi̊ç* T181a, T8, *hiçʰ* T181a, *ič* M32b, *eč* M28b, *išt* M33b, *ʂɪ* T209b, *tš*[*ine*] Her205.

• ***semen ïʂ=*** 'to eat, to eat food', cf L23a.

¶ <CT **ič=* (cf EDPT 19a, ESTJaI:391), cf Khak *is=* BI68a, Tuva *iš=* T202a, Tofa *iš=* R24b, *iʰš=* R78:11, Yak *is=* Slp154b.

ïʂkï (~ ***ʂïkï***) (*ïʂkïɣi*) 'two', cf *ɻʂqï* T181b, *ï̊ʂqi̊* T8, *ï̊ʂqï̊* T23, *iʂki* T181b, *iʂke* T181b, *iške* M33a, *ʂɪkï* L304b, CL173a, T209b, *ʂɪki* L305a, *ʂɪke* T209b, *ʂïqï* T210b, *šike* PotII:436a, *ʂki* T209b, *ške* M33a, *škõ* Man61, *šge* Her197.

¶ <CT *iki < *ikki ~ *eki < *ekki (cf EDPT 100b, ESTJaI:337), cf Khak ǐkǐ BI66b, Tuva *iyi* T203b, Tožu *iʰyi* Čad43, Tofa *iʰhi* R25a, Yak *ikki* Slp144b.

ïşkïnçï 'second, cf *şɣkïnçɣ* L305a, C82:72b, *şɣkençi* T209b, *şkïnçï* T209b, *iškinǯi* M33b, *iškenǯi* M33b, *iškenǯï* M33b, *iškenǯe* M33a, *iškenč* M179.

¶ Cf Khak *ǐkǐnǯǐ* BI67a.

ïşkïsï (*ïşkïsïŋki*) 'the two of them, both; (together) with, and', cf T220b, *şɣkesï* L305a, CL66, *şɣkeʰsï* CL77 'the two of them', *iškesï* M67:51 'together with'.

¶ From *ïşkï* 'two' + POS3; unlikely to be a crasis of *şïkï eʰsï* L305a. For a similar formation, see ***üʰçüsï*** 'the three of them'.

ïşkï-yiɣïrmï 'twelve', cf *şɣkeyɣïrmï* L305a, C82:70b, *şɣkiɣïrmï* L305a, *şɣkiyɣïrmï* L305a, *šike germe* PotII:437, *škigerma* Man61, *šgigörmen* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *ïşkï* 'two' + *yiɣïrmï* 'twenty'.

ïşkïş (~ ***şïkïş***) (*ïşkïşki*) 'something to eat, (fluid) food; beverage', cf *şɣïş* L305b, *ïşɣïş* CL169b 'food, dish, meal', L23b 'id; grain ration'.

ïşkun 'twenty', cf *şɣkon* L305a, CL173a, *iškon* M33b (seldomly used).

¶ Crasis of *ïşkï* 'two' + *on* 'ten', further only occurring in Tofa *iʰhon* R25a.

ïşt (*ïştqa*) 'dog', cf *ïştʰ* L23b, CL159b, *ïşt* T220b, T8, *ïšt* M154b, Man63, *išt* M33b, *išt'* PotII:437, *ɛšt* M154b, *ešt* M28b, PotII:436a, Her199, *şɣtʰ* L304b, *şɣt* T209b.

¶ < *ït <CT *ïyt (cf EDPT 34a s.v. *ït*, ESTJaI:385), cf Tuva *ïʰt* Jan38, Tofa *ïʰt* R102b, Yak *ït* Slp531b. Elsewhere *it ~ *iyt <CT *ïyt prevails, cf Khak (Shor dial.) *it* B75:8.

ïşt= (*ïştqa*) 'to push', cf *ïştʰ=* L23b, CL177a, *ïşt=* T23, *ïšt=* M154b, *it=* M32b, *işt=* T8, *išt=* M32b, *ïšït=* M154b, *išit=* M33a 'id', *yid*[*ine*] Her208 'to pull'.

¶ ***neraqïŋqa ïşt=***, ***pïr qïzïqqa ïşt=*** 'to push aside'.

¶ < *ït= ~ *it= <CT *ïyt= 'to push' (cf EDPT 38a, ESTJaI:386), cf Khak ǐt= BI69a, Tuva *iʰt=* T201a, Tofa *iʰt=* R25b, Yak *üt=* Slp458b.

ïştïɣ 'sharp (of the edge)', cf T220b 'id', L23b, *ïštïʁ* M154b, *ištïʁ* M33b, *şɣtïɣ* L304a 'id; sharp (of words)'.

¶ <CT *yitig ~ *yïtïg (cf EDPT 889a, ESTJaIV:205), cf Khak *čitǐɣ* BI315b, Tuva *čidiɣ* T532a, Tofa *čiʰti* R89a [sic], Yak *sïtïï* Slp364a.

ər 'two'. Equivalent of ***ïşkï***.

¶ ←Ch èr.

kamsï 'Gānzhōu (former name of Zhāngè)', cf *kamsɪ* L341b, *qamsï* L342a, M52a, *ʁamsï* M22a, *ɣamsu* M22a, *gamsï* PotII:435a.

¶ ←Chinese, in view of the *m* an older loan.

° Also loanword in EYu *ka:mės* B80 'town'.

kan 'venereal disease which affects the nose', cf T253, *kam* L146a.

¶ Perhaps ←Mongolic, cf Ordos *ɢam* Mos252a, *yasɣ: ɢam* Mos252a 'bone disease which is characterized by the development of tumors', Kal *ɢam* Ram143a 'horse disease (glanders)'.

kançiŋ 'at once, quickly, losing no time', cf L146a, *kançin* L146a, CL131.

¶ ←NwM $kan^{51}_{13}çiŋ$ CZW204 'at once', cf Ch gǎnjǐn 'to hasten'.

kanna= 'to do', cf L146a, T186b, *ɣanna=* T25.

• ***ïs kanna=*** 'to do work, to work', equivalent of ***ïs tuʰt=***; ***ni kanna=*** 'to do what', calqued from Ch gàn shénme (gàn 'to do', shénme 'what'), equivalent of ***nayïl=***.

¶ ←Ch gàn.

kanʂï 'secretary'.

¶ ←Ch gànshi.

kanʂü 'Gānsù (province)', cf L341b, *kanʂu* L341b, *kansu* L341b.

¶ ←Ch Gānsù; for the inexplicable front-prepalatal ʂ, see also ***ʂünan*** 'Sùnán'.

kaŋ 'steel', cf L146b, CL158a, T186b.

¶ ←Ch gāng.

° Also loanword in EYu *qaŋ* B73.

kaŋna= 'of a person to kick', cf L147a, *qaŋna=* L184b 'id', CL176b 'of an animal to kick'. See ***qʰawïr=*** 'of animals to kick'.

• ***pïr azaq kaŋna=*** 'to give a kick', cf *pïr azaqʰ qaŋna=* L184b.

kekïrt=, see ***kikïrt=*** 'to burp'.

kel= (*kiɣi*) 'to come; to come to, to arrive; to come back, to return (home)', cf L149a, CL179b, T187a, M65b, *keɬ=* T187a, M65b, *gel=* T179b, *gel'* PotII:437, *kʰil=* L171a, *kiɬ=* T187a, M67b, *ki:l*[*tr*] Man63, *gil* Her201, *ki=* T187a 'to come'.

• ***arɣa kel=*** 'to be lazy'; ***maɣa qʰarʊ keʰltï*** 'I received a letter'.

¶ <CT **kel=* (cf EDPT 715b, ESTJaIII:14), cf Khak *kil=* BI74b, Tuva *kel=* T237b, Tofa *kel=* R25b, Yak *kel=* Slp217b.

kem, see ***kim*** 'disease, illness'.

keʰp, see ***köʰp*** 'much, many'.

ker 'large bowl for food or milk tea', cf L151b, CL166b, *ger* T179b, *ɣer* M23a, *kerï* L151b, *keɣrï* L150b:Da, M65b, *ɣeɣrï* M23a, *keræ* M67a, *keire* Her195 'bowl, cup'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT (d)kar-yol Das14a 'porcelain, china-ware; a china cup', Amdo *ka-rou* MG421, *gar-yul* MG115, Xiàhé *ka-wo* TB553, *ka-wu* HL7a 'bowl'.

° Also loanword in EYu *keirė* B82, *kairė* J̌93b, *ke:rė* S99, *gerù* Kot455, *keire* Her195.

keɣçʰizï 'ring', cf *keçʰizɪ* L150b, *keçʰi* L150b.

¶ ←NwM *kɛ⁴⁴cɪ²¹cɪ²¹* Liú123b; the front-prepalatal *çʰ* of the first element is inexplicable. Cf further Sal *kečir* Lín131b, Mgr *ki:çir* Khas103, *Geʒor* S/M132 'finger ring'.

keymïn: ***keymïn sïk*** 'gate', cf *keymïn sïkʰ* L150b, *keymïn sïq* T208b, *keymïn* CL166a, M78b.

¶ Compound consisting of ←NwM *kai⁴⁴məŋ⁵¹* CZW201b 'the big door overlooking the street, gate' + *sïk* 'door'; for the second element, cf Ch mén.

keyzï 'lid'.

¶ ←Ch gàizi.

kiçi 'yesterday evening', cf *keçe* L150b, *keçi* L150b 'id', *kiče* M68a, *keçe* CL158b 'night, evening'.

¶ <CT **ke:če* 'the late evening' (cf EDPT 694b, ESTJaIII:40), cf Khak *kiʒee* BI78a, Tuva *kežee* T236a, Tofa *keʒe* R26a, Yak *kiehe* Slp170a.

kikïrt= (~ ***kekïrt=***) (*kikïrtki*) 'to burp, to belch', cf *kekïrtʰ=* L150a, *kekirt=* M65b.

¶ INT of *kekïr=* L150a <CT **ke:kir=* (cf EDPT 712b, ESTJaIII:37), cf Khak *kiɣǐr=* BI73a, Tuva *keɣir=* T234b, Tofa *keɣir=* R25a. Cf further Yak *keɣert=* Slp217a.

kilʊ 'once upon a time, a long time ago', cf *kelo* L150a, *kelow* L150a, *kelo* T187a, *kelow* T187a 'id', *keɬu* M65b [untranslated].

kim (~ ***kem***) 'disease, illness', cf *kem* L149a, C82:70b, M66a, *ɣem* M23a.

¶ <CT **kɛm* (cf EDPT 720b, ESTJaV:34), cf Tuva *kem* Pb223a 'disease', Yak *kem* Pek1025 'ulcer at the nail'.

kiʰp, see ***köʰp*** 'much, many'.

kis= 'to cut dough', cf M67b, *kes=* CL178a, M67a 'to cut', L151a 'to cut (dough); to castrate', *ges*[*wadebdro*] Her202 'to wound'.

¶ <CT **kes=* (cf EDPT 748b, ESTJaV:55), cf Khak *kis=* BI77b, Tuva *keʰs=* T236b, Tofa *keʰs=* R26a.

kiseʰlkï (~ ***kiserkï***, ~ ***kisertkï***) 'lizard', cf *kesïʰlkï* L151a, *kʰesïlkï* L169b, *kesiɬkï* M67b, *kesɬïq* M67b, *kesïrkï* L151a:Da, *keserkï* L151a:Da, *kʰesïrkï* L169b, *kʰiserkï* L171b, *kʰisïrkï* L171b, *kʰiseʰke* L171b.

¶ <NE **keleski* ~ **keleske* (cf ESTJaV:30), cf Sagay *kileskǐ* BI74b, *kilesken* Čan957b, Tuva *xeleske* T473a, Tofa *heleske* R38a. The form **kesertki* (cf EDPT 750b s.v. *keslinčü*, ESTJaV:57) is typical of Kypchak.

° →EYu *keselkʰė* B82.

kiserkï, see ***kiseʰlkï*** 'lizard'.

kisertkï, see ***kiseʰlkï*** 'lizard'.

kisïl 'having a light belly colour', cf *kesil* L151a 'chestnut (colour)'.

• ***kisïlγan kisïl*** 'being very light at the belly'.

kiş 'late', cf *keş* L151a, CL172a, *keš* M67:14 'id', *keš* M67b 'evening'.

¶ <CT **keːč* (cf EDPT 692b, ESTJaIII:50).

kiwi= 'to become more, to increase, to develop, to expand', cf *kewe=* L151a, *köwe=* L161b, CL155, *köbe=* M68a 'to become more'.

kiwit= 'to let become more, to let increase, to add', cf *kewetʰ=* L151a, *kewet=* M65a, *köwetʰ=* L161b.

kiz= 'to dress, to get dressed, to don, to put on clothes or shoes', cf M67b, *kez=* L151b, CL176b, T187a, M65b.

• ***kizkï kiz=*** 'to get dressed, to put on clothes, a garment'.

¶ <CT **ked=* (EDPT 700b, ESTJaIII:12), cf Khak *kis=* BI78a, Tuva *ket=* T234b, Tofa *ket=* R26a, Yak *ket=* Slp223b.

kizkï 'clothes, dress, garment', cf *kezkï* L151b, *kezγï* L151b, CL168b, T187a, M65a, *kezγi* M65a, *kezgï* T187a, *kezγu* M65b, *giseke* Her196.

¶ <CT **kedgü* (cf EDPT 702b).

kï 'piece (a general classifier)'.

¶ ←Ch gè.

kïʰçiγ 'small; young of age', cf *kʰïçʰiγ* L165b 'id', CL171a, T190a, *kʰïçʰig* T190a, *kʰïçiγ* C82:70a, *kʰïčïγ* T190a, *kʰiçʰiγ* CL31, *kičig* T16, *kičiγ* M68a, *kičik* PotII:436a 'small'. Now mostly replaced by ***miça***, e.g. older speakers say ***kïʰçiq qoʰqaş*** 'small bird', while younger speakers use ***miça qoʰqaş***.

¶ <CT **kičig* 'small' (cf EDPT 696a, ESTJaV:75), cf Khak *kǐčǐγ* BI80b.

kïlap 'strong; sturdy', cf *kïlïpʰ* L148a 'strong, able', *kalapʰ* L146b, *qalapʰ* L184a, CL50 'able; terrible, formidable', *qïɬap* M63a, *qaɬap* M57a 'strong'.

kïltïŋ 'broth, soup, the cooking water of vegetables used as soup; clear, shiny, glistening', cf L148a 'thin; clear; broth', *qïltïn* CL171b 'thin, watery, clear', L192b, *qïltïŋ* L193a 'clear, limpid; watery, thin; bright, shining, shiny; smooth, glossy; broth', *qïɬtïn* M63a 'a liquid containing an extract of something; a kind of liqueur; essence'.

• ***soqpa kïltïŋ*** 'gruel'.

¶ ←EYu *kėltaŋ* B81 'shining, transparent, limpid, clear', *kėltėŋ* S566 'limpid, clear', related to LM giltangna= Les383a 'to glitter, shine, beam'.

kïltïla= 'to be or become shiny, glistening', cf *qïltïle=* L193a.

¶ ←EYu *kïltlė=* B82, related to LM gilte Les383b 'shine'.

kïn 'descendants; root', cf L148a 'later generations, posterity', CL54, T188b, M72b, *qïn* T201b 'root, base', M63b 'children, descendants'.

¶ ←Ch gēn 'root'.

kïŋpïŋ 'at all', cf *kïnpïn* L148a.

¶ ←NwM *kəŋ*^{21}*pəŋ*^{52} Liú166b, cf Ch gēnběn.

° Also loanword in EYu *kėŋpėŋ* BǰǏ328.

kïp 'strong, fast, fixed, secure', cf *kïp*^{h} L147b, CL172a, *qïp*^{h} L191b, CL70, *qïp* M64a 'id', *kap*[*dro*] Her199 'strong'.

kïpti= (*kïptiɣi*) 'to fasten, to fix, to strengthen', cf *kïp*^{h}*te=* L147b 'id, to reinforce, to consolidate', *qïpti=* M64a 'to lock the door'.

kïrmïk 'eyebrow', cf *kïrmïk*^{h} L149a, CL161b, *kermïq* M67a, *kirmik* M67b, *qïrmïq* T201b, M64a, *pezïk*^{h} *kïrwïk*^{h} L149a:Da 'id' (*pezïk*^{h} 'big'), *k*^{h}*ïçʰiɣ kïrwïk*^{h} L149a:Da 'eyelash' (*k*^{h}*ïçʰiɣ*'small').

¶ <CT **kirpik* 'eyelash' (cf EDPT 737b, ESTJaV:74), cf Khak *kǐrbǐk* BI80a, Tuva *kirbik* T242a 'eyelash'. The WYu form with *m* is exceptional, as *w* < **p* would be expected.

° →EYu *kėrßėk* B83, J̌101a, S374, *kerwuk* Her194, *kerbïg* PotII:411b 'eyebrow', *kerwïk* Kot445, *kerwek* TT77, *kėrpėk* S607 'eyelash'.

kïsï (*kïsïɣi*) 'person, human being; somebody', cf *k*^{h}*ïs*$_{1}$ L166a, CL162b, T190a, *k*^{h}*ïsï* T190a, *kise* M67b, *kese* M67b, *kisi* M68a, *kse* M69b, *xe* Her192, *ksi* PotII:436b.

• ***pezïk kïsï*** 'adult', cf *pezïk*^{h} *k*^{h}*ïs*$_{1}$ L60a 'adult; important person; official', perhaps calqued from Ch dàren (dà 'big', rén 'person'); ***pïr kïsï*** 'somebody; single, unmarried person'; ***oynaɣaq kïsï*** 'who likes to make jokes', cf *oynaɣaq*^{h} *k*^{h}*ïs*$_{1}$[*tro*] L36b; ***q*^{h}*aq kïsï*** 'cadre' (lit. dry person), cf *q*^{h}*aq*^{h} *k*^{h}*ïs*$_{1}$ L206b, calqued from Ch gànbù 'cadre' (gàn 'to do', bù 'section'), and gān 'dry'; ***sïk qarama kïsï*** 'guard'; ***yülïk kïsï*** 'corpse, dead person', cf *yülïɣ k*^{h}*ïs*$_{1}$ L278b; ***yütikï kïsï*** 'spouse', cf *yütekï k*^{h}*ïs*$_{1}$ L166a 'wife'.

¶ <CT **kiši* (cf EDPT 752b, ESTJaV:78), cf Khak *kǐzǐ* BI78b, Tuva *kiži* T239b, *ki*^{h}*ži* Čad27, Tofa *kiši* R26b, Yak *kihi* Slp168b.

kïsïlïɣ '(of a place) inhabited', cf *k*^{h}*ïs*$_{1}$*lïɣ* L166a, *kiseɬïʁ* M68a.

kïstïs= 'to neigh together'.

¶ REC of *kï*^{h}*ste=* L148b, *k*^{h}*ïste=* L166a, *kiste=* M68a <CT **kišne=* (cf EDPT 754a, ESTJaV:79), cf Tuva *kišteš=* T243a.

kïta 'swelling, bump', cf L147b 'id; lump (of earth, meat); joint; node of a tree', *qïta* M64b 'swelling, bump', *ɣïta* M24b 'id; hill'.

¶ ←Ch gēda 'swelling on the skin; lump'.

° Also loanword in EYu *kėta* B82 'pimple; bump; measles'.

kïtïk (*kïtïkki*) 'puppy, cub', cf *kïtïk*^{h} L147b, CL159b, *qïtïq* M64b, *qïdïq* M62b, *gedaq* Her199 'id', *ketïk* T187a, *kïtïk* T188b [mistranslated 'rooster'].

kïtïs= (*kïtïski*) 'of something to itch; to tickle; to scratch oneself', cf *qïtïs=* L191b, M64b, *qït*^{h}*ïs=* L192a 'to itch', *kït*^{h}*ɪs=* T188b, *kïtis=* T188b 'to scratch', *kets*[*öpter*] Her208 'to scratch, to scrape'.

kər 'song', cf *kïr* L149a. Equivalent of ***yer***.

¶ ←Ch gēr.

koɣa 'to him, her, it; (t)hither', cf *koɣa* < *kolɣa* L153a. DAT of ***kʊ*** 's/he'.

kola= 'to sue, to accuse, to go to law against'.

¶ ←CT gào.

kolar 'they', cf L153a, CL174b, *gołar* T179b, *golar* Her200. PL of ***kʊ*** 's/he'.

koraqïnta 'over (t)here, down (t)here'.

¶ The first element *kʊ* 'this, that; perhaps formed analogous to *araqïnta* 'over there' and *peraqïnta* 'over here'.

koraqïŋqa 'over (t)here, down (t)here'.

¶ The first element *kʊ* 'this, that'; perhaps formed analogous to *araqïŋqa* 'over there' and *peraqïŋqa* 'over here'.

kök, see ***kük*** 'blue'.

kökiṣkïn, see ***kükiṣkïn*** 'pigeon, dove'.

köʰkïs, see ***küʰkïs*** 'loins'.

köʰkïstïɣ 'having loins', cf *köʰkïstïɣ* L160b:Da 'an ornamental plate worn at the waist by girls'.

köʰkït= (~ ***köʰküt=***) 'to show', cf *köʰkïtʰ=* L160b, *kʰöʰkïtʰ=* L176a, *kioʰkïtʰ=* L152a, *kʰiokïtʰ=* L171a, *kʰöʰkut=* T189a, *köküt=* M68b, *kökït=* M68b, *küküt=* M71a, *küket=* M71a, *kʰörkütʰ=* L161a:Da, *köʰrkütʰ=* L161a:Da, *körküt=* M69a, *körkutʰ=* L163a, *körnüt=* M69a, *kʰökï=* T13, *kökï=* T13 'id, to point to'.

¶ <CT **körkit=* (cf EDPT 743b, read *körgit=*, ESTJaIII:84).

köʰküt=, see ***köʰkït=*** 'to show'.

köŋïl 'the heart (as the place of emotions), mind', cf *kʸöŋïl* CL12, *kʸöŋïɬ* T187b, *könïl* T187b, *koŋïɬ* M69a, *köŋüɬ* M69a, *göŋïɬ* T179b, *küŋeɬ* M71b, *küŋüɬ* M71b, *kʰöŋïl* T189b 'id', *köŋïl* L159b, *kioŋïl* L152a 'id; idea, plan, decision; regard; intension'.

• ***kʰeŋ köŋïl*** 'broad minded'; ***tʰar köŋïl*** 'narrow minded'; ***yaʰṣ köŋïl*** 'good, nice, kind', cf *köŋïl yaxṣʅ* L159b 'kindhearted', *güŋel yaxš* [*dro*] Her201 'goodness'; ***ʐïq köŋïl*** 'bad, wicked, evil'.

¶ <CT **köŋül* (cf EDPT 731b, ESTJaIII:75), cf Khak *kööl* BI91a, Tuva *xöön* T491b, Tofa *hööl* R41b, Yak *köŋül* Slp179a.

köʰp (~ ***kiʰp***, ***keʰp***) 'much, many, a lot', cf *köʰpʰ* L160a, CL171a, *kʰö̥pʰ* C86:2, *köʰp* T187b, *keʰpʰ* L150a, CL30, *keʰp* T187a, *kʰepʰ* L167b, *köpʰ* L159b, CL8, *köp* M69a (mountain dial.), *kepʰ* L149a, *kep* M66b (steppe dial.), *ɣep* M23a, *göb*[*ter*] Her202.

¶ <CT **köp* (cf EDPT 386b, ESTJaV:107), cf Tuva *köp* T258b, *köʰp* Jan27, Tofa *köʰp* R27a.

kör= 'to see', cf L162b, CL175b, T187b, M69a, *kior=* L152a, *gor=* T12, *kür=* T13, M71b.

¶ <CT **kör=* (cf EDPT 736a, ESTJaIII:77), cf Khak *kör=* BI91b, Tuva *kör=* T258b, Tofa *kör=* R27a, Yak *kör=* Slp10a.

körïs= 'to see one another, to come upon, to meet', cf L162b, CL91, *küres=* M71b.

• ***eni körïsinï*** 'we'll meet again, see you', cf *körïsinï* L162b, *körsinï* L163a.

¶ <CT **körüš=* (cf EDPT 748a, ESTJaIII:79), cf Khak *körĭs=* BI92b, Tuva *körüš=* T259b.

köṣ=, see ***küṣ=*** 'to migrate'.

köz 'eye; source, well, spring; opening, hole', cf L161b 'id', CL157b 'eye; source', T187b 'eye; opening', M68b, PotII:435a, *göz* T13, *küz* L163b, CL30, T188b, M70b, *kõz* Man65, *kioz* L152a, CL31, *köss* Her194 'eye', *göss* Her210 'source'.

¶ <CT **köz* (cf EDPT 756b, ESTJaIII:60), cf Sagay *kös* BI93a.

közti= 'to seem, to appear as, to look like', cf *köztï=* L162b, *közte=* C92:37, *közde=* M68b, *küzde=* M70b, *küzdü=* M70b 'id', *közte=* L162b, CL175b 'to inlay gems'.

kuala= 'to put up, to hang', cf L154b, *kʰuala=* L172b, CL16.

¶ ←Ch guà.

kuan 'government official, officeholder'.

¶ ←Ch guān.

kuey 'almost nothing, hardly', cf *kue* L155a 'eccentric, odd; odd number, frac-

tional amount; very, extremely', and perhaps *qoɣ* M56b 'you know, well'.

¶ Perhaps ←Ch guài 'odd; quite, rather'.

kueytiɛnzï 'wicked idea, trick'.

¶ ←Ch guǐdiǎnzi.

kueywu 'freak, monster'.

¶ ←Ch guàiwu.

kuɣi 'maternal aunt', cf *kuɣe* L157b, CL165a, *quɣeɣ* L201a 'id', *küɣeɣ* M70b 'mother-in-law (wife's mother)'.

¶ < **kügïɣ* <CT **kügüɣ* (cf EDPT 714a), cf Tuva *küüɣ* T270a 'aunt (mother's brother's wife)'. Malov's translation is typical of Dàhé (cf Wú 1992: 318).

° →EYu *küɣėi* (or *kügėi*) B84 'wife of the elder brother; elder sister'.

kuke 'ankle', cf *kükeɣ* M71a.

¶ ←NwM $ku^{213}kuai^{51}$ ZW121.

kulu 'wheel', cf L156b.

¶ ←Ch gūlu (spoken language).

kumïs 'silver', cf L156a, T188a, M70a, Man64, *kumus* L156a, CL158a, T23, *kümis* M71a, *küməüs* M71a, PotII:436a, *kümös* M71a, *kumos* M70a, *qumïs* T201a, *gomeš* Her209.

¶ <CT **kümüš* (cf EDPT 723b, ESTJaV:141), cf Khak *kümüs* BI96a, Tuva *xümüš* T497a, Yak *kömüs* Slp178a.

kumïstïɣ 'silver, of silver'.

¶ <CT **kümüšlüg* (cf EDPT 724b), cf Khak *kümüstǐɣ* BI96a.

kumpinso 'Kumpinso (a girl's name from a tale)', cf *kundemsï* M70a, *kündemsi* M71b. See also the proper name ***aʰltïmso***.

¶ The first element reminiscent of *kumïs* 'silver', the second maybe ←Tibetan, cf Arïk *mcʰo* TB31, LT mcho Jä456b 'lake', frequent in women's names.

kuna 'aunt (father's sister)', cf L156a, CL165a, *ɣunan* M23b.

¶ Perhaps ←NwM $ku^{21}nɛ^{52}$ Liú112b 'grandaunt, paternal grandfather's sister', or $ku^{21}ma^{53}$ Liú113a 'father's elder sister'.

kuni 'look at that!'

kunï 'him, her, it; that', cf *konï* < *kolnï* L152b. ACC of ***kʊ*** 'he, she'.

kunïŋ 'his, her, its; of that', cf *konïŋ* < *kolnïŋ* L152b. GEN of ***kʊ*** 'he, she'.

kunta '(t)here', cf *konta* L152b, CL65, *ʁunta* M23b. LOC of ***kʊ*** 'he, she'.

kuntaɣ 'like this, like that, such', cf *kontaɣ* L152b, CL174b, T187b, *ʁundaʁ* M22a. EQU of ***kʊ*** 'he, she'.

kuntan '(t)hence', cf *kontan* L152b, CL81, T187b. ABL of ***kʊ*** 'he, she'.

kuntarmi 'a thing like this, like that, such a thing'.

¶ A crasis of *kuntaɣ* 'like this, that' + perhaps *pïrmi* 'thing', cf *kontaɣïrme*[ɣe] < *kontaɣ pïr nimeɣe* T237, *kontaɣ neme* CL87.

kuntur 'so many, so much', cf *kontoɣor* L152b.

¶ A crasis of *kontaɣ* 'thus' + perhaps *pïr* 'one'.

kuŋçi 'rooster'. Equivalent of ***eʰrkïk taʰqaɣï***.

¶ ←Ch gōngjī.

kuoça 'country', cf *kuoçia* L155b.

¶ ←Ch guójiā.

kuotiɛnzï 'potholder'. Equivalent of ***tuʰtqïş***.

¶ ←Ch guō diànzi (guō 'pot', diànzi 'coaster, pad').

kurkïti '(t)here'. The Mínghǎi equivalent of ***kunta*** '(t)here'.

kus (*kuski*) 'bovine', cf L158b, CL159a, T188a, M70a, *kʰus* L175b, T189b, *uʰkus* L42b, CL159a, *hu̯kus* C86:11, *ufkus* T9, *fukus* L90a, *oʰkus* T13, *okus* M81b, *oqus* M81b (mountain dial.), *ökü̈z* PotII:435b, *ögü̈z* PotII:437 'id', *ukuss* Her198 'cattle'.

• ***qara kus*** 'yak', cf *qara uʰkus* L189b, *qara oqus* M81b, *qarkus* L191b, a compound also occurring in EYu *χara hkor* S594.

¶ <CT **hökü̈z* 'ox' (cf EDPT 120a, ESTJaI:521), cf Yak *oʁus* Slp266b.

kusɥ̈ 'cow herd', cf *qusɥ̈* T201a, *qusʒ̈* T16, *quscï* M62a, *uʰkusɥ̈* L43a.

kuşki 'into it', cf the LOC *ko'ïşte* L152b, *ʁun* (< *ʁunïŋ*) *işti* M22b, *ɣun ište* M23b, *ʁun išt'e* M67:7, *konïŋşɣte* < *konïŋ ïşte* L152b 'in it'.

kuştïɣ 'fat (of meat); strong (of tea)', cf L158b, *kuʰştïɣ* L157b, *kʰuştïɣ* L175a 'strong, sturdy; fat (of an animal)', CL171b 'fat', *kuštïʁ* M70a 'strong, power'.

¶ <CT **kü:člüg* (cf EDPT 697a, ESTJaIII:98) 'strong, powerful', cf Khak *küstïɣ* BI98a, Tuva *küštüɣ* T271a, Tofa *küštüɣ* R27b.

kuʰtkï 'throat', cf L157b, *kʰutʰkï* L173a, *qʰutʰqï* L215b, C162a, *kʰutkʰï* T189b, *kʰutko* T189b 'id, larynx', *gutko* Her194 'pharynx', *qutqo* M62a 'Adam's apple'.

° EYu *kʰütʰkė* B71 'throat, larynx', *kʰotʰko* S131, *gutko* Her194 'pharynx', *qutqu* Kot453 'Adam's apple'.

kuz (*kuzki*) 'autumn', cf L158b, CL158b, T188a, *kʰoz* T189a, *küz* M70b, *gos* Her203.

¶ <CT **kü:z* (cf EDPT 757a, ESTJaIII:94), cf Khak *küs* BI98a, Tuva *küs* T269b, Tofa *küs* R199a, Yak *küs* Pek1339.

kuziɣï 'husband; son-in-law', cf *kuzeɣï* L158b, CL165b, T188a, M69b, *küzeɣï* T188b, M70b, *küzeɣü* M70b, *küziɣe* M70b, *quziɣï* T201a 'id', *gudsege* Her193 'bridegroom, fiancé'.

• ***qïz kuziɣï*** 'son-in-law', cf *qïz kuzeɣï* L159a, perhaps calqued from Ch nǚxu 'id, husband' (nǚ 'woman, female, daughter, girl', xù 'son-in-law, husband').

¶ <CT **küdegü* (cf EDPT 703a, ESTJaIII:43), cf Khak *kïzö* BI79a, Tuva *küdee* T268b, Tofa *hüdee* R42a, Yak *kütüö* Pek1346.

kuzï 'spiral', cf *kuzɪ* L159a, *ɣuzɪ* L218b 'strand; lock; puff; stream'.

¶ Ch gǔ 'strand, ply, skein; whiff, stream, puff'.

kʊ 'he, she, it; this, that', cf *ko* T187b, *qo* M56a, *ʁo* M22a, *ɣo:* M23a, *ʁu* M22b, *ɣu* M23b, *kol* L153a, CL174a, *koɬ* T187b, *goɬ* T12, *ɣol* L218b, *ɣoɬ* M23a, *ʁoɬ* M22b, *gol* Her200, *ɣuɬ* M23b, *ʁuɬ* M22b.

¶ Perhaps < **kö* ~ **kü* (cf Erdal 1989 for a discussion of this particle). The forms in *kol* may be a crasis of *kʊ* + *ol* 'that'.

kʊkʰe 'pancake, pizza', cf *kokʰe* L153a, CL169b, *qokʰe* T203b 'id', *koke* M68a 'bread'.

¶ ←NwM *kuë*^{44}*kʰuei* ZW104 'large, thick pancake'.

kʊtʰou 'trivet, support for a cooking pot', cf *kotʰï* L152b, T187b, *kotʰu* L152b 'cooking stove, kitchen range', *qotï* T200b, *gotï* T187b, *ɣotu* M23b, *ɣotï* M23b 'hearth, kitchen', *ɣotu* M23b 'hearth, oven', *ʁotï* M23b 'kitchen'.

¶ ←NwM *kuë*^{44}*tʰəu*^{51} ZW101 'the top of a kitchen range'.

kʊyoq 'not at all, note done, impossible, can't be allowed, inconceivable', *koyoqʰ* CL134, *qoyoqʰ* L199a 'id', *koyokʰ* L153b 'id; cured (of a disease)'.

¶ Perhaps a compound consisting of *kʊ* 'this, that' + *yoq* 'not present'.

kük (~ ***kök***) 'blue', cf T188a, M71a, *kükʰ* L163a, CL171b, T188a, *kʰüʰkʰ* T190a, *kʰük* T189b, *kʰüʰk* T189b, *kuk* T188a, *kökʰ* L159b, CL171b, *kök* T187b, M68b, *kek* M65b, *ɣek* M23a 'id; green; grey (of a horse)', *kï:k* Man64 'blue', *kök* PotII:435a 'grey'.

• ***qara kük*** 'dark blue, indigo', cf *qara kükʰ* L189b.

¶ <CT **kö:k* (cf EDPT 709b, ESTJaIII:66), cf Khak *kök* BI89a, Tuva *kök* T257a, Tofa

kök R27a, Yak *küöx* Slp200a.

kükiṣkïn (~ ***kökiṣkïn***) 'pigeon, dove', cf *kükïṣkïn* L163a, CL160a, *kükïṣɣïn* C92:34, L163a, *kükʰïṣken* L163a, *kükʰuṣkïn* L163a, *kʰükʰïṣkïn* L176b, *kʰükïṣkïn* T189b, *kökïšken* M68b, *kökïškön* M68b, *kökïškon* M68b, *kükïšken* M71a, *kukuškun* M71a, *gogešgün* Her199.

¶ <CT **kö:kerčkün* (cf EDPT 713b, ESTJaIII:57).

° →EYu *kökėškėn* B83, *gogešgün* Her199, *ku:kušėn* S621, *čʰö:köškėn* (sic) S621.

küʰkïs (~ ***köʰkïs***) 'lower part of the back, the small of the back, loins; nape of the neck', cf *köʰkïs* L160b, CL50, *köʰkʰïs* L161a, *kʰökʰïs* L176a, *kʰöʰkïs* L176a, *kioʰkïs* L152a 'loins', *gögös* Her194 'spine, backbone', *kökïs* M68b, *gös* T179b 'upper part of the chest'.

¶ <CT **kökïz* 'chest, breast' (cf EDPT 714a, ESTJaIII:54), cf Khak *köɣïs* BI87a 'chest', Karagas *köksü* Cas97a 'chest under the armpit', Yak *köɣüs* Slp176a 'middle of the back'.

küsi= 'to chew', cf *küse=* L163a, *kʰüse=* L177a, *kʰuse=* L175b, *köʰse=* L161a, CL175, *köse=* L161b, CL89, *göse*[*pter*] Her205.

¶ <CT **ke:bše=* (cf EDPT 692a, ESTJaIII:5), cf Tofa *keɣže=* R25a, Khak *kipsen=* BI76a (+ RFL), Tuva *keɣžen=* T234a (+ RFL). Tuva and Tofa *ɣ* is secondary.

küṣ= (~ ***köṣ=***) 'to migrate', cf *köʰṣ=* L161a, CL177a, *kʰöṣ=* T189b, *köṣ=* L161b, CL31, *kioṣ=* L152a, CL31 'id', *köš=* M69b, *küš=* M72a 'id; to cross'.

¶ <CT **köč=* (cf EDPT 694a, ESTJaIII:89), cf Khak *kös=* BI93a, Tuva *köš=* T256b, *köʰš=* Jan38, Tofa *köʰš=* R27b, Yak *kös=* Slp182a.

küʰtïr= 'to carry', cf *köʰtïr=* L160b, C86:7, *köʰtür=* CL175b, *kʰöʰtïr=* T189b, *kʰöṣtïr=* T187b, *köṣtïr=* T187b, *kötür=* M69b, *kütür=* M71b, *küter=* M71b, *göter*[*yemaine*] Her202 'id', *köʰtür=* L160b 'id; to raise (the head)'.

¶ <CT **kötür=* 'to carry, to raise' (cf EDPT 706a, ESTJaIII:86), cf Khak *ködïr=* BI87b, Tuva *ködür=* T256a, Tofa *köʰtür=* R27b.

küʰtïrmi 'the carrying belt of a bag'.

küy 'a species of pine or fir', cf C82:66, T188a, M71a (mountain dial.) 'fir, pine tree', L163b 'id, dragon spruce (Picea asperata)', *kuei* Her210 'fir'.

küy, see ***küyi*** 'uncle'.

küyi (~ ***küy***) 'uncle (father's or mother's sister's husband)', cf L163b, *kuye* L158b 'id', *küy* CL165a, *küye* M71a 'uncle (father's sister's husband)', *köyö* L161b:Da 'uncle (mother's sister's husband)', *küy* M71a, *küen* M70b, *guyi* Her193 'father-in-law (wife's father)'.

¶ Perhaps ←Ch gūye 'a form of address for a man used by the senior members of his wife's family (spoken language)'. Malov's and Hermann's translation is typical of Dàhé (cf Wú 1992: 318).

° EYu *htei kuye* B62, *kuye* B84 'uncle (father's sister's husband)', *kuyi* Her193 'father-in-law'.

kʰaçikï 'spittle', cf L164b, CL162b, *kʰaçïɣï* L164b, *kʰeçiɣï* L169b, *gad'ai* Her210 'id, saliva'.

¶ ←Arïk *kʰa-çʰė* TB156, cf Xiàhé *kʰa-çʰė* HL41a, LT kha-čhu Das126b 'spittle'. The etymology of the last syllable in WYu is obscure.

° Also loanword in EYu *kʰačė* B66, J̌103a, *kʰa:čė* S729, *gad'ai* Her210 'spittle', *qʰa:čė* S567 'phlegm', BaoÑ *kʰaçʰi* CN76, Mgr *kʰaçi* Li254, *kʰaçė* ~ *kʰaṣė* Khas84 'id'.

kʰama 'power', cf L164a, T188b, *qʰaman* L203a, *qaman* M52a, *qïman* M63b, *xaman* M135a 'skill, ability', *kama*[*yokter*] Her204 '[there is no] power'.

kʰanna= 'to chop', cf L164a, CL177a, T188b, *qanna=* M52b, *kaŋna=* T187a, *qaɬɬa=* M51a.

¶ ←Ch kǎn.

kʰaŋ 'heatable brick bed, kang', cf L164a, CL170b, T188b, *qʰaŋ* L206a, *qaŋ* M52b.

¶ ←Ch kàng.

° Also loanword in EYu *kʰaŋ* B66.

kʰazaq 'the foot end of the kang (the place alongside the wall where children are put to sleep)'.

¶ Crasis of *kʰaŋ* 'kang' + *azaq* 'foot', cf *kʰaŋnïŋ azaqïnta* L18a.

kʰeçʰin 'guest', cf L169b, CL163a, *kečin* M67b, *kičen* M68a.

¶ ←EYu *kʰeːčʰėn* B67, S454, S37, *keːčʰėn* J̌107a, *keːči* TT80, *ɣeːčʰin* S294, cf LM geyičin Les374b. This is the common word for 'guest' in Western Mongolic; elsewhere forms related to LM ǰočin Les1066a and ayilči(n) Les21a prevail.

kʰeɣïr= (~ ***kʰer=***) 'to bring to, to bring along', cf *kʰegïr=* T188b, *kʰeχïr=* T189a, *kegïr=* T187a, *keɣïr=* M65a, *keɣer=* M65a, *kegir'* PotII:437 'id', *kʰeɣïr=* L169a, CL91, *kʰiɣïr=* L171a, *keɣir=* M65a, *kʰer=* L170a 'id; to bring in the bride', *kegr*[*ine*] Her193 'to marry', *kʰelɣïr=* L168b, *kelɣïr=* L150a 'to bring to; to let come'. See ***akkʰer=*** 'to bring to'.

• ***kʰeln kʰeɣïr=*** 'to take a wife, (of a man) to marry'.

¶ Related to **kigür=* 'to bring in' (cf EDPT 712b, Erdal 1991: 750), cf Tuva *kiir=* T240b, Tofa *kiir=* R26b.

kʰeleke (~ ***kʰeneke***) 'shade, shadow', cf *kölekʰkï* L176a:Da, *kʰönekʰke* L176a, *kʰulekʰke* L174b, *kʰuleɣe* L174b, *küleke* M71a, *külekʰke* M71a, *gölögö* Her208, *lekʰki* T13, TT14, *kʰerekʰke* L170a.

¶ <CT **köleke* ~ **köleki* (cf EDPT 718a, read *kölige*, ESTJaV:97), cf Tuva *xöleɣe* T489a, Tofa *höleɣe* R41a.

° →EYu *kʰölökʰi* B69 [mistranslated 'butterfly'], *kʰölöʰkü* J̌103b, *kʰölörˣkü:* S615, *gölögö* Her208 'shadow', *kʰulerkʰi:* S141 'distant view'.

kʰeln 'wife; daughter-in-law', cf *kʰelïn* L168a, CL165b, T189a, *kʰelin* T188b, *kelin* M66a, *kelïn* T187a, *kełïn* M65b 'daughter-in-law', *kelõn* Man63 'wife'.

• ***yaŋï kʰeln*** 'bride, newly-wed wife', perhaps calqued from Ch xīnniáng (xīn 'new', niáng 'young woman').

¶ <CT **kelin* (cf EDPT 719a, ESTJaIII:16), cf Khak *kilĭn* BI74b, Tuva *kelin* T237b, Tofa *helin* R38a.

kʰeman 'weak, feeble', cf L167b, *qʰeman* L212b, *keɣman* M65b, *qïɣman* M63a, *qïɣmaŋ* M63a 'id; poor, impoverished; in straitened circumstances'.

° EYu *kʰeiman* B67 'poor, poverty-stricken'.

kʰemïr, see ***kʰemïr*** 'coal'.

kʰempiş 'part of a woman's clothing; woman', cf *kʰempeş* L167b, *kʰömpeş* L175b, *kömpeş* L159b 'woman's pectoral ornament', *kʰempeş* L167b:Da 'the round pendants of a woman's head ornament', CL168b 'head ornament', T189a 'woman's ornament, consisting of buttons and bones [worn] at the back and breast', *kembeš* M66a, *kem beš* M91b, *kembes* M66a 'part of a woman's dress: two broad ribbons attached to the hair and worn at the breast, embroidered with gems and pendants'.

kʰempiştïɣ 'woman', cf *kʰempeştïɣ* L168a, CL42, *kʰömpeştïɣ* L175b, L163a 'id', T189a 'having a *kʰempiş*', *kembeštïʁ* M66a, *kembestïʁ* M66a 'married woman (lit. having a *kʰempiş*)'. Synonym of ***şaɣtïɣ***.

° →EYu *köm bös dök* Her193 'big girl', *köm böš dök* Her193 'bride, fiancé'.

kʰemzï (~ ***kʰenzï***) 'a bun (especially one baked in a hot cauldron)', cf *kʰemzɪ* L168a, CL169b, *kʰʏemzɪ* CL13, *kʰömzɪ* L175b 'steamed bun', *kemza* M66a, Man62 'bread'.

• ***soɣïlɣin kʰenzï*** 'baked buns', cf *soɣïlɣen kʰemzɪ* L168a, L244a, *soɣïlɣan kʰemzɪ* L329b 'id (made by baking the buns in a covered cauldron placed in a charcoal fire or hot ashes), *sökülɣen kemza* M105a 'bread [..] (Chinese and Dungan style)'.

¶ Perhaps related to *kʰömïş* L175b, CL69 'half dry cow dung used as a fuel', *kömïş* T187b 'bread that is baked in hot ashes' <CT **kömeč* (cf EDPT 722a, ESTJaV:100) 'food buried in the ashes to cook it', cf NUyg *kömzɛk* Nad656a 'pan, jug, earthenware vessel'.

kʰeneke, see ***kʰeleke*** 'shade'.

kʰenzï, see ***kʰemzï*** 'bun'.

kʰeŋ 'broad, wide', cf L168b, *ken* M66b. Synonym of ***ennïɣ***.

¶ <CT **keːŋ* (cf EDPT 724b, ESTJaIII:46), cf Yak *kieŋ* Slp169b.

kʰeŋer 'species of bird of prey, falcon, hawk', cf *kʰöŋer* L176a, *kʰöŋïr* L176a, *kʰöŋör* L176a:Da 'cinereous vulture' [Ch tūjiù; gǔcháyīng], *kʰöŋer* CL160a, *küyner* M71a, *kenɣer* M66b (steppe dial.), *kuniyor* M70a (mountain dial.), *küniyör* M71a 'bird of prey, falcon'.

• ***aq paş kʰeŋer*** 'vulture'.

kʰeŋkeʰrkï, see ***kʰeŋkiʰrkï*** 'drum'.

kʰeŋkiʰrkï (~ ***kʰeŋkiʰrkï***, ***kʰuŋkuʰrkï***) 'drum', cf *kʰeŋkeʰrke* L169a, *kʰeŋkïʰrkï* L169a, *kʰioŋkeʰrke* L171a, CL164a, *kʰioŋkeʰrkï* L171a 'drum with wooden handles used by lamas', *könɣerxke* M69a, *köŋɣerke* M69a '(shaman's) drum; musical instrument (two copper dishes)', *kömɣerʰke* M68b 'drum'.

¶ <EYu *kʰeŋkerkʰiː* S343 'drum', cf LM kenggerge(n) Les454a. Labialization of the first vowel is peculiar of WYu.

kʰer 'yellow (an animal colour)', cf L170a 'a mixture of yellow and white', T189a, TT36 'dark yellow (colour of animals)', *ker* M67a, *keru* M67a (from a song) 'dark yellow (of a cow)'.

¶ <EYu *kʰeːr* B67, S338 'chestnut (colour of a horse's coat)', cf LM keger Les443a.

kʰer=, see ***kʰeɣïr=*** 'to bring'.

kʰerik 'necessary; need', cf *kʰerekʰ* L170a, CL149, *kerek* M67a.

¶ <CT **kerek* (cf EDPT 742a s.v. *kergek*, ESTJaIII:25), cf Khak *kirek* BI77a, Tuva *xerek* T475a, Tofa *herek* R38b.

° >EYu *kʰerek* B68 'needs', S344 'useful, necessary, needed'.

kʰeti 'paper', cf *kʰeɣte* L169a, CL168a, *kʰegte* T188b, *keɣde* M65a, *kegde* PotII:435a, *kʰeɣti* L169a, *keide* Man65.

¶ <CT **kegde* (cf EDPT 710a, ultimately <Ir *kāğad*), cf Koybal *keɣdɛ* RII:1065.

kʰeyla=: ***xuey kʰeyla=*** 'to hold or attend a meeting', cf *xue kʰela=* L181b, *xue kʰayla=* L164b, L181b.

¶ <Ch kāixuì 'to hold or attend a meeting' (kāi 'to open', xuì 'meeting').

kʰili= 'of mice to gnaw', cf *kele=* M65b 'id', *kʰele=* L168b 'id; to crack (seeds) between the teeth', *kʰïla=* L165b:Da 'to crack (seeds) between the teeth'.

¶ Perhaps <Ch kè 'to crack between the teeth (seeds)'.

kʰip 'custom', cf *kʰepʰ* L167a 'id, ceremony, protocol, courtesy, form; argument, reason; gift present', CL129, CL12, *kʰep* T189a, *kep* M66b 'form'.

¶ <EYu *kʰep* B67 'standard, norm', cf LM keb Les438a 'mold; custom'.

kʰïm (*kʰïmki*) 'who', cf L165a, CL174b, T190a, *kʰim* T189a, *kʰem* T189a, *kim* M67b, *kɐm* M66a, *qʰïm* T204b.

¶ <CT **kim* (cf EDPT 720b, ESTJaV:67), cf Khak *kem* BI73a, Tuva *kïm* T277b, Tofa *qum* R32b, Yak *kim* Slp166a.

kʰïntiŋ 'certainly, definitely'.

¶ ←Ch kěndìng.

kʰïntïk (*kʰïntïkki*) 'navel; umbilical cord', cf *kʰïntïkʰ* CL162a 'navel', L165b 'id; protruding part in the middle of the ladle used by a shaman during the offering', *kïndïk* M72b, *kendek* M66b, M72b, *qïndïq* M63b 'navel; little bulb on a shaman's spoon'.

¶ <CT **kindik* (cf EDPT 729a, ESTJaV:68), cf Khak *kĭndĭk* BI79a, Tuva *xindik* T477a.

kʰïr 'dirty; dirt, refuse, garbage', cf L166a, CL171b, *ker* M66b 'dirty, filthy, foul', *ker*[*der*] Her206 'unclear'.

¶ <CT **kir* (cf EDPT 735a, ESTJaV:69), cf Khak *kĭr* BI79b, Tuva *xir* T477b, Tofa *hir* R39b, Yak *kir* Slp167a.

° →EYu *kʰėr* B68 'dirty', *ker*[*wai*] Her206 'unclear'.

kʰïr= (*kʰïrɣi*) 'to enter', cf L166b, CL179b, T190a, *kʰïɹ=* T190a, *kʰer=* T189a, *kïr=* T188b, *kïɹ=* T18, *qïr=* T201b, *ker=* M67a, *xer=* M136a, *ger*[*b gebdro*] Her202.

• **kʰïrïk kel=** 'to enter, to come into'; **kʰïrïp par=** 'to enter, to go into'.

¶ <CT **ki:r=* (cf EDPT 735b, ESTJaIII:47), cf Khak *kĭr=* BI79b, Tuva *kir=* T242a, Tofa *kir=* R26b, Yak *kiir=* Slp164a.

kʰolal= 'to pass an examination', cf L172a 'id; to be admitted to school (after an examination)'.

• **süɛ kʰolal=** 'to pass entrance examinations', perhaps calqued from Ch kǎo shàng dàxué (kǎo 'to take exams', shàng 'to go (to school)', dàxué 'university').

¶ ←Ch kǎo 'to give or take an examination' + RFL.

kʰortï 'noon, midday'.

¶ Crasis of *kʰunoʰrtï* L173b, CL158b, *kʰuŋoʰrtï* L175a, *kun orto* M83a, *kon orto* M83a, *kʰunoʰrta* L173b:Da, *gunortö* Her196 <CT **kün ortu* (cf EDPT 725b), cf Khak *künörte* BI96a.

kʰöl 'lake', cf L176a, CL157b, T189b, *köl* M68b, *kõl* Man64, *küɬ* M71a.

¶ <CT **kö:l* (cf EDPT 715a, ESTJaV:95), cf Khak *köl* BI89b, Tuva *xöl* T488b, Tofa *höl* R41a, Yak *küöl* Slp199a.

kʰöm= 'to bury', cf L175b, CL178b, T189b, *köm=* T187b, M68b, *köm*[*ene*] Her196, *kʰom=* L171b:Da, T189a, *kʰiom=* L170b, CL178b, *kʰem=* L167a, *kem=* M66a.

¶ <CT **köm=* (cf EDPT 721b, ESTJaIII:70), cf Khak *köm=* BI90a, Tuva *xöm=* T490a, Tofa *höm=* R41a, Yak *köm=* Slp177a.

kʰömïr (~ **kʰemïr**) 'coal', cf *kʰiomïr* L170b, *kʰiomer* L171a, *kʰömir* L175b '(char)coal', *kʰʏömer* CL158a, CL13 'coal'.

• **qara kʰemïr** 'coal'.

¶ <CT **kömür* ~ **kömer* 'charcoal' (cf EDPT 723a, ESTJaV:102), cf Khak *kömĭr* BI90a, Tuva *xömür* T490b, Yak *kömör* Slp177b.

° →EYu *kʰömör* S520 'charcoal'.

kʰuaŋ, see **kʰuŋ** 'basket; jar'.

kʰuaykʰuaytï 'quickly'.

¶ ←Ch kuàikuàide.

kʰuayzï 'chopsticks', cf *kʰuezɿ* L173a, *qoyza* M56b. Equivalent of **yiɣaş ïlïɣ**.

¶ ←Ch kuàizi.

kʰul 'ashes', cf L174a, T189b, *kuɬ* M69b, *köl* Her211.

¶ <CT **kül* (cf EDPT 715a, ESTJaV:138), cf Khak *kül* BI95b, Tuva *xül* T495a, Tofa *hül* R42a, Yak *kül* Slp196a.

kʰul= (*kʰulɣi*) 'to laugh', cf L174a, CL176a, T189b, *kuɬ=* M69b, *kul=* T13, M69a, *kül=* T21 'id', *gol*[*öpter*] Her205 'id, to smile'.

¶ <CT **kül=* (cf EDPT 715b, ESTJaIII:98), cf Khak *kül=* BI95b, Yak *kül=* Slp196a.

kʰula= 'to place a cup or bowl upside down, to cover with an inverted cup', cf *kʰola=* L171b 'to deduct (costs)', *kʰïula=* L164b, *kʰïla=* L165b 'to button up; to drop, let fall; to latch the door; to decuct'.

¶ ←Ch kòu 'to button up; to place a cup upside down, to cover with an inverted cup; to detain, to take into custody, arrest; to deduct (costs)'.

kʰultïk 'grey', cf *kʰultïkʰ* L174b, *kułdïk* M69b, *kʰultïɣ* L174b, *qʰułtïq* T204a, *qołtïq* T204a, *qultuq* M61a, *golder* Her203.

kʰulïs= (*kʰulïski*) 'to mock, to make fun of', cf L174b, *külüs=* M71a 'to laugh together'.

¶ <CT **külüš=* (cf EDPT 720b), cf Khak *külïs=* BI96a.

kʰun (*kʰunki*) 'day; sun', cf CL157a, T180b, *kʰün* T190a, *kün* M71a 'id', *kün'* PotII:436a, *gun* Her196 'sun', *kun* M70a, Man63, *kõn* Man63, *kon* M68a, *xon* M136b 'day', *kʰun* L173a 'id; sun; days, life', *gön*[*öbter*] Her200 'a long time'.

¶ <CT **kün* (cf EDPT 725a, ESTJaIII:100), cf Khak *kün* BI96a, Tuva *xün* T497a, Tofa *hün* R42b, Yak *kün* Slp197b.

kʰunçis 'a Yugur woman's proper name'.

¶ Compound consisting of *kʰun* 'day, sun' + *çis* 'malachite'.

kʰuniŋkïr 'afternoon', cf *kʰunïnker* L173b, CL158b, *kʰunenkïr* L173b, *kʰunenker* L173b, *kün inɣer* M32a 'id, evening'.

¶ Compound consisting of *kʰun* 'day' + *yiŋïr* 'evening'.

kʰunsin (~ ***kʰunsin***) 'every day', cf *kʰun sen* L325a, CL142, *kün sæin* M101a.

¶ From *kʰun* 'day' + the clitic *-sin* 'every'.

kʰunşin, idiolectical for ***kʰunsin*** 'every day'.

kʰuntïs 'daytime', cf L173b, T189b, *kʰundïz* T189b, *kʰuntus* L174a, CL158b, *kuntus* M70a, *küntus* M71b, *kʰündüz* T8 'in daytime', *künts* Her196 'day'.

¶ <CT **kündü:z* 'in daytime' (cf EDPT 729b, ESTJaIII:102), cf Khak *kündüs* BI96b, Tuva *xündüs* T497b, Tofa *hündüs* R42b, Yak *künüs* Slp198a.

kʰuŋ (~ ***kʰuaŋ***) 'basket; jar', cf *kʰuaŋ* L172b 'id', *kʰoŋ* L172a, CL167b 'basket', *qoŋ* M58a, *qon* M58a 'basket of steppe grass; jar', *kuŋ* Man65 'basket-making'.

¶ ←Ch kuāng 'basket'.

° Also loanword in EYu *kʰɔŋ* B69.

kʰuŋkuʰrkï, see ***kʰeŋkiʰrkï*** 'drum'.

kʰur 'fat (of animals, meat)', cf L175b, CL171b, T189b, *qʰur* L217a, *χur* L183b, *qur* M61a 'id', *gorˌ*[*oŋör*] Her211 'fat, grease'.

¶ <CT **kür* (cf EDPT 735a, ESTJaIII:106), cf Khak *kür* BI97a 'impudent; wild', Tuva *xür* T498a 'satiated; happy; healthy; strong (of cattle)', Karagas *kʏür* ~ *hür* Cas101 'sharp'.

kʰuşin 'thread', cf *kʰïusin* L165a, *kʰïusen* L165a, *kʰïşin* L166a, T190a 'silk thread'. See also ***misin*** 'thread'.

¶ The second element ←Ch xiàn 'thread', the first element unknown.

lap 'real(ly), certain(ly)', cf *lapʰ* L140a 'id, indeed; clearly, distinctly; detailed, minute'.

¶ ←EYu *lap* S470 'certainly, surely', B86 'once more', cf LM lab Les513a 'surely'.

laʰpçïq 'leaf', cf *laʰpʰçïqʰ* CL160b, *łapčïq* M72b (mountain dial.), *labšag* Her204 'id', *laʰpʰçïqʰ* L141a 'id; petal'.

¶ ←EYu *lapčʰăq* B86, *łapčėq* J̌97a, *łapčėk* S497, *łapčïk* Kot448, *labčeG* TT50, *labšag* Her204, cf LM nabči(n) Les555a. The development *l-* < *n-* can also be seen in Mgr *lapçė* Khas110, BaoÑ *làpçʰǫŋ* CN100, BaoD *lapçʰữŋ* BL85a, Dgx *laçʰẽ̌ŋ* Bökh96 'id'. The unique EYu final *-q* cannot be explained.

lar 'language, speech', cf L141a, C12 'id', *łar* T190b, M72b 'words, conversation'.

¶ Also occurring in EYu *lar* B87, J̌96b, PotII:419b, Her205 'language, speech, word'.

larla= 'to talk, to tell, to recount', cf L141a, C176a 'to talk'.

larlas= 'to talk together', cf L141a.

lawïr 'leaf', cf L141a 'twig; petal', *lawur* L141a:Da 'id; leaf'.

¶ Perhaps a contamination of *laʰpçïq* + CT **yapurgak* (cf EDPT 879b, ESTJaIV:130).

lazï 'pepper', cf *lazɿ* L141a, CL161b.

¶ ←NwM $la^{213}_{13}cɿ$ CZW118b 'hot pepper', cf Ch là.

lɛnçou 'Lánzhōu', cf *lançou* L341a, *łançou* T190b, *lançïu* CL73, *łançïu* T190b, *lançu* L341a, *łançu* T190b, *łanǯu* M72b, *łanço* T190b, *łanǯo*[sï] M72b.

¶ ←Ch Lánzhōu.

liaŋ 'two'.

¶ ←Ch liǎng.

liaŋkʰouzï (~ ***liaŋkʰuzï***) 'husband and wife, spouses', cf *liaŋkʰïuzɿ* L142a, CL86, *liaŋkʰouza* L142a, *liaŋkʰozɿ* CL141, *laŋkʰïcɿ* T190a, *laŋkʰïncɿ* T190a, *lanxuza* M74a, *læŋxuza* M74a, *lænkuza* M74a, *læŋɣuza* M74a.

¶ ←Ch liǎngkǒuzi (spoken language).

liaŋkʰuzï, see ***liaŋkʰuzï*** 'husband and wife, spouses'.

liaŋxua 'ceiling', cf L142a, *laŋxua* T190a, *laŋχua* T190a, *lanxoa* M74a, *lænxua* M74a, *læŋxua* M74a.

¶ ←Ch liáng 'roof beam' + huā as in tiānhuābǎn L142a 'ceiling'.

lɛnpʰïn 'washbasin', cf *lienpʰïŋ* L142b, CL166a, *lienpʰun* L142b.

¶ ←Ch liǎnpén.

lila= 'to plough', cf L143a.

¶ ←Ch lí.

° Also loanword in EYu *li:la=* B87.

liopuçʰi 'amazing, terrific, extraordinary'.

¶ ←Ch liǎobuqǐ.

lioputï 'awful'. Equivalent of ***tançin***.

¶ ←Ch liǎobude.

litaŋ 'present, gift'.

¶ The first element probably Ch lǐ 'present', the second unknown. Cf further Sal *litoŋ* Lín54a 'id'.

loçï 'head, leader (of a village)', cf *loçe* L145a, CL165a, *loçey* L145a:Da 'the head of a clan; an official's rank', *łoǯi* M73a 'an official's rank'.

• ***töʰrçin loçï*** 'head of the village'.

¶ ←Ch lǎo zhě.

lola= 'to drag up', cf L144a, C82:70b, *łoła=* M73a, *łoɬ=* M73a.

¶ ←Ch lǎo.

lom 'religious scripture, magic book; meeting, assembly', cf L143a, CL164a, CL137 'id', *łom* T190b, M73a, *nom* M80b 'scripture, religious writing', PotI:442 'book'.

¶ <CT **nom* (cf EDPT 777a ←Greek *nomos*). The development of *l-* < *n-* is typical of WYu and Eyu, cf EYu *lom* B88, LM nom Les590a ←CT **nom*.

lomaq 'story, tale', cf *lomaq*^{h} L143b, CL168a, *łomaq*^{h} T190b, *lomag* Her204 'id', *łomaq* M73a 'riddle'.

¶ An irregular development, either <CT **yomak* 'tale, riddle' (cf ESTJaII:220), or ←EYu *lɔmɔk* B88, *lomoq* ǰ75 'story, tale', cf LM domoɣ Les261a. The initial *l-* probably arose under the influence of *lom*.

lomaqçī 'story-teller'.

loşī 'teacher', cf *loşɿ* L145a, C87:573.

¶ ←Ch lǎoshī.

° Also loanword in EYu *laoşɿ* B86.

lotīla= 'to talk nonsence; to chatter', cf L143b 'id', *łotoła=* M73b 'to talk quickly'.

¶ ←Ch láodao.

lotïçan 'who talks too much', cf L143b, *łotočaŋ* M73b.

lou 'a storied building', cf *lu* L145a 'id, storey', *lïu* T10 'floor'.

¶ ←Ch lóu.

° Also loanword in EYu *lu:* B86.

luzī 'stove, furnace', cf *luzɿ* L145b.

¶ ←Ch lúzi.

maɣa 'me, to me, for me', cf L79b, CL81, *maʁa* M74a, *maŋa* M75a, *menga* Her212, *maŗa* Her212, *maŋa* Her201. DAT of ***men*** 'I'.

¶ <CT **baŋa* (cf EDPT 346a s.v. *ben*), cf Khak *maʁa* BI100b, Tuva *meŋee* T306b, *mee* T306b, Tofa *meŋe* R45a, *mee* R47b, Yak *mieхe* Slp240b.

mal 'livestock, domesticated animals', cf L78a, CL159a, *mał* T191a, M74b.

¶ A widely occurring loanword, ultimately perhaps ←Ar *māl*.

° EYu *mal* B90, LM mal Les523b.

malçī 'herdsman', cf *malçɿ* L78b, CL163a, *malç*^{h}*ɿ* L78b, CL31, *małçi* T191a, *małčï* M75a, *małžï* T16.

° EYu *małč*^{h}*ė* B90 'herdsman', LM malči(n) Les524a.

man= 'to wear (clothes, hat, jewelry)', cf L77a, CL178a, C93:47, T191a, M75a.

¶ <CT **ba:n=* 'to bind to oneself' (cf EDPT 349b).

manïm 'part of a woman's traditional dress (the two straps hanging down on the chest)', cf CL168b 'a woman's head ornament', L77a 'id, a set consisting of pectoral, head and back ornaments and a felt hat'.

manïŋ-kizkï 'a woman's dress and adornments, outfit', cf *manïm-kezɣï* L77b.

¶ Hendiadys consisting of *manïm* 'a head ornament' + *kizkï* 'clothes'.

mantïr= 'to put on, to dress somebody', cf T191a, *maŋtïr=* T191a 'id', *mantïr=* L77b 'id; to put on a harness', *mandïr=* M75a 'to dress somebody; to fulfill a certain prayer', [*loхda*] *mandar*[*ine*] Her204 'to put on [a halter]'.

¶ <CT **ba:ndur=* (cf EDPT 768a).

maŋ= 'to go, to go to, to set off; to walk, to be on one's way, to go on walking, to travel', cf CL176b, T191a, M75a, Man63, *maŋ*[*dï*] PotII:437, *mïŋ=* T192b, *ma=* M74a 'to go, to walk', *maŋ=* L78b 'id; to beat it, to get away'.

• ***yol maŋ=*** 'to walk, to travel', calqued from Ch zǒulù (zǒu 'to walk', lù 'road'); ***q*^{h}*an maŋ=*** 'to menstruate', cf *pozïdan maŋ=* M75a.

¶ <CT **maŋ=* (cf EDPT 767a) < **baŋ=* 'to walk' (cf EDPT 348a).

maŋqïra= 'to talk, to tell, to speak', cf L79a, T191b, *maŋʁra=* M75a 'id, to chat'.

• ***soz maŋqïra=*** 'to speak'; (***yoɣïr***) ***lar maŋqïra=*** 'to speak (Yugur) language'.

¶ <CT *maŋra= 'to shout, of people to make noise' (cf EDPT 770b).

maŋqïras= 'to talk together, to converse', cf L79a, *maŋʁras=* M75a, M67:14.

¶ <CT *maŋraš= (cf EDPT 770b).

maŋqïs 'monster, ogre, devil, demon', cf L79a, *maŋqʰïs* CL66, L79b, T191b, *maŋkʰïs* T191a, *maŋɣïs* M75b, *mïŋkʰïs* T192b 'id, demon living on the moon'.

¶ ←EYu *ma:ŋqăs* B89 'evil spirit, demon', *maŋqės* S480 'demon, monster', cf LM mangɣus Les527a.

maŋras= '(of sheep) to bleat together'.

¶ REC of *maŋïra=* L78b, *maŋra=* M67:176, *maŋqïra=* L79a:Da 'to bleat', M75b, *moŋra=* M77b 'to moo', perhaps a contamination of CT *maŋraš= 'to shout' (cf EDPT 770b) and CT *müŋre= ~ *muŋra= 'to bellow, low, bleat' (cf EDPT 770b).

maŋtïr= 'to make or let go; to carry, to send, to dispatch; to drive (a vehicle)', cf T191b, M75b, *maŋdïr=* M75b 'to cause to go, to sent away', L78b 'id; to drive away'.

maʰqe (~ **maqʰe**) 'camel foal', cf L79b, CL159b, *maʰqeɣ* L79b, *maqʰeɣ* L79b, *maqeɣ* M74b, *makeɣ* M74b.

¶ Perhaps related to Kzk *marqa* RIV:2028 'lamb or kid that is born before April and is therefore bigger and fatter than the others', also *marqa buzau*, *marqa qulun* RIV:2028 (*buzau* 'calf', *qulun* 'foal'), *marqa* RIV:2028 'not carried to term', Tuva *maryɣa bïzaa* ZT267 'a two year old calf' (*bïzaa* 'calf'); cf further Kal *marχɒ* Ram257b 'a lamb that has not been carried to term', Sarikuli *barqo* Gāo122b 'lamb'.

maqʰe, see **maʰqe** 'camel foal'.

marçan 'coral; a Yugur woman's proper name', cf L80b, CL169b, *marǯan* T191b, M75b, *marçan* T191b, *mařçan* T191b, *marčan* Man64 'coral'.

¶ Ultimately ←Ir *marǯān*.

marmi 'lamp', cf CL164a, L80b, M76a, *maɹmi* CL16, *marme* L80b, T191b 'Buddha lamp'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT mar-me Jä411b 'lamp, at present only for holy uses'.

martançï 'self-important person, boaster', cf *martamçl* L80b, *partamçl* L53a, *partamçʰl* L53a 'id, vain person', *bardamtšö* Her209 'glad'.

¶ ←EYu *partamčʰė* B31 'proud, arrogant, conceited', *bardamd'e* [*amawai*] Her202 'proud', *bardamtšö* Her209 'glad', cf LM bardamči Les85a 'boaster, haughty person'.

martanna= 'to boast'.

¶ ←EYu *partamla=* B31 'to boast', cf LM bardamla= Les85a.

maşaŋ 'immediately'.

¶ ←Ch măshàng.

mayn, IMP1sg of **maŋ=** 'to go'.

maynï, cf *maine* M67:59, Her209, *maina* M67:8. IMP1pl of **maŋ=** 'to go'.

mek, see **menik** 'money'.

mektïɣ 'rich, having money', cf *menekʰtïɣ* L83b, CL13, *miniktïɣ* T192a, *miniktïʁ* M77a.

men 'I', cf L83a, CL161a, T76, M76a, Her200.

¶ <CT *men < *ben (cf EDPT 346a), cf Khak *min* BI107a, Tuva *men* T292b, Tofa *men* R45a, Yak *min* Slp239a.

men 'flour', cf L83a, CL161a, T191b, M76a. See also **miɛn**.

¶ From an older loan *men* (cf EDPT 766b ←Ch miàn).

menik (~ **mek**) 'money; coin, unit of money', cf M76b, *menekʰ* L83b, CL12, T191b, *menek* TT38, M76b, *menïk* T191b, TT38, *minek* M77a, TT38, *minik* T192a, M77a, TT20, *mïnekʰ*

L81a:Da, *meleg* Her212.

¶ Perhaps related to the Argu form *benek* 'a small copper coin' (cf EDPT 350b) recorded by Kashgari.

° →EYu *menek* B92, J̌52, S448, *menîk* Man68.

menï 'me', cf L356, CL81, *mennö* Her212. ACC of ***men*** 'I'.

¶ <CT **meni* < **beni* (cf EDPT 346a s.v. *ben*), cf Khak *minĭ* BI107b, Tuva *meni* T293a, Tofa *meni* R45a, Yak *miiɣin* Slp238b.

menïŋ (~ ***meŋ***) 'of me, my', cf L83b, CL37, T10, *mineŋ* M173, *meniŋ* T10, M173, *meneŋ* T10, *mennang* Her212, *me:ŋ* T10, *meŋ* L84a, CL37. GEN of ***men*** 'I'.

¶ <CT **meniŋ* < **beniŋ* (cf EDPT 346a s.v. *ben*), cf Khak *minĭŋ* BI107b, Tuva *meeŋ* T292a, Tofa *miiŋ* R45b.

menti 'on me, at me', cf *mente* CL81, T191b. LOC of ***men*** 'I'.

¶ <CT **mente* (cf EDPT 346a s.v. *ben*), cf Khak *minde* BI107a, Tuva *mende* T293a, Tofa *mende* R45a.

menti= 'to get or be in a hurry; to be very busy', cf *mende=* M76a, *mendi=* M76a, *minde=* M77a 'to be in a hurry', *meŋte=* L84a, *meŋti=* L84a 'to be panic-stricken, to be alarmed; to be busy'.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf EYu *mekte=* B92, *mekte:=* S730, Mgr *maŋta=* S730 'to be busy', LM mengde= Les536a 'to become excited or worried, to be in a rush, etc'.

mentiɣ 'like me'. EQU of ***men*** 'I'.

¶ From an older **menteg*, cf Khak *mindeɣ* BI107a.

mentiɣ 'in a hurry', cf *mindeʁ* M76b, *meŋteɣ* L84a 'quickly, in a hurry, busy'.

• ***mentiɣ-mantaɣ*** 'in a hurry', cf *meŋdeɣ-maŋdaɣ* L84a, *meŋteɣ-meŋteɣ* CL173a.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf EYu *mektekʰė-ta:qʰtʰi* B92 'in a hurry, in a rush', *mekteki:* B92, *mekte:kė* S730, *mektü:l* S730, Mgr *maŋtanki:* S730 'hurrying'.

mentin 'from me', cf *menten* CL81, T191b. ABL of ***men*** 'I'.

¶ <CT **menten* (cf EDPT 346a s.v. *ben*), cf Khak *minneŋ* BI107a, Tuva *menden* T293a, Tofa *menden* R45a.

meŋ, see ***menïŋ*** 'my'.

merçik, see ***mirçik*** 'dung'.

metïq 'limping (of animals when the hoof is too long)', cf *metïqʰ* L83a, CL162b, *meytïqʰ* L84a 'lame', *mïytïk* M78b 'being curved of fingers or toes'.

¶ Perhaps related to Ordos *mɛ̄d̥žik* Mos457a '(of a boot) having the sole worn down at one side', *mɛ̄ʰtʰu̯k̥* as in *mɛ̄ʰtʰu̯k̥ Ge=* Mos458a, *mɛ̄d̥žigla=* Mos457a 'of animals to walk limpingly due to deformed hooves, which have grown outwards or turned upwards; of people to walk having the sole worn down at the outer side', Kal *mɛdz'ɣɒr* Ram259a 'with uncertain gait, waddeling, walking badly', cf LM maimari Les523a, maimaɣar Les522b 'having an unsteady gait'.

mi (~ ***mʊ***), question particle, cf L84b, M76b, *mu* L87a, T192a, *mo* L85b, CL136, M77b, *me* L83a, CL175a, M76a.

¶ <CT **mu*.

miça 'little, small; a little, a bit', cf L85a 'id', CL86, *mïça* L82b, CL86, T192a, *muça* L87b, CL173a, *miça* T192a, *mičæ* M77a, *miŋça* L85a, T192a, *mïnça* T192a 'a little, a bit', and *pïča-pïča* M97b (mountain dial.) 'a tiny little bit'.

¶ Perhaps related to LM biča Les101a 'asunder, into small pieces, into pulp', bičiken Kow1147, bičiqan Kow1147, Les102b 'small child; small, tiny, little; a little'. Cf also Tuva *biče* T105b 'small; young', *bičii* T106a 'id; a little bit', Tofa *biče* R17a 'small',

NUyg dialect *pišɛ* Nad266a 'a bit'.

miɛn 'flour'. See also ***men***.

¶ ←Ch miàn.

miɛnna= 'to exempt (from punishment), to dispense with'.

¶ ←Ch miǎn.

miɣïl= (*miɣïlɣa*) 'to kiss (+ DAT)', cf *meɣïl=* L84a, CL179a, *mïyqïł=* M78b.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of an onomatopoeic *mi* + *qïl=* 'to do'.

mion, idiolectical for ***moyn*** 'neck'.

mirçik: ***qoy mirçik*** 'sheep dung', cf *qoymerček* M76b; ***çʰi mirçik*** 'camel dung', cf *čïmïrček* T192b, M148b, *či mïrčiq* T192b; cf further *meʰrçikʰ* C82:67, *mïrček* T192b, *mïrčïq* T192b, *mïrčiq* T192b, *mïřçik* T192b 'dung', L84a 'dung, especially of a camel or sheep', *merček* M76b 'camel dung'.

¶ Perhaps related to *meǯek* 'dog's dung' (cf EDPT 350b), recorded by Kashgari.

misin 'thread', cf L85b, CL14, *misen* L85b, *meysin* M76a 'cotton thread'. See also ***kʰusin*** 'thread'.

¶ The second element ←Ch xiàn 'thread', the first element unknown.

mitʰaŋ 'gruel', cf L85a, CL169b, *metʰaŋ* L83a, *metaŋ* T191b, *mitaŋ* M77a 'thin rice or millet gruel, rice water'. Equivalent of ***soqpa kïltïŋ***.

¶ ←NwM $mi^{51}_{13}tʰaŋ$ CZW35b.

mïla 'child; boy', cf L81b 'id', CL31, *mïła* M78b, *mula* CL163a, T192a 'child', L87a, *mola* L86a 'id; boy', *mła* T192a, TT18, M77a, *mala* PotII:435a 'child', *melá* Man63, *m'la* Man63 'son'.

• ***aʰsïraɣan mïla*** 'adopted child', cf *aʰsïraɣan mula* L12b; ***aʰti mïla*** 'baby', cf *aʰtey mula* L9a 'id', *atʰi mła* M67:23 'small child'; ***ezertkin mïla*** 'adopted child', cf *ezertʰken mula* L30a; ***kïʰçiɣ mïla*** 'small child, young child'; ***miça mïla*** 'baby'; ***olɣan mïla*** 'boy'; ***qïz mïla*** 'girl'; ***sunzï mïla*** 'grandson', cf *sunzɪ mula* L333a; ***şeylï mïla*** 'orphan, motherless child', cf *şelï mula* L303b.

¶ Probably <CT **bala* 'the young of an animal' (cf EDPT 332b, ESTJaII:47). This semantic development can also be seen elsewhere in Turkic languages; the phonetic develop- ment **b-* > *m-* in this word without following nasal cannot be explained, however, and seems peculiar to WYu and Tat *malay* Gol360a 'boy, lad'.

° →EYu *mėla* B91, S395, *mïła* Kot447, *mula* J̌99a, TT77, *mla* TT77, PotII:413a 'child', *möla* Her192 'little boy', *suncɪ kʰükʰen* B102 'grandson' (*kʰükʰen* 'son'). Similar forms can be found in the other SM languages, cf Mgr *mula:* Khas125 'small', *pulai* Khas50 'small child', Dgx *mila* Bökh107 'small'.

mïlaqaş 'small boy', cf *mulaqaş* L87a 'youngster (boy of about ten years of age)'.

mïn= (*mïnki*) 'to mount, to ride (+ ACC)', cf L81a, CL176b, T192b, M78b, *men=* T191b, M76a, *min=* M76b.

• ***aʰt mïn=*** 'to mount or ride a horse'; ***qïzïl aʰt mïn=*** 'to menstruate' (lit. to ride a red horse).

¶ <CT **biːn=* ~ **bïːn=* (cf EDPT 348b), cf Khak *mün=* BI111a, Tuva *mun=* T303a, Tofa *mun=* R46b, Yak *miin=* Slp238b.

mïnï (~ ***punï***) 'this', cf L81a, CL82, *munï* CL67, *mïna* M78b, *punï* CL82. ACC of ***pu*** 'this'.

¶ <CT **bunï* (cf EDPT 291b s.v. *buː*), cf Khak *mïnï* BI112a, Tuva *monu* T298a, Tofa *monu* R45b, *monï* R46a, Yak *manï* Slp235a.

mïnïŋ (~ ***punïŋ***) 'of this', cf L81a, CL82, *punïŋ* CL82, *munïŋ* L87a. GEN of ***pu*** 'this'.

¶ <CT *munïŋ (cf EDPT 291b s.v. *bu:*), cf Khak *mïnïŋ* BI112a, Tuva *mooŋ* T299a, Tofa *monuŋ* R45b, *monïŋ* R46a.

mïnta 'here', cf L81a, CL66, T192a, M175, *mïnda* M175, *menta* T191b. LOC of ***pu*** 'this'.

¶ <CT *bunta (cf EDPT 291b s.v. *bu:*), cf Khak *mïnda* BI111b, Tuva *mïnda* T305b, Tofa *mïnda* R47a, Yak *manna* Slp234b.

mïntaɣ 'like this: such, thus', cf L81b, CL174b, T192a, *mïndaʁ* M78b, *mïndaɣ* T192a, *muntaɣ* L87a, *mundaʁ* M78a, *mantaɣ* T191a, *puntaʁ* CL83. EQU of ***pu*** 'this'.

¶ <CT *buntag (cf EDPT 349b), cf Khak *mïndaʁ* BI111b, Tuva *mïndïɣ* T305b, Tofa *mïndïʁ* R47b.

mïntan 'from here', cf L81a, T192a, M175, *mïndan* M175. ABL of ***pu*** 'this'.

¶ <CT *buntïn (cf EDPT 291b s.v. *bu:*), cf Khak *mïnnaŋ* BI111b, Tuva *moon* T299a, Tofa *mïndan* R47a, *munuun* R46b, Yak *mantan* Slp235a.

mïntaq= 'to do thus, to do like this', cf *mïndaq*[^{h}*ïp*] M67:12 (+ CON).

¶ Crasis of *mïntaɣ* 'thus' + *qïl=* 'to do'.

mïntaqaş 'in this way, thus, then, afterwards'.

¶ Crasis of *mïntaɣ* 'thus' + *qïlɣaş* 'doing, having done'.

mïntaqʊ 'in this way, thus', cf L81a, *mïndaq^{h}o* M67:12, *mïntaɣo* L81b, *mïndaʁo* M67:12.

¶ Crasis of *mïntaɣ* 'thus' + *qïlʊ* 'doing', cf *montaɣ qïlo* L81a.

mïntaqʊɣan 'like this, such'.

¶ Crasis of *mïntaɣ* 'thus' + *qïlʊɣan* 'having done'.

mïntarmi 'a thing like this'.

¶ Crasis of *mïntaɣ* 'thus' + perhaps *pïrmi* 'thing', or *mïndaʁłar neme* M67:7.

mïntïr= (*mïntïrɣi*) 'to cause or let mount or ride', cf L81b, T192b, *mïndïr=* M78b.

¶ <CT *bintür= (cf EDPT 350a), cf Khak *mündïr=* BI111a, Tuva *mundur=* T303a, Tofa *mundur=* R46b.

mïntïraq 'this much'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *mïntaɣ* 'thus' + COMP?

mïntur 'this many, this much', cf *mïntaɣor* L81b, *mïntoɣor* L81b, L121a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *mïntaɣ* 'thus' + *pïr* 'one'.

mïŋ 'thousand', cf L81b, CL173b, T192b, PotII:437b, *meŋ* M76b, *mïn* T192b, *mön* Her198.

¶ <CT *bïŋ ~ *biŋ (cf EDPT 346b), cf Khak *muŋ* BI110b, Tuva *muŋ* T303a, Yak *muŋ* Pek1626. Except for WYu, NE has *muŋ (cf Schönig 1997: 126).

mïŋmïŋtï 'suddenly'. Equivalent of ***o^{h}qta^{h}rqʊ***.

¶ ←Ch měngměngde.

mïrïş (~ ***mïş***) 'cat', cf *mïrş* L83a, C159b, T192b, *mörš* Her211, *mïş* L82b, C159b, *mïš* M79a, *miš* M77a, *mïšïq* M79b, *mišik* M77a, *mïrït* M78b (mountain dial.).

¶ Cf Sagay *pïrïs* BI171a; cf further the older forms *müš* (cf EDPT 772a), *mačï* (cf EDPT 765b) 'cat', both considered loanwords of unknown origin, and *müškič* 'wild cat' (cf EDPT 772a ←Sogdian).

° →EYu *mïrïš* Kot445, *mörš* Her211.

mïrkïti 'here'. The Mínghǎi equivalent of ***mïnta***.

mïş, see ***mïrïş*** 'cat'.

mïşki (~ ***puşki***) 'into here'.

¶ From *pu* 'this' + the spatial clitic -(*ï*)*şki* < *ïş* 'inside' + DAT; the oblique form in *mï-* is probably an analogous formation.

mïşti 'in here'.

¶ From *pu* 'this' + the spatial clitic -(ï)*ʂti* < *ïʂ* 'inside' + LOC.

mïz (*mïzki*) 'we', cf L82b, CL80, T192b, M78b, *mïs* L82b, CL174b, T192b, M78b, *mes* T191b, *pïz* L56a:Da, M95b (mountain dial.), *pïž* M95b (sanddhi form), *boss* Her213. See also ***mïztir***.

¶ <CT **biz* (cf EDPT 388a, ESTJaII:129), cf Khak *pïs* BI153a, Tuva *biʰs* T105b, Tofa *biʰs* R17a, *bis* R17a, Yak *bihiɣi* Slp71b. Only WYu developed *m-* here, probable analogous to *men* 'I'.

mïzir, see ***mïztir*** 'we'.

mïztir (~ ***mïzir***) 'we', cf *mïzter* L82b, CL80, *mïster* L82b, CL80, T192b, *mïsler* L82b, *mösler* Her200, *mïser* L82b. PL of ***mïz*** 'we'.

mïztï 'us', cf *mïstï* L356. ACC of ***mïz*** 'we'.

¶ <CT **bizni* (cf EDPT 388a, ESTJaII:129), cf Khak *pïstï* BI153a.

mïztïŋ 'of us, our', cf *mïstïŋ* L82b, CL81, T22, M174, *mestïŋ* T22, *pïzdïŋ* M95b. GEN of ***mïz*** 'we'.

¶ <CT **biziŋ* ~ **biznïŋ*, cf Khak *pïstïŋ* BI153a, Tofa *bistïŋ* R17a.

mv, see ***mi***, question particle.

mv, CSIM of ***maŋ=*** 'to go'.

moniou 'yak', cf *moniu* L86a, C87:564.

¶ ←Ch máoniú.

mos, see ***mus*** 'horn'.

moyn (~ ***mion***) (*moynqa*) 'neck', cf *moin* L85b, CL10, M77b, *moen* CL162a, T192a, *muin* Man65, *moyin* L86b, *moyen* L86b 'id', *möin* Her194 'throat'.

¶ <CT **boyïn* (cf EDPT 386b, ESTJaII:180), cf Khak *moyïn* BI109a, Tuva *moyun* T299b, Tofa *möen* (*moynï*) R46a, Yak *mooy* Slp241b.

muli 'very', cf L87b, CL174b, *mule* L87a, CL174b, *muliy* L87b, CL32, *muley* L87b, *mle* M77a, *mïle* L81b, *mler* M77a (< *mo la erür*).

muɣa, see ***puɣa*** 'thither, to him, her, it'.

muŋe 'brain', cf L87b, CL161b, *muŋey* L87b, *moŋe* L86b, *moŋey* L86b, *möŋe* Her194, *mïŋe* L82a, *mïŋey* L82a.

¶ <CT **beŋi* ~ **beňi* (cf EDPT 348b, ESTJaII:106), cf Khak *mii* BI106b, Sagay *mis* BI108a, Tuva *mee* T306b, Tofa *mee* R47b, Yak *meyii* Slp247b.

→EYu *mėŋėi* B91, *mėŋi* J̌104a, *mė:ŋi:* S626, *möŋe* Her194.

murata 'about here, down here'.

¶ Perhaps a contraction of *mïnïŋ arata*.

mus (~ ***mos***) 'horn', cf *mu:s* M78a, PotII:436a, *mõs* CL37, *moŋïs* CL160b, T192a, *moŋus* M77b, *muŋïs* M78a 'id', *mos* L87a, *moïs* L85b, *moŋïs* L86b 'id; (a butterfly's) cirrus'.

¶ <CT **büňüz* ~ **buňuz* (cf EDPT 352a, ESTJaII:243), cf Khak *müüs* BI111b, Tuva *mïyïs* T305a, Tofa *miis* R45b, Yak *muos* Slp245b.

naɣïl= (~ ***niɣïl=***, ***nal=***) 'to do what?', cf L135b, *naɣïɬ=* T192b, *naʁïɬ=* M79a, *neɣel=* M80a.

¶ Crasis of *ni* 'what' + *qïl=* 'to do', cf *na qïl=* L135b, *ne qïɬ=* M79a.

naɣv 'how', cf *naɣo* L136a, CL85, *naɣo(w)* T192b, *naʁu* M79a, *niɣo* M80a.

¶ Contraction of *naɣïlv* 'doing what'.

naɣʂe 'what to do?', cf L136a, *naxʂe* L135b, *naχʂe* CL85, *naxši* M79b.

¶ Contraction of *naɣïlɣïʂ-i*, cf *naɣïɬʂe* T250, *na:lʁšï* M67:62.

nayzï 'milk'. Equivalent of ***sut***.

¶ ←NwM *naï*$^{51}_{13}$*cɪ* CZW14a 'cow's milk', Ch năizi (spoken language).

nan 'difficulty', cf L135a 'id; disaster, suffering', *nan bop-tro* M79b 'what disaster!'.

¶ ←Ch nán.

nantï 'man, male'.

¶ ←Ch nánde.

naqï 'yonder', cf L135b, *narïqï* L136b, *narqï* T193a.

¶ <CT **narukï* 'situated on the other side' (cf EDPT 778b).

narata 'about there, down there'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *narï arata*.

narï 'thither', cf L136b, C82:76b, M79b, *nara* T192b, *narą* M79b, *nar* M79b.

¶ <CT **naru* (cf EDPT 778b) < **aŋaru* 'on that side, there' (cf EDPT 190a, ESTJaI:157), cf Khak *aar* BI11b, Tuva *ïnaar* T595, Tofa *ïnaarï* R100a.

narsïnta 'in fact, actually, as a matter of fact', cf *narïsï* L136b 'always, all along, at all'. POS3 + LOC of *narï*.

narsïntan 'but, however, even so, even though'. POS3 + ABL of *narï*.

nati 'why'.

nayiŋtay 'a Yugur woman's proper name'.

neraqïnta 'over there, down yonder', cf cf *neraqta* M80a 'at the otherside', *neraq*^{h} L137b, CL24, *neraq* T193a, M80a 'the other side, yonder'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *narï* 'thither' + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + LOC, cf *narï yaq* M80a; the *e* perhaps arose by analogy with *peraqïnta* 'over here'.

neraqïŋqa 'over there, down yonder'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *narï* 'thither' + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + DAT.

ni 'what; what kind of, which', cf L137b, CL174b, T193a, M80a, *ne* L136b, T193a, M79b, *na* L135a.

¶ <CT **ne:* (cf EDPT 774a).

niçi 'how many', cf L138a, CL84, *neçe* L137a, CL174b, *niçe* T193a, *nečæ* M80a.

¶ <CT **ne:če* (cf EDPT 775a).

niçik 'what kind of', cf *niçik*^{h} L138b 'how, in what way'.

¶ <CT **ne:čük* (cf EDPT 775b) 'how, in what way'.

niçor 'how much, how many, to what extend', cf L138b, CL174b, T193a, *niçiyor* L138b, *ničur* M80b, *ničür* M80a, *ničæür* M80b 'how much'.

¶ Crasis of *niçi* 'how many' + an unclear second element, perhaps *erür*, as Malov suggests (1967: 80a).

niɣi 'what for, why', cf *niɣe* L138a, *neɣe* L137a, CL84, T193a, M80a, *nege* T193a, *nige* T193a.

¶ <CT **ne:ge* (cf EDPT 774b).

niɣïl=, see ***nayïl=*** 'to do what?'.

nili= 'to knead; to pinch', cf *niele=* L137b 'to massage'.

¶ ←Ch niē 'to hold between the fingers, to pinch; to knead with the fingers'.

nimi 'thing; something, anything', cf L138a, M80a, *neme* L136b, C82:73a, T193a, M80a, *nime* L138a, CL31, T193a, *nemæ* M80a.

¶ <CT **neme* 'something, anything' (cf EDPT 777b), cf Khak *nime* BI117a 'what; thing', dial. *neme* BI116a 'thing',

nimi= 'to add, to attach; to increase, to develop, to expand', cf L138a, *neme=* C53, L137a 'to add, to increase'.

¶ ←EYu *neme=* B25, J̌97b, *neme:=* S504, cf LM neme= Les573b.

niŋna= 'to pinch', cf L138a:Da 'id, to tweak, to twist, to screw, to wring'.

¶ ←Ch níng.

nisar 'souvenir, relic', cf *nensar* L137a, CL164a, M80a 'an object of the deceased which is given to a lama as a souvenir'.

niyor 'how, in what state or quality', cf L138b, CL84 'how', *nior* L137b 'what', *ni-ur* M67:9 'what kind of'.

nol= (~ ***niol=***) 'what to happen, what about', cf *nol*[*otïr*] L139a, *no:ɬ*[*te*] M80b, *noɬ*[*o*]= T193a, *niwol* L139a.

¶ Crasis of *ni* 'what' + *pol=* 'to become, to be'.

norçis 'a Yugur woman's proper name'.

¶ The second element *çis* 'malachite', the first element probably ←LT nor-bu Jä308a 'jewel, precious object', Amdo *nor-rò* Roe134. Cf further the Yugur women's proper names *nurǯan* M80b, *nurǯïʁyan* M80b, and *nurǯoɬ* M80b.

nutïr 'mortar', cf *notur* CL23 'mortar', L139a, *nutur* L139b 'id; copper bowl', *notur* M80b, *nödür* Her196 'wooden pestle'.

¶ ←EYu *notü:r* B26, *nutü:r* J̌88 'pestle', *nütü:r* S663 'mortar', *nödür* Her196 'wooden pestle', cf LM nidügür Les578b 'mortar; pestle'.

nüʰker 'friend', cf *nüker* M80b (mountain dial.), *nöʰker* C87:564, L140a, *nöker* T193a, M80b, *neker* PotII:436b, *nöʰkör* CL:163a 'id', L140b:Da 'id; helper', *nioʰkör* L137b 'id, travel companion', *löger* Her201 'friend'.

¶ ←EYu *nökʰör* B26, J̌97b, S515 'friend', cf LM nökör Les593b. Preaspiration also occurs in BaoÑ *nòkʰòr* ~ *nòχkòr* CN32.

o 'that; he, she, it', cf L31a, CL36, T193b, M81a, *ö* T194b, *u* M128a, *ol* L32b, CL174a, *oɬ* T193b, M81b, *uɬ* M129b, *woɬ* T219a, *wu* T219a.

¶ <CT **ol* (cf EDPT 123a, ESTJaI:444), cf Khak *ol* BI125b, Tuva *ol* T317b, Tofa *ol* R51b, Yak *ol* Slp269a.

oɣïl (~ ***oɣul***) 'son', cf L34b, C87:563, *oɣïɬ* T193b, *oʁïɬ* M81a, *oɣul* L34b, CL165b, *oʁuɬ* M81a, *oɣuɬ* T193b, *oɣoɬ* T193b, *uɣïɬ* T22.

¶ <CT **ogul* (cf EDPT 84b, ESTJaI:414), cf Khak *ool* BI127b, Tuva *ool* T322a, Tofa *ool* R52b, Yak *uol* Slp437a.

oɣïr (~ ***oɣur***) 'herd', cf *oʁïr* M81a, *uʁïr* M128b, *uɣïr* L42a 'id' C82:73a 'id; group', *uɣur* CL79 'livestock', L42a, T217b, *uʁur* M128b 'group (of people or animals); herd'.

¶ <CT **ügür* ~ **ögür* 'herd' (cf EDPT 112a, ESTJaI:621), cf Khak *öör* BI136a, *ör* BI136b, Tuva *öör* T337b, Tofa *öör* R55b, Yak *üör* Slp454b. Except for WYu, NE points at **ögür*; elsewhere **ügür* prevails.

° →EYu *üɣür* B21, *ɣur* J̌73, *oɣor* S617 'herd, flock', S175 'group, flock'.

oɣlan, see ***olɣan*** '(little) boy'.

oɣul, see ***oɣïl*** 'son'.

oɣur, see ***oɣïr*** 'herd'.

olar, see ***alar*** 'they'.

olɣan (~ ***oɣlan***) '(little) boy', cf L33b, CL32, T22, *oɬʁan* M82a, *ulɣan* L41b, *uɬɣan* T22, *uɬʁan* M129b, *oɣlan* L35a, CL32, *oʁɬan* M81a, *uɣlan* L42b, *ugan* ~ *uglan* PotII:436a.

¶ <CT **oglan* (cf EDPT 84b, ESTJaI:411), cf Khak *olʁan* BI126a, Yak *uolan* Slp437a.

olɣaq (~ ***ulɣaq***) 'kid goat', cf *olɣaqʰ* L33b:Da, *oɬɣaq* T30, *ulɣaqʰ* CL159b, L42a, *uɬɣaq* T217b, *uɣlaqʰ* L42b, *oɣlaqʰ* L35a:Da, *ulïwaqʰ* L41a, *ulɣuaqʰ* L42a:Da, *ïliwaqʰ* L21b, *ulaqʰ* L41a, *uɬaq* M129b, *wlak* Her199.

¶ <CT *oglak* (cf EDPT 86b, ESTJaI:404), cf Khak *oʁlax* BI122b.

olïr= 'to stay; to live, to dwell; to be situated, to be at a place; to wait', cf CL62, *oɬïr=* T193b, M82a, *olur=* L33a, CL177a, *oɬur=* M82a, *uɬïr=* T217b 'id', *olïr=* L33a 'id; to be, to act as, to act in the function of', *olor*[*go*] Her201 'to live'.

• ***ay olïr=*** 'to be confined in childbed', cf L14a 'id', *ay oɬur=* M82a 'to be pregnant'; ***miça olïr!*** 'wait a bit', cf *mya ulraine* Her201 'to wait' (lit. let us wait); ***miça olïrya*** 'shortly, immediately, in a moment'.

¶ <CT **olur=* 'to sit' (cf EDPT 150a, ESTJaI:492), cf Tuva *olur=* T318b, Tofa *olur=* R51b, *olïr=* R52a, Yak *olor=* Slp270b. Elsewhere forms related to CT **oltur=* (cf EDPT 133b) prevail, cf Khak *odïr=* BI123b.

olïrt= 'to let stay', cf *olïrt*^{h}= L33b, *olurt*^{h}= L33a, *oɬurt=* M82a 'to settle'.

¶ <CT **olurt=* 'to seat' (cf EDPT 151a), cf Tuva *olurt=* T318b, Tofa *olïrt=* R51a, *olurt=* R52a.

on (~ ***un*** in compound numerals) 'ten', cf L32b, CL175a, T193b, M82a, PotII:436b, Her197, *un* L39b:Da, M129b, Man61.

¶ <CT **o:n* (cf EDPT 166b, ESTJaI:455), cf Khak *on* BI126b, Tuva *on* T319b, Tofa *on* R52a, Yak *uon* Slp437b.

on, see ***un*** 'voice'.

onïnçï 'tenth', cf *onïnçı* L32b.

¶ Cf Khak *onïnǯï* BI126b.

oŋ 'right side', cf L33b, CL158a, T193b, M82a, *un* M129b, *uŋ* M130b 'id; right, correct'.

¶ <CT **oŋ* (cf EDPT 166b, ESTJaI:456), cf Khak *oŋ* BI126b, Tuva *oŋ* T320b, Tofa *oŋ* R52a.

oŋkuş (~ ***oŋuş***) 'Adam's apple', cf *oŋqïş* L34a, *uŋkuş* L42a, *uŋquş* L42a, *unquš* M130a (mountain dial.), *uŋkïş* L42a, *uŋɣïš* M130b, *uŋqïş* L42a.

• ***qïzïl oŋkuş*** 'Adam's apple', cf *qïzïl unkuş* L195b 'oesophagus', L42a 'id; Adam's apple'; ***qa^{h}tïɣ oŋuş*** 'Adam's apple', cf *qa^{h}tïɣ uŋkuş* L42a 'trachea'.

¶ <CT **öŋgüč ~ *öŋüč* (cf EDPT 172a, ESTJaI:536), cf Khak *öös* Čan586a 'oesophagus', Sagay *öös* BI136a 'thorax', Tuva *ööš* T338b 'oesophagus and trachea', *kïzïl-ööš* T274a 'oesophagus', Tofa *ööš* R56a, *qïzïl ööš* R56a 'id', Yak *öŋüs* 'muscle of the neck'.

oŋşï= 'to read', cf *oŋşı=* L34a, CL176a, T193b, *unšï=* M130b, *uŋšï=* M130b. Synonym of ***pï^{h}tïɣ qara=***.

¶ ←EYu *ɔŋšė=* B13, *ɔnšė=* B13, *oŋšė=* J̌95b, *onši=* S676 'id', cf LM ungši= Les877a.

oŋuş, see ***oŋkuş*** 'Adam's apple'.

o^{h}q 'arrow; bullet; bow', cf T193b, *o^{h}q^{h}* L35a, CL168a, T193b, *χoq* T219b, *ok* PotII:436b, *og* Her207 'arrow', *oq* M81b 'bow'.

¶ <CT **ok* 'arrow' (cf EDPT 76a, ESTJaI:437), cf Khak *uх* BI252a 'bullet, arrow', Tuva *o^{h}k* T316b, Tofa *o^{h}q* R54a 'bullet', Yak *oх* Slp281b 'arrow; bow'.

o^{h}qa= 'to smell something', cf *u^{h}qa=* L43a, CL176a, *q^{h}uqa=* L216a:Da.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **kok=* 'to stink, etc' (cf EDPT 609a, Räs276a).

o^{h}qal= '(of something) to smell, to have a smell', cf *u^{h}qalï=* L43a, *qoqaɬ=* M57a, *qoqaɬa=* M57a, *qoqoɬa=* M57a.

• ***maɣa o^{h}qa^{h}ltï*** 'I smelled it'; ***p^{h}aŋ o^{h}qal=*** 'to stink'.

o^{h}qar= 'to pasture, to tend livestock', cf *otqar=* M83b, *oqar=* M81b, *u^{h}qar=* L43a, CL177a, *u^{h}q^{h}ar=* L43a, *χuqar=* T250, *uqar=* M129b, *q^{h}ukar=* L216a:Da, *k^{h}ukar=* L216a.

• ***kus o^{h}qarma*** 'cowherd'; ***mal o^{h}qarma*** 'herdsman', cf *mal u^{h}qarma* L78a, ***qoy o^{h}qarma*** 'shepherd', cf *qoy u^{h}qarma* L198b, synonyms of ***qoyçï***, ***kusçï***, ***malçï***.

¶ <CT *otkar= (cf EDPT 48a, read *otgar=*, ESTJaI:483), cf Khak *otxar=* BI132b, Tuva *oʰtkar=* T329b, Tofa *oʰtkar=* R54b.

oʰqas= 'to smell or sniff at one another'.

oʰqtaʰrqʊ 'suddenly, immediately, surprisingly', cf *ogdargör* Her200 'suddenly', *oʰqʰtaʰrqo* L35a 'id, abruptly, unexpectedly', *orxq tarqo* M83a [untranslated].

or 'steam, vapor, air', cf L37b, CL157a, T193b, *hor* L222a:Da 'id', *ur* M130b 'breath', Her210 'air'.

¶ ←EYu *u:r* B19, Ǐ93b, S663 'air, breath', *ur* Her210 'air', cf LM a*ɣur* Les17b. Whereas EYu *u:r*, Mgr *u:r* Khas15, Dag *aur* Enk4 and HY *a'ur* Mos37 feature vocalic onset, BaoD *χŭor* BL81b, Dgx *xŭo* Bökh58, as well as NUyg *hor* Nad762c reflect initial **h-*.

or= 'to harvest, to mow', cf L37b, C82:69b, *ur=* M130b.

¶ <CT **or=* (cf EDPT 194b, ESTJaI:468), cf Khak *or=* BI129a.

or= 'to put a saddle and reins on a horse', cf M82b, *ur=* L45b, M130b, *uru=* M131a, *oro=* M131a, *oru=* M83a 'id; to stab; to fill in, to squeeze in'.

¶ <CT **ur=* (cf EDPT 194b, ESTJaI:599), cf Tuva *ur=* T440b.

orɣaq 'sickle', cf T194a, *orɣaqʰ* L38b, C82:69b, T194a, *orʁaq* M82b, *urɣaq* T194a, *urʁaq* M130b.

¶ <CT **orgak* (cf EDPT 216a, ESTJaI:468), cf Khak *orʁax* BI129b.

orɣïla= (~ ***orɣula=***) 'to shout, to cry out (of people and animals)', cf L39a, *orɣala=* L38b, *orɣula=* L39b 'to cry out, to make a noise', CL180a 'of a camel to bellow', *orʁüɬ=* M83a 'of a cow to moo', *urɣïla=* L46a, *urʁïɬa=* M131a, *urʁuɬa=* M131a 'to shout, to yell', *orɣura=* CL140 'of animals to utter a sound'.

¶ Cf CT **orla=* (cf EDPT 230a), **ogur=* (cf ESTJaI:417), EYu *ɔrqɔklɔ=* B14 'to call, of a wolf to howl', LM orila= Les619a 'to scream', orkira= Les619b, urkira= Les884a 'to roar'.

orɣïlas= 'to shout together, to cry out together (of people and animals); to make noise, to be noisy', cf *orɣalas=* L38b, *urɣïlas=* L46b 'to shout together'.

orɣula=, see ***orɣïla=*** 'to shout'.

oriʰkel 'the year before last, two years ago', cf *oreʰkel* L38a, CL158b 'id', *örixkel* M84a 'last year'.

• ***taʰqï oriʰkel*** 'three years ago', cf *taʰqï oreʰkel* L95a, *tʰaʰqoreʰkel* L120a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of CT **öŋreki* 'previous' (cf EDPT 190b) + *yil* 'year'.

oriʰkïn 'the day before yesterday', cf *oreʰkïn* L38a, CL158b, *ureʰkïn* L45b 'id', *örxkön* M84a, *örixkon* M84a 'yesterday, three days ago, five days ago'.

• ***taʰqï oriʰkïn*** 'three days ago', cf *taʰqï oreʰkïn* L95a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of CT **öŋreki* 'previous' (cf EDPT 190b) + *kʰun* 'day'.

orïɣ (~ ***oruɣ***): ***orïɣ ti=***, ***orïɣnï ti=*** 'to ask into marriage', cf *oruɣ* L38a, *orïɣ* L38a, *uruɣ* L45b, CL165b 'marriage', *uruɣ* L45b:Da 'seed', M131a, *uruʁ* M133a, *ʊruɣ* T218b, *uruq* M131a, *ʊrïɣ* T194a, *oruɣ* T194a, *oruʁ* M83a, *orïɣ* M194a 'relatives; progeny'.

¶ <CT **urug* 'relative' (cf EDPT 214b, ESTJaI:604), cf Tuva *uruɣ* T440b, Tofa *uruɣ* R77b 'child', Yak *uruu* Slp442b 'relative'.

orïɣ-tarïɣ (~ ***oruɣ-tarïɣ***) (speech of older people) 'relatives', cf L38a, *uruɣ-tarïɣ* L45b, CL165b, *uruʁ-darïʁ* M24a.

¶ <CT **urug-tarïg* (cf EDPT 215a), cf Tuva *uruɣ-darïɣ* T440b 'descendants', Tofa *uruɣ-darïɣ* R77b 'id; all of the relatives'.

orq= 'to be or become impatient, short-tempered', cf *orqʰ=* L38b, *orïqʰ=* L38a 'id; to be lonesome'.

oʰrsaŋ 'incense burner', cf L35b, CL164a, *oʰrsan* CL7, *orsan* M83a, *orsaŋ* M83a, *ursan*

M131a, *norsaŋ* M80b, *qʰursaŋ* L218b:Da 'id', *orsaŋ* Her40:92 'burnt offering'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT bsaṅs Das1316a 'incense', Xiàhé *saŋ* HL621b 'id, burning of incense as a sacrifice to deities or ancestors; burning white mulberry [Ch sāng] (burning cypress, tsampa, or butter as a sign of respect to deities)', Reb-koṅ *saŋ* Roe153 'fumigation, incense'. The WYu form *qʰursaŋ* perhaps originated from an incorrect analysis of the compound *aqʰ qʰursaŋ* L7a:Da 'burning incense to eliminate adversity' (*aqʰ* 'white'). The added element in WYu and Eyu may be explained as an epenthetic vowel plus a secondarily inserted *r*.

° Also loanword in EYu *hėrsaŋ* B56 'burning of incense'.

oʰrta 'middle', cf L35b, CL158a, T12, *horta* T181a, *hoɹta* T181a, *urʰta* T218a, *uɹʰta* T218a, *uʰɹta* T218a, *orta* M83a, *orto* M83a, *otra* M83b.

¶ <CT **orta* 'middle; correct' (cf EDPT 203b s.v. *ortu*, ESTJaI:474), cf Khak *orta* BI130b 'regularly; right, to the point', Tuva *oʰrta* T326b 'normally; as follows', Tofa *oʰrta* R54a 'middle; correctly, right, to the point', Yak *orto* Slp278a 'middle'. Forms related to **ortu* 'middle, (only) half' occur predominantly in NE, cf Wyu *oʰrtï* CL171b 'resentful, discontented, dissatisfied', Khak *ortï* BI130b 'middle; incomplete, not full', Tuva *ortu* T327a Tofa *oʰrtu* R54a 'middle, half'.

oʰrtamaq 'middle finger', cf *oʰrtamaqʰ* L35b, *urtamaq* M131a, *ursamïk* PotII:436a, *urtamïk* PotII:436a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *oʰrta* 'middle' + *tarmaq* 'finger', or CT **barmak* 'finger' (cf EDPT 234b s.v. *erŋek*).

ortta= 'to slurp', cf T194a, *orta=* M83a 'id; to eat with a spoon', L38a, *ortʰta=* L38b 'to take a gulp, to sip'.

¶ <CT **aburtla=* 'to fill one's mouth' (cf ESTJaI:407), cf Khak *oorta=* BI127b.

oruɣ, see ***orïɣ***.

oruɣ-tarïɣ, see ***orïɣ-tarïɣ*** 'relatives'.

os= 'to seize at, to grab at, to clutch (e.g. in wrestling) (+ DAT)', cf CL126, M83a 'id', L37b 'id; to cuddle, to hug, to embrace'.

oʰs= 'to be or become thirsty', cf L35b, *uʰs=* L43b, CL117, *os=* T194a, L37b, CL175b, *us=* L44a, *ous=* M84b, *uːs=* M131b, *os*[*te*] Her210.

¶ <CT **us=* (cf EDPT 241a).

oʰsïrïq 'fart', cf *oʰsïrïqʰ* L35b, *oʰsurïqʰ* L35b, *osïrïqʰ* L37b, *osuruqʰ* L37b 'id', *osɣ̈rïq* M83a, *usuruq* M131b 'burp'.

• ***taʰqaɣï oʰsïrïq*** 'egg'.

¶ <CT **osuruk* (cf EDPT 250b), cf Tuva *ozuruk* ZT1271, Yak *uturuk* Pek3099.

oʰşaq (~ ***şuaq***) 'crumbs', cf *uʰşuaqʰ* L43a, *uşuaqʰ* L44a, *uʰşaqʰ* L43a, *şawaqʰ* L301a, *şuwaqʰ* L310b, *şuaqʰ* L308a, *şɻwaqʰ* L306a 'id, broken bits, sediment'. See also ***şart=*** 'to cut up'.

• ***kʰemzï oʰşaq*** 'bread crumbs', cf *kʰemzɪ uşuaqʰ* L44a.

¶ <CT **ubšak* 'crushed, broken up, small' (cf EDPT 16a, ESTJaI:618a).

oşqa 'old man (not polite)', cf L37a, CL165a, T194a, *oʰşqa* L35b, C86:9, T194a, *ošqa* M84b, *oşɣa* L37a 'old man'.

¶ <CT **abïčka* (cf EDPT 6b), cf Khak *abïsxaǯax* BI14a, Tuva *aška* T77b, Tofa *aš(ï)ňaq* R13a.

oşqaçar 'old man', cf L37b 'little old man'.

ot 'fire', cf M83b, T194a, *otʰ* L32a, CL158a, T194a, *oːt* M83b, *utʰ* L39a:Da, *ut* T218a, M131b, Man62, *wut* Her195, *χut* T219b.

¶ <CT *o:t (cf EDPT 34b, ESTJaI:483), cf Khak *ot* BI132a, Kyzyl *ot ~ o:t* Joki19, Tuva *ot* T328, Tofa *ot* R53b, Yak *uot* Slp440a.

oʰt 'grass', cf *oʰtʰ* L35a, CL160b, *o̧xt* M83b, *uxt* M131b, *ho̧tʰ* CL8, *ot* M83b, PotII:436b, *ut* M131b, *owt* Her195.

¶ <CT *ot (cf EDPT 34b, ESTJaI:481), cf Khak *ot* BI132a, Kyzyl *ot ~ od̨* Joki19, Tuva *oʰt* T329b, Tofa *oʰt* R54b, Yak *ot* Slp280a.

otïŋ 'firewood', cf L32a, *otïn* L32a, T194a, M84a, *otun* M83b, *otʰïn* L33a:Da.

¶ <CT *o:tuŋ ~ *o:tun (cf EDPT 60b, ESTJaI:421), cf Khak *odïŋ* BI123b.

oʰtïs 'thirty (used only in the anticipating numerals)', cf L35a, CL173b, T194a, *otïs* M84b, *otus* M83b, *otuz* PotII:437a.

¶ <CT *otuz < *ottuz (cf EDPT 74a, ESTJaI:489), cf Khak *otïs* BI133a, Yak *otut* Slp281a.

oy 'steppe, plain; Mīnghuā District (which is situated in the plains); home country, home place', cf L36a, CL157b, T193b, T17, M81a.

¶ <CT *o:y 'hole, cavity' (cf EDPT 265b, ESTJaI:425), cf Khak *oy* BI124a, Tuva *oy* T315a 'valley, depression', Tofa *oy* R51a 'brook'.

oy (~ ***wey***) 'quick, quickly, immediately, at once', cf L36a, *oŋey* L33b, CL50, *oŋïy* M82b, *oŋï* M82b, *uŋey* L42a, *uŋay* T218a, *uŋi* M130b, *uŋ*[*wadro*] Her201.

¶ <CT *oŋay 'easy; easy to get' (cf EDPT 191b), cf Khak *ooy* BI127b 'easy', Shor *oŋday* RI:1032 'cheap; easy'.

oyla= 'to approach the end of, to be almost there, to have almost finished', cf *oŋeyla=* L34a 'id; to be quick; to be on the verge of, to be about to'.

• ***kʰun oyla=*** 'of the sun to set'; ***kuŋcuo oylaɣanta*** 'at the end of the work'; ***iʰçʊ oylaɣanta*** 'at the end of the meal'.

oyna= 'to play; to have fun', cf L36b, CL178b, M81b, *uyna=* M129b, *yayna=* T182a, M35a, *öina*[*ine*] Her211.

¶ <CT *oyna= (cf EDPT 275a, ESTJaI:436), cf Khak *oyna=* BI124b, Tuva *oyna=* T316a, Tofa *oyna=* R51b.

oynas= 'to play together; to have fun together (may have a sexual connotation)', cf L36b, T193b, M81b, *uynas=* M129b, *yaynas=* M35a 'to play together, to have fun together', *oyinas=* L36b:Da 'to make jokes'.

¶ <CT *oynaš=, cf Khak *oynas=* BI124b. For the semantics, cf Sagay, Koybal *oynas=* RI:977 'to play together; to commit adultery'.

oynat= 'to let play'.

¶ <CT *oynat= (cf EDPT 275a), cf Khak *oynat=* BI124b, Tuva *oynat=* T316a.

ozɣan=, see ***uzɣan=*** 'to wake up'.

öɣin, idiolectical for ***iɣin*** 'nephew'.

örçi (~ ***örçü***) 'thing, things, stuff', cf *örçü* CL23, *urçi* T218a, *ürçi* T7, *ürči* M133b, *ürǯi* M133a 'id, luggage', *örçü* L47b, *örçi* L47b, *ïrçü* L25b 'id; tools, instruments', *urçü* L46b:Da 'thing', *urči* M131a 'small bag', *öld'ü* Her201 'utensils'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT rgyu Jä110a 'matter, substance, material, etc', Xiàhé *hʒė* HL135a 'property, material, goods'. Cf further the compounds Arïk *kon-nçė* TB467 'clothes' (LT gon-rgyu), Amdo *rădu-rʒėi* MG263, *rdė-rʒėi* MG432 'things, goods' (LT rgyu-rjas).

° Also loanword in EYu *orčü* B16, *oɹčo* Ǐ107b, *orčo* S743 'thing, object', *urd'u*[*wai*] Her200 'thing', *určü:* S535 'property; heritage, inheritance', *ėrčo* S359 'property, belongings, household goods'.

örçü, see ***örçi*** 'things'.

örek, see ***yürik*** 'heart'.

örin, see ***erin*** 'man'.

örli= 'to stand, to go standing', cf *örle=* CL176b, M84b, *ürli=* M133b, *erle=* C87:564, L30b:Da, M27a, *yörli=* T185a, *yöɹle=* T185b, *yörle=* M43a, *örlü*[*gon*] Her199 'to stand up', *örle=*L47a, *örli=* L47a, *ïrle=* L24b, *ïrli=* L24b 'id; to grow up'.

¶ <CT **ö:rle=* 'to stand up' (cf EDPT 230a, ESTJaI:543), cf Khak *örle=* BI137a, *öörle=* BI136a.

° →EYu *örle=* B18, *erle=* B12 'to rise, to stand up'.

örliɣ 'high; tall', cf L47a, CL72, M84a, *öɹliɣ* T194b, *örleɣ* L47a, M84a, *örleх* M84a, *örlig* Her206, *yörleg* T185a, *röliɣ* CL171a, *erleg* T22, *erliɣ* M27a, *ïrlig* T194b, *ïrliɣ* T220b, *ürłeх* M133b, *yürliɣ* M46b, *yürliʁ* M46b 'id', *örlüg* Her199 'above', *örlüɣ* L47a:Da 'high; deep', *ïrliɣ* L24b, *rliɣ* L339b 'high; a high place; approval, favour, agreement'.

¶ From an older **ö:rleg*, cf Shor *örleg* RI:1233 'high up'.

örlisïk 'girdle, belt', cf *yörlesïq* M43a, *ïrlisïk*^{h} L24b, CL169a, *rlisïq*^{h} L339b, *elwesïq*^{h} L26b, T178b, *ïrwïsïk*^{h} L25b:Da.

¶ < **irlesük* < **irelsük* <CT **ilersük* (cf EDPT 151b).

pa 'eight'. Equivalent of ***saqïs***.

¶ ←Ch bā.

pa (~ ***wa***), question particle, cf L48a, CL175a, PotII:437, *wa* L311a, CL136.

¶ ←Ch ba.

paɣaça 'bucket', cf CL167a, T194b, *paʁača* M85a 'wooden bucket for fetching water or milk', *baŋad'a* Her195 'wooden pail (bucket).

° EYu *q*^{h}*usun paʁača* B64 (*q*^{h}*usun* 'water'), *baŋad'a* Her195.

paɣïr 'liver', cf L50b, CL162b, *baŋör* Her195 'id', *paʁïr* M85b 'id, gall'.

¶ <CT **bagïr* (cf EDPT 317a, ESTJaII:17), cf Khak *paar* BI139a, Tuva *baar* T81a, Tofa *baar* R14a, Yak *bïar* Slp90b 'liver'.

paɣïr: ***tʰaɣ paɣïr*** 'mountain ridge', cf L50b 'mountain slope', *taʁ paʁïr* M85b 'mountain ridge'.

¶ Compound consisting of *tʰaɣ* 'mountain' + *paɣïr* L50b 'mountain slope; (inclined) plane', *baɣïr* T174b, *waɣïr* T218b 'valley, abyss', *paʁïr* M85b, *paqïr* M86b 'ground's surface', *barer* Her206 'slope', perhaps related to the former. Cf further Khak *paar* BI139a 'skirt of a garment; mountain ridge'.

pakua 'Eight Diagrams (a device used in Taoist divination)'.

¶ ←Ch bāguà.

palïq, (~ ***palq***,, ***paq***) 'wall', cf *palïq*^{h} L49b, CL166a, *pałïq* T195a, M86b, *bałïq* T174b, *pałuq* M86b, *balag* Her207, *paq*^{h} L50a, C92:38, *paq* M86b.

¶ <CT **balïk* 'town' (cf EDPT 336a, ESTJaII:59).

palq, see ***palïq*** 'wall'.

panfa 'method, way'.

¶ ←Ch bànfǎ.

panlu 'halfway'.

¶ ←Ch bànlù.

paŋna= 'to bind, to tie; to bandage', cf L49b 'to bind, to tie; to bind someone's hands behind him', T195a 'to tie'.

¶ ←Ch bǎng.

paŋnas= 'to help (+ DAT)', cf L49b, *baŋnas*[*ine*] Her200.

¶ ←Ch bāng + REC.

papa 'uncle (father's younger brother)', cf L48a, CL165a, M87b 'id', *baba* Her193 'uncle'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **papa* (cf ESTJaII:10), cf Khak *paba* BI139a 'father', Tofa *baaba* R14a 'grandfather; father's elder brother'. WYu intervocalic *p* instead of **w* is irregular.

paq, see ***palïq*** 'wall'.

paqa 'frog', cf L50a, CL160a, T195a, *paʁa* M85a.

• ***kük paqa*** 'frog', calqued from Ch qīngwā (qīng 'green', wā 'frog'); ***sarïɣ paqa*** 'toad'.

¶ <CT **ba:ka* (cf EDPT 311b, ESTJaII:40), cf Khak *paʁa* BI139b, Tuva *paɣa* T342b, Tofa *baʁa* R14a, Yak *baʁa* Slp58a.

par 'present, there is', cf L53a, CL172b, T195a, M87b, PotII:437, *paɹ* T195a, *war* L311b, T219a, M21a.

¶ <CT **ba:r* (cf EDPT 353a, ESTJaII:61), cf Khak *par* BI143a, Tuva *bar* T90a, Tofa *bar* R15a, Yak *baar* Slp55b.

par= 'to go, to go away, to leave', cf L53a, CL176b, T195a, M87b, *paɹ=* T195a, *bar=* T174b, *war=* L311b, T25, M21a.

¶ <CT **bar=* (cf EDPT 354a, ESTJaII:64), cf Khak *par=* BI143a, Tuva *bar=* T81b, Tofa *bar=* R15a, Yak *bar=* Slp63a.

parlïɣ 'having, owning, being in the possession of; rich', cf L53b, *parɬïɣ* T195a.

¶ <CT **barlïg* (cf EDPT 365b, ESTJaII:63), cf Sagay *parlïʁ* RIV:1156, Tofa *barlïʁ* R15a.

paʰrs 'pang (onomatopoeic for a bursting sound)'.

parsï (speech of older speakers), see ***paʰrsï*** 'tiger'.

paʰrsï (~ ***parsï***) 'tiger', cf *parsï* L53b, CL159b, M88a, *parʂl* L53b, *pars* L53b:Da, CL159b, M88a, *bars* T174b, Her199, *bars'* PotII:436b.

¶ <CT **bars* (cf EDPT 368a, ESTJaII:68), cf Khak *alabarïs* ~ *alaparïs* BI22a (*ala* 'variegated'), Koybal *parïs* RIV:1152, Sagay, Kacha, Koybal *mars* RIV:2033, Tuva *par* T343b 'tiger', Karagas *par* Cas125a 'lion'.

paʰs= 'to press; (of dirt, mud) to stain', cf C86:3, *pas=* CL177b, T195a 'to press', M88a 'id; to be infected or tainted with', L52a, *paʰs=* L51a 'id; (of camels) to mate; to cover'.

¶ <CT **bas=* (cf EDPT 370b, ESTJaII:74), cf Khak *pas=* BI145a, Tuva *baʰs=* R71:159, *bas=* T84a, Tofa *baʰs=* R15b.

paʰsïr 'spleen', cf L51a, *pasïr* L52b.

paʰsïrmek (speech of older speakers), see ***paʰsïrmik*** 'thumb'.

paʰsïrmik (~ ***paʰsïrmek***) 'thumb', cf *pasïrmekʰ* L52b, *pasïnekʰ* L52b:Da, *pasïrmik* M88b, *basïrmiq* M20a, *basermek* PotII:436a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *paʂ* 'head' + *tarmaq* 'finger', or CT **barmak* or **erŋek* 'finger' (cf EDPT 234b, ESTJaII:66, ESTJaI:299).

paʂ (*paʰɕ-*) 'head; top, summit; tree top, crown; upper end; beginning', cf L51b 'id; classifier for humans; principal, main', CL161b, T195b, *paš'* PotII:435a, *paš* Man64, Her194, *pʰaʂ* T198a, *waʂ* L311b, CL35, T219a, *waš* M88b, *pas* M88a (seldom) 'head', *paš* M88b 'id; top; beginning', *paʰʂ* T195b 'id; principal, main'. See ***-waʂ*** (compound form).

• ***paʰɕïnta*** 'at the beginning'; ***kïltïŋ paʂ*** 'bald', cf *qïltïŋ paʂ* L193a 'id', *qïɬtïŋ paʂ* T201b, *qïɬtïn baš* M63a 'thrembling head (of old and sick people)'; ***qarq paʂ*** 'bridge of the nose', cf *qaŋïrïq paʂ* L184b 'the tip of the nose'; ***qʰaq paʂ*** 'skull', cf *qʰaqʰ paʂ* L206b, *qaq paš* M50a; ***terek paʂ*** 'the crown of a tree', cf *terekʰ paʂ* L51b, *terek paš* M88b; ***tʰaqan paʂ*** 'fool, simpleton (a term of abuse)'.

¶ <CT *baš (cf EDPT 375a, ESTJaII:85), cf Khak *pas* BI144b, Tuva *baʰš* IP26, Tofa *baʰš* R15b, Yak *bas* Slp65a. WYu -ṣ (instead of -s) < CT *š is irregular.

paʰṣta= 'to begin', cf L52a, CL181a, T195b, *bašta*[*ine*] Her203.

¶ <CT *bašla= (cf EDPT 381b, ESTJaII:88), cf Khak *pasta=* BI145b, Tuva *bašta=* T95b, Tofa *baʰšta=* R16a. WYu -ṣ (instead of -s) < CT *š is irregular.

paʰt= 'to be or become lost, to get lost, to disappear', cf *pat=* M88b 'id', *paʰtʰ=* L50b, CL178b, *pʰaṭʰ=* C86:2 'id; to hide'.

¶ <CT *bat= 'to go down' (cf EDPT 298a, ESTJaII:78), cf Khak *pat=* BI146b, Tuva *bat=* T82b, *baʰt=* Jan37, Tofa *baʰt=* R15b.

paʰtïr= 'to lose', cf L50b, CL178b, *pʰaʰtïr=* L68b, *patïr=* M88b, *patru=* M88b, *patra=* M88a.

¶ <CT *batur= (cf EDPT 308a, ESTJaII:80), cf Tuva *badïr=* T85b, Tofa *baʰtïr=* R15b.

patʰïr 'hero; heroic', cf L48b, CL73, T195b, *patʰur* L48b 'id', *patïr* M88b 'distinguished, of influence'.

¶ ←EYu *paːtʰăr* B29, *paːtʰėr* J̌98b, cf LM baɣatur Les68b.

pay 'rich', cf L51b, CL172b, M86a, *pæy* M89a, *pey* L59a, M89b.

¶ <CT *baːy 'rich man, rich' (cf EDPT 384a, ESTJaII:28), cf Khak *pay* BI140b, Tuva *bay* T85b, Tofa *bay* R14b, Yak *baay* Slp54a.

peçin (speech of older speakers), see ***piçin*** 'monkey'.

peʰk= 'to prepare, to make ready'.

¶ Perhaps a distortion of *peleʰtʰke=* L58a and *peletʰ=* L58a, *pilet=* M92a 'to prepare, to make ready', related to LM beledke= Les97a.

peʰk= 'to eat with taste' (translation uncertain, occurring in a folk tale only), cf *pek=* M90a, M67:176, M67:80 'to be satiated'.

¶ <CT *bök= (cf ESTJaII:211), cf Tuva *pök=* T349b 'to be satiated', Tofa *pök=* R59a 'to eat fat food'. Note the unusual initial *p-* in Tuva and Tofa.

pel 'waist', cf L57b, CL162a, T196a 'id', M90a, *peł* M90a 'id; mountain ridge', *bel* Her194 'coccyx'.

¶ <CT *beːl 'waist' (cf EDPT 330a, ESTJaII:135), cf Khak *pil* BI149b, Tuva *bel* T98a, Karagas *bel* Cas126b, Yak *biil* Slp69a.

pele 'together with', cf *pule* L66a, C82:76b, *puli* L66a, T197a, *puley* L66a, *pïle* L54a, *pli* M92b, *bile* PotII:437 'id', *pulen* L66a, CL133, *pulin* M95a, *pïlen* T197b, *pilin* M92a, *wulin* M21b, *welin* M21a 'id, and; with, using', *olen* L33b CL133 'with, using'.

¶ < *bile ~ *bilen <CT *birle (cf EDPT 364b, ESTJaII:140, ESTJaII:149), cf Tuva *bile* T103a, Tofa *bile* R17a, *ble* R17b.

per= (*perɣi*) 'to give', cf L160b, CL181b, T196b, M91a, *peɹ=* T196b, *peʰɹ=* T196b, *pïr=* T197b, *ber=* T174b, *pær=* M89a, *wer=* L312b, T219a, M21a, *ber=* Her213, [*maŋa*] *beх*[*ti*] Her201.

• ***kïsïɣi qïztï kʰeln per=, qïztï kïsïɣi per=*** 'to give one's daughter into marriage to someone'; ***alïm per=*** 'to pay one's debts'.

¶ <CT *beːr= (cf EDPT 354b, ESTJaII:114), cf Khak *pir=* BI150b, Tuva *ber=* T132a, Tofa *ber=* R16b, Yak *bier=* Slp72b.

peraqïnta 'over here, down here', cf *peraqʰ* L60b, CL41, *berʒaq* M20a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *perï* 'hither' + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + LOC.

peraqïntan 'from over here, from down here'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *perï* 'hither' + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + ABL.

peraqïŋqa 'over here, down here, hither'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *perï* 'hither' + *yaq* 'side' + POS3 + DAT.

perï 'hither, to this side', cf *peri* T196a, *beri* M20b, *perü* M91b, *pïre* T196a, *pïrï* M96b, *per* T196a 'id', *perï* L60b, CL41, M91a, *beru* M20b 'id; since (+ ABL)', *bere*[*lögapter*] Her204 'to return'.

¶ <CT **berü* (cf EDPT 355b, ESTJaII:124), cf Khak *peer* BI147b, Tuva *beer* T132b, Tofa *beeri* R19b.

peʰrk 'courageous', cf *pʰeʰrkʰ* L72a 'outstanding, excellent', *periʰk* T196a, *perik* M91a, *perïk* M91b 'big, important', *peʰrkʰ* L58b, *pʰïrkʰ* L70b 'strength'.

¶ <CT **berk* (cf EDPT 361b, ESTJaII:116), cf Khak *pirǐk* BI150b, Tuva *bert* T100a '(a place) difficult to traverse', Tofa *beʰrt* R16b 'good', Yak *bert* Slp100a 'splendid, terrific'.

peɣ= 'to run out, to come to an end', cf *pʰai=* M67:23 'to become lost'.

¶ Perhaps ←EYu *pai=* B30 'to stop, to cease', cf LM bai= Les72b 'to be; to stop'.

peɣçiŋ (*peɣçiŋqa*) 'Běijīng', cf L340b, *peçiŋ* CL156, *pečin* M91b, *peǯin* M89b.

¶ ←Ch Běijīng.

pezï= (*pezïɣi*) 'to be or become big, large; to grow, to grow up', cf *pezi=* M89b 'id', *pezï=* L59b, CL46 'id; to get promotion; to expand (of a pregnant woman's belly)'.

• ***iʰçikï pezï=*** 'to be pregnant'.

¶ <CT **bedü=* (cf EDPT 299b, ESTJaII:288), cf Tuva *bedi=* T97a, Tofa *bedi=* R16a.

pezïk 'big, large', cf T196b, *pezïkʰ* L60a, CL170b, *pezık* T12, *pezek* T196b, *pezik* M89b, *pecïk* T195b, *beseg*[*dro*] Her200, *pözïkʰ* L67b:Da, *pözükʰ* L67b:Da, *bözük* PotII:435a, *buzük* PotII:437 'id', *bösek*[*dro*] Her201 'brave, courageous'.

¶ <CT **bedük* (cf EDPT 302b, ESTJaII:288), cf Khak *pözǐk* BI160a, Sagay *müzǐk* BI111a, Tuva *bedik* T97a, Tofa *bedik* R16a.

pezït= (*pezïtki*) 'to cause to be or become big, large, to make big, large', cf *pezïtʰ=* L59b, C93:44, *pezit=* M89b 'id; to promote'.

¶ <CT **bedüt=* (cf EDPT 300b), cf Tuva *bedit=* T97a.

piala= 'to paste; to throw, to fling, to toss'.

¶ ←NwM *pia*[44] CZW11a.

piaɣïr 'a few days ago', cf L60b, C82:67b, *piaʁïr* M91b, *piæʁïr* M91b, *piæɣïr* M91b.

¶ The second element unclear, the first element <CT **baya* 'in the immediate past, recently' (cf EDPT 384b, ESTJaII:30), cf Khak *paya* BI147a, Sagay *piye* BI151b 'recently', Tuva *biye* T101a 'long ago', Tofa *biye* R16b 'recently'.

piɛn 'just, as soon as, right'.

¶ ←Ch biàn.

piɛnkʰuaŋ 'a rectangular basket'.

¶ ←Chinese, perhaps biān 'to weave' + kuāng 'basket'.

piçin (~ ***peçin***) 'monkey', cf *peçin* L59a, CL159b, *peɣçin* T195b, *pičin* M92b, *peǯin*' PotII:437, *beid'in* Her211.

¶ <CT **be:čin* (cf EDPT 295b).

pili= 'to stick in (the belt)'.

¶ ←Ch bié 'to stick in (the belt); to fasten with a pin or clip'.

piʰkʊ 'extremely, very', cf *pʰiqoʍ* L73b 'especially, terribly', *peʰrqo* L58b 'well', *pʰeʰrqo* L72a 'id, remarkably'.

¶ Contraction of *peʰrk* 'courageous' + ADV -G*ʊ*.

piŋkuan 'hotel'.

¶ ←Ch bīnguǎn.

pis 'five', cf M92a, *pes* L59b, CL173a, T196b, M91b, PotII:436b, *bes* T11, M91b, *pess* Man61, *bais* Her197, and sandhi forms *peʂ* T196b, *peš* M91b.

¶ <CT *be:š (cf EDPT 376a, ESTJaII:126), cf Khak *pis* BI151a, Tuva *beš* T100b, Tofa *beš* R16b, Yak *bies* Slp73a.

pisek 'a piece, a lump, a couple of', cf M92a 'a small amount of', *pʰisekʰ* L73b 'a few', T198a, *pïrsekʰ* L56a, CL86, *pïrsek* T197b, *pïsekʰ* L56a, *pʰïsekʰ* L70a, *pïsïq* M96b, *pisek* M92a, *pusekʰ* CL83 'a little bit, some, a few, a handful, a part, a piece', *pesek* M91b 'a part, a lump', *pʰise:k* T198a 'herd'.

¶ Crasis of *pïr* 'one' + *kisek* M68a 'part' <CT *kesek (cf EDPT 749b).

pisïnçï 'fifth', *pesïnçı* L59b, C82:77b, *pesinçï* T196b, *pisinči* M92a.

¶ Cf Khak *pizĭnǯĭ* BI149a.

pis-yiɣïrmï 'fifteen', cf *peşeyɣïrmï* L59b, *peseyɣïrmï* L59a, CL62, *peşyiɣïrmo* T196b, *bešïʁïrma* M20b, *pešigerma* Man62, *baišigörmen* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *pis* 'five' + *yiɣïrmï* 'twenty'.

pisun 'fifty', cf *peson* L59b, CL173b, T196b, M91b, *pison* M92a, *beson* PotII:437, *baisson* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *pis* 'five' + *on* 'ten', a formation typical of NE, cf Tuva *bežen* T97a, Tofa *beǯen* R16b, Yak *bies uon* Slp73a. Elsewhere CT *elig < *ellig (cf EDPT 141a, ESTJaI:266) prevails, cf Khak *ilĭɣ* BI58a.

piʰtior 'a little bit, rather, quite'.

pïʰçaq 'knife', cf *pʰuçaqʰ* L76a, CL167a, *pʰuçaq* T198b, *puçaq* T198b, *pïčaq* M97b, *pčak* PotII:436a, Man64, *byag* Her203, *btšak* Her213.

¶ <CT *bïčak (cf EDPT 293b, ESTJaII:160), cf Khak *pïčax* BI171b, Kyzyl *pïžax* BI169b, Yak *bïhax* Slp95b.

pïl= (*pïlɣi*) 'to know; to understand; to realize', cf L54a, CL179a, T197a, *pïɬ=* T197a, M96a, *bïɬ=* T175a, *pil=* M92a, PotII:437, *bil=* PotII:437, *pel=* M90a, *peɬ=* M90a, *beɬ=* M20a.

¶ <CT *bil= (cf EDPT 330b, ESTJaII:137), cf Khak *pĭl=* BI151b, Tuva *bil=* T104a, Tofa *bil=* R17a, Yak *bil=* Slp69b.

pïlisïk (*pïlisïkki*) 'thimble; bracelet; ring', cf *pïlisïkʰ* L54b, CL167a, *pïlesïkʰ* L54b, *blasög* Her211 'thimble', *pilisïq* T196b 'bracelet', *pïlisïkʰ* L54b:Da, *pïlesïkʰ* L54b:Da, *pilesïkʰ* L61b:Da, *pilezik* M92a, *plisk* M92a 'ring'.

¶ <CT *bilezük 'bracelet' (cf EDPT 345b, ESTJaII:143), cf Tuva *bilzek* T103 'ring', Yak *bihilex* Slp71b 'golden ring'.

° →EYu *pelezėk* B33, *plezėk* Man69, *blesök* Her209 'ring', *blasög* Her211 'thimble'.

pïlït (~ ***pulït***) 'cloud', cf M96a, *pïlïtʰ* L54a, CL157a, L54a, *pïltʰ* L54b, *pïɬt* T197b, *pulut* PotII:436a.

¶ <CT *bulït (cf EDPT 333a, ESTJaII:262), cf Khak *pulut* BI166a, Tuva *bulut* T122a, Tofa *bulut* R19a, Yak *bïlït* Slp93a.

° →EYu *pulėt* B35, J̌94b, *puɬut* Kot451.

pïltïr= (*pïltïrɣi*) 'to let know; to notify, to inform', cf L54b, CL8, *pïɬtïr=* M96a.

¶ <CT *bildür= (cf EDPT 334b, read *biltür=*), cf Khak *pĭldĭr=* BI151b, Tuva *bildir=* T103, Tofa *bildir=* R17a, Yak *biller=* Slp70a. In view of Yak *ll*, CT *d is reconstructed here instead of *t.

pïnlay (~ ***pïŋlay***) 'actually'.

¶ ←Ch běnlái; for the first element, cf NwM *pəŋ*[51] CZW360a.

pïŋlay, see ***pïnlay***) 'actually'.

pïr (*pïrɣi*) 'one; a; once, one time, a time; single', cf L56a, CL179a, T197b, *pïɹ* T11, *pʰïɹ* T199a, *pir* PotII:436b, *per* T196a, M91a, *pər* M91a, *põrr* Man61, *bar* Her197, *wïr* T219a.

• ***pïr-pïrnï*** 'one another (+ ACC)', cf L56b, *pïrwïrnï* T197b, *pær berinï* M97b; ***pïr***

pïrtin 'one after the other, one by one', cf *pïr pïrten* L57a; ***pïrtin pïr*** 'more and more', cf *perten pər* M67:57 'suddenly'.

¶ <CT **biːr* (cf EDPT 353b, ESTJaII:146), cf Khak *pǐr* BI152a, Tuva *bir* T104b, Tofa *bir* R17, Yak *biir* Slp69a.

pïra 'conch', cf L56b, CL18, T197b, *pra* L67b, CL168b, *pį̈ra* M96a, *pora* Man66 'white conch used as an instrument in Buddhist rituals'.

° EYu *tuŋ pura* B131 'conch-shell trumpet' (*tuŋ* 'conch').

pïʰrçaq (~ ***puʰrçaq***) 'bean', cf *pïrčaq* T197b, M96a, *pʰuʰrçaqʰ* L76a, CL161a, *purčaq* M95a, *pïčaq* M97b, *pčaq* M95b 'id, legume, pea', *burčaq* PotII:402 'pea (Pisum sativum L.)', *bud'ak* Her195 'bean'.

¶ Either <CT **burčak* (cf EDPT 357b), or, in view of the ç ←EYu *pʰėrčʰaq* B39, *pʰėɹčaq* J̌98a, *bud'ak* Her195 'bean', *burčaq* PotII:402 'pea (Pisum sativum L.)', cf LM burčaɣ Les137b.

pïrɣa 'camel stallion', cf L57a, CL159b, T197b, *purɣa* L67b, *pïrʁa* M96a.

¶ <CT **bugra* (cf EDPT 317b, ESTJaII:235).

pïrïk= 'to agree', cf T197b, *pïrïq=* T197b 'to come together, to unite', *pïrïkʰ=* CL41 'to join', L56b 'id, to have a meeting', *soz pïrïkʰ=* CL41 'to agree' (*soz* 'word'), *puk*[*te lepter*] Her204 'agreement'.

¶ <CT **biːrik=* (cf EDPT 363a, ESTJaII:148), cf Khak *pǐrǐk=* BI152b, Tuva *birik=* T105a.

° →EYu *purėk=* B36 'to join, converge', S176 'to form groups, to group', *pürėk=* BJ̌243 'to come together'.

pïrïnçï 'first', cf *pïrïnç̨ï* L56b, CL76, *pirinçï* T196b.

¶ Cf Khak *pǐrǐnǯǐ* BI152b.

pïrmi 'some, someone, something', cf *pïrme* L57a, CL174b 'some'.

• ***pïrmisï*** 'some, some of them', cf *pïrmisï*[*ŋke*] L57a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *pïr* 'one' + *nimi* '(some)thing', cf Khak *pir nime* BI117a 'something'.

pïʰrqan 'deity; Buddha', cf *pʰïʰrqan* L70a, *pʰïʰrqʰan* L70a, *pïrqan* T199a, *purqan* T198b, M95a 'id', *burgan* Her201 'Buddha', *perkan* Her196 'image of Buddha in a tent', *pïʰrqan* L55b, *pʰuʰrqʰan* L76a, CL162b, *puʰrqan* L66b, *puʰrqʰan* L66b, *pʰurqan* L75b, L76a, *pʰurqʰan* L76b 'id; smallpox, smallpox pustule', *pörkan* Her211 'smallpox'.

¶ <CT **burkan* 'Buddha' (cf EDPT 360b), cf Sagay, Koybal, Shor *purqan* RIV:1368, Tuva *buryan* T122b. For the semantics, cf EYu *pʰėrqʰan* B39, *pʰėɹqan* J̌89 'Buddha', *perkan* Her196 'image of Buddha in a tent', LM burqan Les139b 'Buddha', EYu *pörkan* Her211, *χara pʰėrqʰan* B46, *nurqaŋ* [sic] S568 'smallpox' (*χara* 'black'), cf LM čaɣan burqan Les140a 'id' (čaɣan 'white'); cf further Ch tiānhuā 'smallpox' (tiān 'heaven', huā 'flower'), LT lha-'brum Zhāng3086a, lha-thor Zhāng3082b 'divine pimples'.

pïrsï (*pïrsïŋki*) 'one of them, the one, the other', cf *pïrïsï* M96b, *pʰïɹsï* T199a, *perisi* M91a, *persï* M97b.

¶ < **birsi* < **birisi* <CT **biːr* 'one' + double POS3 (cf EDPT 353b), occurring in several Turkic languages, cf Khak *pirsi* BI152b.

pïr-yiɣïrmï 'eleven', cf *pïreyɣïrmï* L56b, CL173a, *pere germe* PotII:437, *prigerma* Man64, *brigörmen* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *pïr* 'one' + *yiɣïrmï* 'twenty'.

pïs= (*pïski* ~ *pïsqa*) 'of something to boil, to cook; to be or become ripe, mature', cf L55b, M96b, *pïʰs=* L55b, CL177b, *pʰïs=* L70a, T199a, *pʰus=* L76a.

¶ <CT **bïš=* ~ **biš=* (cf EDPT 376b, ESTJaII:161), cf Khak *pïs=* BI171a, Tuva *bïš=*

T129a, *bïʰš=* Jan37, Tofa *bïʰš=* R19b, Yak *bus=* Slp87a.

pïsïɣ 'ripe, mature', cf L55b, *pʰïsïɣ* L70a, *pïʰsïɣ* L55b 'id; cooked'.

¶ <CT **bïšïg* (cf EDPT 378b, ESTJaII:164), cf Khak *pïzïʁ* BI169b.

° →EYu *pʰėsuʁ* B39 'hot and suffocating'.

pïṣt (*pïṣtqa*) 'louse', cf T198a, *pïṣtʰ* L55b, CL160a, *pʰïṣtʰ* L70a, *pišt* M92b, *pïšt* M97b, *pïš* M97b, *pït* M96b, *böršt* Her211.

¶ <CT **bït* ~ **bit* (cf EDPT 296b, ESTJaII:151), cf Khak *pĭt* BI153a, Tuva *bït* T131b, Tofa *bïʰt* R19b, Yak *bït* Slp96a.

pït 'leg', cf M96b, *pïtʰ* L54a, CL8, *putʰ* L66a, CL162a, *put* T197a, M95a, PotII:436a, *põt* Man65, *böt* Her195, *wut* T219a.

• ***pezïk pït*** 'thigh', cf *pezïkʰ pïtʰ* L60a, calqued from Ch dàtuĭ (dà 'big', tuĭ 'leg'); ***kïʰçiɣ pït*** 'lower leg, shank', calqued from Ch xiăotuĭ (xiăo 'small', tuĭ 'leg').

¶ <CT **bu:t* (cf EDPT 297b, ESTJaII:280), cf Khak *put* BI167, Tuva *but* T124a, Tofa *but* R19a, Yak *buut* Slp87b.

pïʰt= (*pïʰtki*) 'to suffice', cf *pïʰtʰ=* L55a, CL8, *pʰïʰtʰ=* L70a, *pʰïtʰ=* L69a, *pʰït=* T199a, *pïtʰ=* CL180b, *pït=* T198a, M96b, *pʰuʰt=* T199a, *pʰutʰ=* L67a, *pʰut=* T198b, *putʰ=* L66a, CL89, *put=* T197a, M95a, *püt=* M95b, *fït=* T179a 'id; to finish, to complete'.

¶ <CT **bit=* ~ **büt=* (cf EDPT 298b, ESTJaII:152), cf Khak *püt=* BI169a, Tuva *büt=* T125b, *büʰt=* Jan37, Tofa *büʰt=* R19b, Yak *büt=* Slp89b. In NE, the rounded variant prevails.

pïʰtïɣ (*pïʰtïkki*) 'book; writing, scripture; (letter of the) alphabet', cf *pʰïtïɣ* L69a, *pïtïɣ* M96b, T198b, *pʰutïɣ* L74b, CL168a, *pʰu̧tïɣ* T8, *pïtïq* M96b 'id', *puχtïg* Man65, *ptök* Her209 'book'.

¶ <CT **bitig* (cf EDPT 303a, ESTJaII:157).

° →EYu *ptök* Her209 'book', *bdök* Her207 'alphabet'.

pïʰtïr 'last year', cf *pïʰltïr* L55a, CL158b, *pïɬʰtïr* T197b, *pʰïʰltïr* L70a, *pʰïʰltʰïr* L70a, *pʰïtʰïr* L69a, *pïtïr* M97a, *puʰltïr* L66b, *puʰltʰïr* L66b, *pʰutïr* L75a, *pʰutʰïr* L75b, *pʰuʰtïr* L75b.

• *pïʰtïrkï yil* 'last year's year', cf *pïʰltïrqï yil* L55b, *pʰïʰltïrkï yil* L70a, *pïɬtïrqï yïɬ*[*ta*] M96a.

¶ <CT **bïltïr* (cf EDPT 334a s.v. *bïldïr*, ESTJaII:139), cf Khak *pïltïr* BI170b 'last year'.

pïʰtïr: ***pïʰtïr orïʰkel*** 'a long time ago', cf *pʰutre* L75a:Da, C82:76b, *pïʰltïr eʰrkel* L55a, *pʰïʰltïreʰkel* L70a, *pʰuʰltereʰkel* L75b, *pʰutreʰkel* L75a, *pʰutʰrekel* L75b, *pʰutïreʰkel* < *pïʰltïr eʰrkï yil* L75a 'in the past'.

• ***pïʰtïrkï*** 'once upon a time', cf *pʰutreʰkï* L75a 'of the past'.

¶ Perhaps related to *baldur* 'a shorter or longer time ago' (cf EDPT 334a, ESTJaII:139) recorded by Kashgari, cf Khak *pudurʁï* BI165a 'recently', Yak *bïlïr* Slp93a 'a long time ago, in the past'.

pïʰtïra=: ***ïs pïʰtïra=*** 'of smoke to whirl up', cf (*ïs*) *pʰïtʰïra=* L69a '(of smoke) to be spitted out, to be emitted, to rise up', *pïtïra=* M97a '(of smoke) to be emitted during a prayer', *patïra=* L48b 'to spread, to diffuse'.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf Mgr *pʰuḍẹrā=* S/M304 'to rise in the air (like dust), to disperse', LM butara= Les141b 'to scatter, disperse'. Also loanword in Khak *pïtïra=* BI171b, Tuva *bïdara=* T129a 'id, to clear away (of clouds, smoke)' (cf further ESTJaII:308).

pïʰtïrat= 'to make whirl up (dust)', cf *pʰïtʰtïratʰ=* L69a '(of the wind or a horse) to raise or kick up dust; to spend money without restraint', *pïtïrat=* M97a 'to raise up dust, to stamp on the dust, to scatter or disperse sweepings'.

pïz (*pïzki*) 'ice', cf L56a, M95b, *bös*[*doŋ gaipter*] Her203.

¶ <CT *****bu:z* (cf EDPT 389a, ESTJaII:238), cf Khak *pus* BI167b, Yak *muus* Slp246b.

pïz 'awl', cf L67a, *puz* L56a.

¶ < *****biz* <CT *****biyiz* (cf ESTJaII:130), cf Khak *pis* BI153a 'awl; blade', Tuva *bis* T105b, Tofa *bis* R17a 'sharp of a knife'.

pol= (*polɣa, puɣa*) 'to become, to be, to occur', cf L62a, CL177a, *poɬ=* T196a, M93b, *bol=* T175a, T219a, *wol=* L312b, *woɬ=* T219a, M21b, *wo=* L312b, *wu=* T219a, *oɬ=* T193b, *ol*[*ub*] PotII:437.

• ***men pʰeɣ poppar*** 'I am the official, I act as official'; ***pïr yil polɣanta*** 'when a year had passed'; ***kem pol=*** 'to be or become ill', cf L149a; ***kiş pol=*** 'to be or become late'; ***köz qʰalaq pol=*** 'to help, to be of assistance', apparently a distortion of *köz qʰulaq pol=* L162a, *köz qolaq poɬ=* M46a (lit. to be eye and ear); ***pozɣa mïla pol=*** (~ ***pozɣa pol=***) 'to be or become pregnant, to be with child', cf *pozɣa pol=* L65a; ***yerïŋ pol=*** 'of an abscess to appear'; ***yoq pol=*** 'to come to an end, to be no more, to run out; to disappear; to die (honorific, said when referring to one's parents or relatives)', cf L62a 'to be no more, to exist no more', *yoq poɬ=* T196b, M42a, M93b 'to disappear', see also ***yoqqʰa=*** 'to die (not polite)'.

¶ <CT *****bo:l=* (cf EDPT 331a, ESTJaII:185), cf Khak *pol=* BI156a, Tuva *bol=* T110b, Tofa *bol=* R17b, Yak *buol=* Slp83a.

poʰqɕa 'bag', cf *poʰqʰɕa* L63b, *pʰoʰqʰɕa* L74a, *poqča* M93b, *poʁča* M92b, *poʰɕa* L63b 'saddle bag, double bag'.

¶ ←EYu *pɔkčʰɔ* B34 'rectangular bag', *pokčó* Man67 'riding bags', cf LM boɣča Les110b, boɣčo Les111a.

poʰqïs 'low; shallow', cf L63b, *poʰqʰïs* L63b, *pʰoʰqïs* L74a 'id; cheap', *poʰqïs* CL171a 'shallow', T197a, *pokos* T196b, *pohos* T196b, *poqïs* M93b, *poxqus*[*ïn*] M93b, *box*[*dro*] Her201 'low'.

porta= 'to feed', cf L65b 'id, to fatten (animals)', *porda=* M94a 'id, to take care (of horses)', *borda*[*ine*] Her206 'to feed'.

• ***sut porta=*** 'to suckle (a child)'.

¶ ←EYu *porto=* S157 'to fertilize, to feed, to fatten', cf LM borda= ~ bordo= Les120b 'to fatten animals; to fertilize the soil'.

portaş 'fodder'.

poʰsan= 'to be or become cloudy', cf *pusan=* M95a, *pʰusan=* L76a, *pʰursan=* L76b.

¶ <CT *****bus* 'fog, mist' (cf EDPT 370b, ESTJaII:277) + verbalizer *-a* + RFL.

posat=, see ***poʰsat=*** 'to untie'.

poʰsat= (~ ***posat=***) 'to untie, to loosen', cf *poʰsatʰ=* L64a, *posatʰ=* L64b 'id; to clear out, to vacate', *wosatʰ=* T219a 'to loosen a knot'.

¶ <CT *****bošut=* ~ *****bošat=* (cf EDPT 378a), cf Khak *pozït=* BI156a, Sagay *pozat=* RIV:1293, Tuva *božut=* T108a, Tofa *boʰhut=* R18b.

poştï 'all right, fine, best; maybe, probably', cf *poş* L64b, *polɣïş* L62b, *poɬɣïş* M93b.

potola= 'to report for duty'.

¶ ←Ch bàodào.

pottï 'all right; it is enough', cf *popʰ tro* L62a, *popʰtï* C82:69b 'id', *babdro* Her200 'to terminate'.

poz 'body', cf L64b, CL161b, T197a, M93a, *bos* Her201, *woz* C82:67b.

¶ <CT *****bod* 'stature' (cf EDPT 296b, ESTJaII:176), cf Khak *pos* BI159a 'self', Tuva *bot* T115a 'id', Tofa *bot* R18a 'id; body'.

pozaŋ 'twilight, dusk', cf L65a.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **boz* 'grey' (cf EDPT 388b), cf further Shor *pozam(dïq)* RIV:1293, Teleut *pozon(tïq)* RIV:1294, *pozom(tïq)* RIV:1294 'dusk'.

pozï= 'to paint, to dye', cf L65a, CL178a.

¶ <CT **bodu=* ~ **boda=* (cf EDPT 300a, ESTJaII:178), cf Tofa *bodu=* R17b.

pozït= 'to cause to paint, to cause to dye'.

¶ <CT **bodut=* ~ **bodat=* (cf EDPT 301a).

poztas= 'of livestock to moo, bellow or shout together'.

¶ REC of *pozta=* L65b 'of a female camel to bellow for her foal (when not seeing it)', *pozda=* M93a 'to neigh; to shout, to roar' <CT **bozla=* 'to bellow' (cf EDPT 392a, ESTJaII:175), cf Khak *pustas=* BI167b (+ REC), Tuva *busta=* T123b.

poztïɣ 'tall', cf L65b 'id', *pozdïʁ* M93a 'having a body'.

¶ <CT **bodlïg* (cf EDPT 305a), cf Tuva *bottuɣ* T116a.

pöylï 'this year, the present year', cf *poylï* L64a, CL158b, *poyłï*[*qo yïl*] M93a.

¶ Older compound consisting of CT **bu:* ~ **bo:* 'this' + **yïl* 'year' (cf EDPT 917a), cf Khak *püül* BI169b, Shor *piil* RIV:1337, Tofa *bo čïlïn* R93a (+ instrumental).

pu (*puɣa*) 'this; he, she, it', cf L65b, CL174b, T197a, M94b, *mu* M78a, *pï* M95b, *po* M92b, *buł* M21b, *bo* Her213. See also the oblique forms in *mïn-*, *mï-*.

¶ <CT **bu:* ~ **bo:* (cf EDPT 291b, ESTJaII:225), cf Khak *pu* BI164b, Tuva *bo* T106b, Tofa *bo* R17b, Yak *bu* Slp80a.

puçïn 'with, using', cf L66b, CL22, T197b, *pučin* M21b, *puʒïn* M94b, *poçin* L64a, *poʒïn* M93a, *bučin* M21b, *pičin* M92b 'id; together with, and; via, over'.

¶ Contamination of *uçin* 'with, using' + *pele* 'together with'.

puɣa 'hither; to him, her, it', cf L65b, *muɣa* L87b, *muʁa* M67:7. DAT of ***pu*** 'this'.

¶ <CT **buɣa* ~ **muŋa* (cf EDPT 291b), cf Khak *puʁaa* BI165a, Tuva *maŋaa* T288b, *maa* T284a, Tofa *maŋa* R44b, *maa* R44a.

puɣïn 'today', cf L66b, CL158b, T197a, *puʁïn* M94b, *pïɣïn* L55a, C87:563, *pïʁïn* M94b, *puʁun* M94b, *poɣïn* L63b:Da, *poʁïn* M93a, *poɣun* L63b:Da, *bugön* Her209.

¶ Older compound consisting of CT **bu:* ~ **bo:* 'this' + **kün* 'day' (cf EDPT 725b, ESTJaIII:102), cf Khak *püün* BI169b, Tuva *böɣün* T116b, Tofa *bo hün* R78:244, Yak *büɣün* Slp88a.

pukuo 'but'.

¶ ←Ch bùguò.

pular 'these', cf L357, CL82, *pułar* T78. PL of ***pu*** 'this'.

¶ <CT **bu:lar* ~ **bo:lar* (cf EDPT 291b), cf Tuva *bolar* T109a.

pulɣar 'leather', cf L66a 'yuft, Russia leather', *pulʁar* M95a 'skin, leather'.

¶ <CT **bulgar* (cf ESTJaII:260).

pulït, see ***pïlït*** 'cloud'.

punï, see ***mïnï*** 'this'.

punïŋ, see ***mïnïŋ*** 'of this'.

puqa 'bull', cf L66a, CL159a, T197a, M95a, *pïqa* L55a, C87:563, L55a, M96a, *bïqa* M21b, *boqa* T175a, *poqa* L63b, M93a, *poʁa* M92b, *buška* Her198.

¶ <CT **bu:ka* (cf EDPT 312a, ESTJaII:230), cf Khak *puʁa* BI165a, Tuva *buɣa* T119b, Tofa *buʰha* R19a, Yak *buʁa* Pek533.

puqaçar 'bull calf (more than two years old)', cf L66a 'small bull calf', *puqačar* M95a 'bull of two or three years'.

¶ Cf Kir *bukačar* Jud156 'young bull'.

puʰrçaq, cf ***pïʰrçaq*** 'bean'.

pusa 'if this is the case, but', cf *wosa* M67:29 'well, then'. COND of ***pol=*** 'to be'.

pusasiŋa 'bad'.

puşki, see ***mïşki*** 'into here'.

puşiŋ 'cannot, should not, won't do, doesn't work'. Equivalent of ***kʊyoq***.

• ***puşiŋa*** 'cannot, should not, won't do, doesn't work'.

¶ ←Ch bùxíng, bùxíng a.

pʰala= 'to climb'.

¶ ←Ch pá.

pʰalɣa= 'to bind, to tie (e.g. cattle to a pole)', cf L68a, CL33, *paɬɣa=* T195a, *paɬʁa=* M86b, *paɬɣï=* T195a, *pʰaɣla=* L68a, CL33, *paʁɬa=* M85a.

¶ <CT **baːgla=* (cf EDPT 314b, ESTJaII:16), cf Khak *palʁa=* BI141b, Sagay *palʁa=* RIV:1169, Koybal *paʁla=* RIV:1136, Tuva *baɣla=* T82b, Tofa *baʁla=* R14b.

pʰaŋ 'stench, bad smell', cf L68a 'stinking', CL172b 'smell'. See ***oʰqal=*** 'to smell'.

pʰaqa= 'to shit', cf L68a 'id', *paqa=* M86a 'id (of people, pigs, mice, magpies)'.

¶ Perhaps ←Mongolic, cf EYu *pʰaː=* B38, Ǐ97b, S129 'to shit', LM baɣa= Les67b. WYu *q* is inexplicable.

pʰara= 'to be in good health', cf L68b '(of a job) to be done well; to be talented', *para*[*mate*] M87b '[was not] suitable'.

¶ ←EYu *para=* B31 'to finish, to end (auxiliary verb)', Ǐ98a, Ǐ51 'id, to use up', cf LM bara= Les82b. WYu aspirated *pʰ* is inexplicable.

pʰayla= (~ ***pʰeyla=***) 'to dispatch, to send, to assign, to appoint', cf L68b.

¶ ←Ch pài.

pʰɛnzï 'tray, plate, dish', cf *pʰanzɪ* L67b.

¶ ←Ch pánzi.

pʰeɣ (*pʰekki*) 'lord, beg, official, chieftain, chief', cf L71b, CL165a, T198a, *peʁ* M89a, *peɣ* T195b, M89a, *peg* PotII:435b, *pek* PotII:435b, *pʰeɣ* L72a, *paige* Her200.

¶ <CT **beg* (cf EDPT 322b, ESTJaII:97), cf Khak *piɣ* BI149a, Tuva *beɣ* T69b, Tofa *beɣ* R16a 'chief', Yak *bii* Slp69a 'older brother'.

pʰeɣïr (~ ***pʰer***) 'kidney', cf L71b, CL162b, *peʁïr* M89a, *pʰöɣïr* L76b, C92:34, *pʰöɣur* L76b:Da, C92:34, *pʰöɣür* L76b:Da.

¶ <CT **bögür* (cf EDPT 328a, ESTJaII:207), cf Sagay *püɣürek* BI168a (+ diminutive), Yak *büör* Slp89a.

pʰek= (*pʰekki*) 'to bend', cf *pʰek*[*e*]= L71a, *pʰökʰ=* L76b:Da, *pök*[*i*]= M94b.

¶ <CT **bök=* ~ **bük=* (cf EDPT 324a, ESTJaII:290), cf Khak *pük=* BI168b, Tofa *b̥ʊ̀ʰk̥=* R71:77, *böʰk=* R18b.

pʰekek 'hunchbacked', cf *pʰekekʰ* L71a, CL22, *pekik* M90a, *pʰökekʰ* L76b:Da.

¶ < **bökek* ~ **bükek*, a VN in *-ek* from CT **bök=* ~ **bük=*.

° →EYu *pʰökʰök* B40.

pʰer, see ***pʰeɣïr*** 'kidney'.

pʰer= (*pʰerɣi*) 'to beat, to hit', cf L72a, CL176a, T198a, *per=* T196a, M90b, *peɹ=* T11 'id', *per*[*ine*] Her200 'to throw'.

• ***yel pʰer=*** 'of the wind to blow', cf L72a, L259a; ***pïr tun pʰer=*** 'to give a beating', calqued from Ch dǎ yī dùn (dǎ 'to beat', yī 'one').

¶ Cf Tat *bər=* Gol91a 'to hit'.

pʰerïk 'hat', cf T198a, *pʰerïkʰ* L72a, CL168b, *pʰïrïkʰ* L70b:Da, *perik* T196a, M91a, *perïk*

T196a, *perük* M91b, *pʰörïkʰ* L76b, CL30, *pʰöriikʰ* L76b, *pʰörekʰ* L76b, *pörïkʰ* L67b, *pöriik* M94b, PotII:436b, *perk* Man64, *pörk* Her196.

¶ <CT **bö:rk* (cf EDPT 362a, ESTJaII:221), cf Khak *pörĭk* BI160b, Tuva *bört* T118b, *böʰrt* (*börɣii*) IP26, Tofa *böʰrt* (*böʰrhi*) R18b.

pʰerïs= 'to beat one another, to fight', cf L72b, CL179a, *peris=* M91a, *perïs=* M91b.

pʰertïr= 'to get oneself beaten, to allow someone to beat oneself', cf L72b 'to take a beating', *pertïr=* M91b 'to cause to beat', *pert te* Her213 'to be beaten'.

pʰeyla=, see ***pʰayla=*** 'to dispatch, to send'.

pʰi 'mare', cf L72b, CL159a, *pi* M91b, PotII:435b, Her198, *pi:* M91b, *pʰiy* L73b, CL159a, *pie* M91b, *fi* M134a.

¶ <CT **be:* (cf EDPT 291b, ESTJaII:133), cf Khak *pii* BI149b, Kyzyl *pey* BI147b, Tuva *be* T96b, Tofa *be* R16a, Yak *bie* Slp72a.

pʰiçi 'bad temper'.

¶ ←Ch píqi.

pʰili= 'to shoot a glance at'.

¶ ←Ch piē.

pʰiolal= 'to float', cf L73a.

¶ ←Ch piāo + RFL.

pʰïk 'force, strength', cf *pʰïkʰk* L69b, *pïq* T197b, M95a, *pʰeɣï* CL87.

¶ < **pik* <CT **bek* (cf EDPT 323a), cf Khak *pik* BI149b 'strong', Tuva *bek* T97b 'chains', Tofa *beʰk* R16b 'strong'.

pʰïraş 'jar', cf CL18, *pʰaraş* L68b, *pʰraş* L76a 'a small container', *praš* M94b 'small wooden can or jug (for milk)'.

¶ Perhaps related to Old Uygur *burnač* 'jug' (cf EDPT 367b).

pʰəŋyou 'friend'. Equivalent of ***nüʰker***, ***yaʰkïn***.

¶ ←Ch péngyou.

pʰo 'gun', cf L73b, CL168a, T198a, *po* M92b, T196b, *pu* PotII:436a.

¶ ←Ch pào.

° Also loanword in EYu *pʰu:* B40, Ǐ87.

pʰoçï 'hunter', cf *pʰoçı* L74a, CL163b, *poçï* T196b, *poʒï* T16.

° EYu *pʰu:čʰė* B40, Ǐ87 'hunter, marksman, gunner'.

pʰoɣ= (*pʰoqqa*) 'to bind, to tie (e.g. a bag with a rope)', cf L74a, *poʁ=* M92b, *poq=* M93a.

¶ <CT **boɡ=* 'to strangle; to tie with a rope' (cf EDPT 311b, ESTJaII:164), cf Khak *poʁ=* BI154b 'to tie up (a bag); to strangle', Tuva *boɣ=* T112b 'to fasten a noose, to tie a knot; to strangle', Tofa *boɣ=* R17b 'to tie up; to strangle'.

pʰoqïr= 'to dance; to jump, to leap', cf L73b, CL178b, T198b, *pʰoqʰïr=* L74a, *poʰqïr=* L63b, *poqïr=* M93b.

• ***wu pʰoqïr=*** 'to dance'.

pʰoqïrïs= 'to dance together; to iump together'.

pʰoqïrma 'dance, dancing'.

pʰoqïrta= 'to jump', cf L73b, *pʰoqurta=* L73b 'to jump'.

pʰoqïrtas= 'to jump together', cf CL119.

pʰorn 'before (+ ABL); front (obsolescent)', cf *pʰorïn* L74b, *pʰurïn* L76a, *pïrïn* L56b, *pʰïrïn* L70b:Da 'id', CL45, T199a, *pïrïn* M96b 'before', *pʰïrïn* CL45 'a camel's nosepin'.

• ***pʰornta*** 'before, previously; at first', cf *pʰorïnta* L74b, T198b, *pʰïrïnta* L70b:Da, *pïrïnta* M96b, *pïrnïnda* M96b (+ POS3); ***pʰornïŋqa*** 'in front, ahead'.

¶ <CT *burun* 'nose; before, previous; front' (cf EDPT 366b, ESTJaII:269, ESTJaII:271), cf Khak *purun* BI167a 'before; nose', Tuva *burun* T123a, *murnuu* T304b (+ POS3), Tofa *burun* R19a 'before; in front', Yak *murun* Slp246a 'nose'.

pʰozï 'herd, flock', cf *pʰozɪ* L74b, *poza* M93a.

pʰuti= 'to blow; of the wind to blow; to whistle', cf *pʰute=* L75a 'id; to spray; to play a wind instrument; to boast; to breathe out', CL176a, *pudi=* M94b, *pute=* M95b, *podi=* M93a, *pöde* Her205 'to blow', *pʰute=* T198b 'to spray'.

• ***yel pʰuti=*** 'of the wind to blow'; ***pʰutiş pʰuti=*** 'to whistle on a flute'.

pʰutistïr= (*pʰutistïrɣi*) 'to make to whistle together'.

pʰutiş 'flute', cf *pʰuteş* L75a, CL120 'id', T198b [mistranslated as 'sprinkling'].

pʰutit= 'to cause to whistle or blow'.

pʰuzï 'shop', cf *pʰuzɪ* L76a, CL166a, T199a.

¶ ←Ch pùzi.

° Also loanword in EYu *pʰucɪ* B40.

qaçа= 'to gnaw', cf L188b:Da 'to cut with a saw'.

¶ ←EYu *qača=* BǏ329 'to sever, to cut off', Ǐ99b 'to bite off', S316 'to bite', cf LM qaǰa= Les947a.

qaʰçan 'when', cf L187a, CL174b, *qʰaçan* L208a, T201b, *qʰaʰçan* L207a, *qʰačan* T201b, *qačan* M55b, *qčan* M62a.

¶ <CT **kačan* (cf EDPT 592a), cf Khak *xaǯan* BI282b, Tuva *kažan* T217b, Tožu *kaʰyan* Čad95, Tofa *qaʰhan* R29b, *qaʰhin* R29b.

qaɣa 'whither', cf L185a, CL37, T199a, *qaʁa* M48a, *kaga* PotII:437, *kayga* PotII:437, *qaŋa* L184b, T199b, M52a.

¶ DAT of the older interrrogative base **ka:* (cf EDPT 632b s.v. *ka:ǐu*).

qamïş 'reed', cf L183a, C92:35, *qamïš* M52a, *qamuş* L183b.

¶ <CT **kamïš* (cf EDPT 628b, ESTJaV:249), cf Khak *xamïs* BI271a,Yak *xamïs* Pek3293. WYu *-ş* (instead of *-s*) < CT **š* is irregular.

qanta, see ***qayta*** 'where'.

qantan, see ***qaytan*** 'whence'.

qantaqï, see ***qaytaqï*** 'what sort of'.

qap 'bag; quiver', cf T199b, M53a (mountain dial.), *qapʰ* L183a, CL167a, *qʰapʰ* L203a 'bag, sack, pouch, pocket', *gab* Her206 'bag'.

¶ <CT **ka:p* (cf EDPT 578b, ESTJaV:266), cf Khak *xap* BI273a, Tuva *xap* T468b, Tofa *qap* R28b.

qaʰqïs= 'to quarrel', cf L186a 'id, to bear a grudge against one another; to collide against one another', *qaqïs=* M50b 'to quarrel'.

¶ <CT **kakïš=* 'to be angry with one another' (cf EDPT 613b).

qaq-qara 'pitch black', cf *qaqʰ-qara* CL34, *qapʰ-qara* L183a, CL34, *qaw-qara* CL72, M48a, *qaw-ɣara* L189a, CL72. See ***qara*** 'black'.

¶ <CT **kap-kara* (cf EDPT 578b), cf Khak *xap-xara* BI274a, Tuva *kap-kara* T226a, Tofa *qap-qara* R28b.

qar= 'whither to go?', cf the future forms *qarşe* L191b, *qarxşe* L191b, *qarχşe* CL37, *qarɣši* M53b, *qarɣeşeɣ* L191b, *qãŋrşe* CL37, *qaŋarşe* L184b. *gar*[*x šar*] Her213.

¶ Crasis of *qaɣa par=*, cf *qaʁa par*[*te*] M67:119, *qaʁa war*[*ʁïši*] M53b.

qara 'black, dark; blackness, darkness; disaster, bad luck; trouble, worry', cf L189b 'id; crude, coarse, crude; mourning (dress)', CL171b, *qaɹa* T199b, *kara* Man63, PotII:436b,

xara Her202 'black', *qara* M53a 'id; ugly'.

¶ <CT **kara* (cf EDPT 643b, ESTJaV:286), cf Khak *xara* BI274a, Tuva *kara* T226a, Tofa *qara* R29a, Yak *xara* Slp481b.

qara= 'to look at, to take a look at, to watch', cf CL175b, T199b, M53a, *qaɹa=* T199b 'id', *qara=* L190a 'id; to look after, to attend'.

• ***ïʰrq qara=*** 'to look into the omens, to practise divination, to foretell', cf *ïʰrqʰ qara=* L22b, L190b, CL141, *ïrq qara=* M154a 'id', *ergar*[*ine*] Her200 'to tell fortunes'; ***pïʰtïɣ qara=*** 'to read', cf *pïtïq qara=* M53a, calqued from Ch kàn shū 'to read' (kàn 'to see', shū 'book'), synonym of ***oŋṣï=***; ***sïk qara=*** 'to guard, to watch', cf *sïkʰ qara=* C82:69a, L190b, *sïqʰ qara=* C82:69a, *sïq qara=* M53a; ***kim qarama*** 'doctor', cf *kem qarama* L149a, perhaps calqued from Ch kànbìng 'of a doctor to see a patient; of a patient to see a doctor' (kàn 'to see', bìng 'disease'); ***mal qarama*** 'herd'.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM qara= Les932a.

qaraq 'pupil of the eye', cf T199b, M53b 'eye socket', *qaraqʰ* L190b, *garak*[*aï*] Her194 'eyeball'.

¶ <CT **karak* 'eyeball' (cf EDPT 652a, ESTJaV:295), cf Khak *xaraX* BI275b, Tuva *karak* T227a, Tofa *qaraq* R29a, Yak *xaraX* Slp483a.

° →EYu *hqaraq* BǰI331, *garak*[*aï*] Her194, *nütünė hqaraq* B27 'eyeball' (*nütün* 'eye' + GEN).

qarar= 'to be or become black', cf L191a, M53b.

¶ <CT **karar=* (cf EDPT 663a), cf Tuva *karar=* T228b.

qarastïr= 'to browse, to look a bit'.

qarat= 'to treat a disease', cf M53b, *qaratʰ=* L190b, CL178b, *qʰarat=* T202b 'id; to show'.

qarɣa 'crow', cf L191b, CL160a.

¶ <CT **karga* (cf EDPT 653a, ESTJaV:303), cf Khak *xarʁa* BI277a.

qarïq, see ***qarq*** 'nose'.

qarïs 'magic', cf L191a 'magic arts; black magic'.

• ***qarïs taʰrt=*** 'to bewitch', cf *qarïs taʰrtʰ=* L191a.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *qara* 'black' + *ïs* 'work'.

qarq (~ ***qarïq***) 'nose', cf M53b, *qarqʰ* L191b, *qãɹq* T199b, *qarïqʰ* L191a, *qarïq* M54a, *qaŋrïqʰ* CL16, *qaŋrïq* M52b, *kaŋrïk* Man65, PotII:436a, *qaŋïrïqʰ* L184b, CL161b, *qʰaŋïrïqʰ* L206a, *kaŋörk* Her194.

¶ <CT **kaŋïrïk* (cf ESTJaV:256, Räs233a), cf Khak *xarïX* BI278b 'bridge of the nose', Koybal *karak* Cas90b, Cas136a 'nose; mountain ridge', Chulym *qïŋrïq* Dul20 'beak', Yak *xaŋïrïï* Pek3317, *xoŋuruu* Pek3491 'bridge of the nose', Kir *kaŋïrïk* Jud342b 'nose', Teleut *qaŋïrïq* RII:82 'septum', *qoŋïr* RII:521a 'bridge of the nose', NUyg *qaŋrïq* Nad587c 'speaking through the nose; hoarse'.

qaʰṣ 'a few, some', cf L187a, CL174b, T200a, *qʰaṣ* L208b, *qaṣ* L188b, CL37, *qaš* M55b, *qaṣ* T200a, and the oblique forms *qaʰɕ* T199a, *qač* M55b 'how much, how many'.

¶ <CT **kač* 'how many, how much' (cf EDPT 589b, ESTJaV:340), cf Tuva *kaʰš* IP26, Tofa *qaʰš* R31a, Yak *xas* Slp486b.

qaʰt 'side; beside, near; time, turn, instance', cf T200a, *qaʰtʰ* L185b, CL79, *qʰaʰt* T203a, *qʰatʰ* L203b, *qat* M54b, *ɣaʰt* T179b, *qïʰt* T201b 'side; beside, near; layer, row'.

¶ ***pïr qaʰt*** 'once, one time'; ***ïṣkï qaʰt*** 'twice'.

¶ <CT **kat* (cf EDPT 593b, ESTJaV:335), cf Khak *xat* BI280a, Tuva *kaʰt* T233a, Tofa *qaʰt* R30b 'layer, row', Yak *xat* Slp488a 'again'.

qaʰtar 'back, backwards', cf L185a, CL131, T200a, *qʰatar* L203b, T203a, *qʰïtar* L210b, *qatar* T203a, M54b 'backwards; again'.

qaʰtïɣ 'hard', cf L185b, CL171b, *qʰatïɣ* L203b, *qʰatʰtïɣ* L203b, *qatïʁ* M55a.

¶ <CT **katïg* (cf EDPT 597b, ESTJaV:335), cf Khak *xatïʁ* BI281a, Tuva *kadïɣ* T216b, Tožu *kaʰdïɣ* Čad42, Tofa *qaʰtïɣ* R30b.

qatïn 'wife; wife of a high ranked person (khan, official, chieftain), lady, queen', cf L184a 'queen, wife of a khan or high official', CL163a, T200a 'wife', M55a 'woman of high rank'.

¶ <CT **ka:tun* 'queen, lady' (cf EDPT 602b), cf Tuva *kadïn* T217a.

qayla= 'to run', cf L188a, CL176b, *qayła=* M49b, *qæyla=* CL6, *qæyła=* T200a.

qaylas= 'to run together', cf *gailax*[*ter*] Her206.

qaylat= 'to cause to run, to make run', cf L188a.

qayma (~ ***qïyma***) 'cunt (a taboo word)', cf L188a, M49b, *qïyma* M49b 'vagina'.

• ***qaymasïŋqa*** 'fuck you! damn!'; ***qaymanï kïptiv qïs***! 'fuck off!', cf *qïymaʁa ustoʁła=* M131b [a curse].

¶ Perhaps <CT **kïyma* 'cut on a slant; a foodstuff so prepared' (cf EDPT 677b), cf Khak *xïyma* BI297b 'horse's rectum; a kind of foodstuff consisting of guts, minced meat and fat', Shor *qïyma* RII:702 'guts; reticulum', Alt *qïyma* RII:703 'cow guts stuffed with pluck of different kinds of animals, flour, and groats, a food stuff used as a food supply while hunting'.

° EYu *kaima* B88:327 'vaginal orifice', *qïima* Kot456 'vagina', BaoÑ *kami* CN90 'the vaginal orifice of a girl'.

qaynin 'by where, by which way'.

¶ The first element certainly related to the interrogative **ka:ňu* (cf EDPT 632b), the second element perhaps *yan* 'side' (cf Schönig 1995: 180 for a discussion of the formation of spatial interrogatives), cf Yak *xanan* Slp478a.

qaysï 'which (one)', cf L188a, CL174b, T199a, M49a, *qæys1* T200a.

¶ POS3 of the interrrogative **ka:ňu* (cf EDPT 632b), cf Khak *xayzï* BI266a, Tuva *kayï* T220a, *kayïzï* T220a, Tofa *qaysï* R28b.

qayta (~ ***qanta***) 'where', cf L187b, CL84, *qayda* M49a, *gaida* Her206.

¶ LOC of the interrogative **ka:ňu* (cf EDPT 632b), cf Khak *xayda* BI265b, Tuva *kayda* T219b, Tofa *qayda* R28a.

qaytan (~ ***qantan***) 'whence, where from', cf *qaydan* M49a, *qæytan* T200a, *qʰantan* T202a, *qʰantʰan* T202a.

¶ ABL of the interrrogative **ka:ňu* (cf EDPT 632b), cf Khak *xaydaŋ* BI266a, Tofa *qaydan* R28b.

qaytaqï (~ ***qantaqï***) 'of where, from where; what kind of', cf L188a, *qaytayï* L188a, *qaydaqï* M49a, *qaydaʁï* M49a, *qaydaqa* M49a 'id', *qæytaqï* T200a 'somewhere'.

¶ Cf Khak *xaydaʁï* BI265b 'wherever'.

qaz 'goose; duck', cf L189a, T200a, *qazï* L189b 'goose', *qaza* M49a 'id; swan', *gase* Her199 'duck'.

¶ <CT **ka:z* 'goose' (cf EDPT 679a, ESTJaV:184), cf Khak *xas* BI278b, Tuva *kas* T231a, Tofa *qas* R29a, Yak *xaas* Slp468b.

qaz= 'to dig', cf L189a, CL177a, T200a, M48a, *qʰaz=* T203a, *kaz=* T22.

¶ <CT **kaz=* (cf EDPT 680b, ESTJaV:185), cf Khak *xas=* BI279a, Tuva *kas=* T218b, Tofa *qas=* R29a, Yak *xas=* Slp486b.

qazïna, see ***qazna*** 'mother-in-law'.

qazna (~ ***qazïna***) 'mother-in-law', cf M49a, *qazïna* L189a, CL165b, M49a, *qazana* L189a:Da.

¶ Crasis of CT **ka:dïn ana* (cf EDPT 602a, ESTJaV:215), cf Khak *xazine* (< *xazïn ine*) BI264b.

qazta 'father-in-law', cf *qasta* L189a, CL165b, M54b.

¶ Crasis of CT **ka:dïn ata* (cf EDPT 602a, ESTJaV:215), cf Khak *xazïn* BI264b.

qïl= 'to do (occurring mainly in compound forms)', cf L192a, CL180b, *qïɬ=* M63a.

• ***yoq qïl=*** 'to destroy', cf *yoq^{h} qïl=* L192a, *yoq kïɬ=* M63a, synonym of ***yoq et=***.

¶ <CT **kïl=* (cf EDPT 616a), cf Khak *xïlïn=* BI299a (+ RFL), Tuva *kïl=* T277a, Tofa *qïl=* R34a.

qïlaş, idiolectical for ***qïlïş*** 'sword'.

qïlçïq-qalçïq 'crooked and bent', cf *qïlçïq^{h}-qalçïq^{h}* L193b, CL173a, *qïlçïq^{h}* CL171a, *qïɬčïq* M63a, *galdšag*[*dro*] Her200.

° EYu *qalčaq-qolčoq* S303.

qïlïş 'sword; reed of the loom', cf L192b, CL167b, *qïɬïş* T201b, *qïɬïš* M63b, *kõlïš* Man64 'sword'.

¶ <CT **kïlïč* 'sword' (cf EDPT 618a), cf Khak *xïlïs* BI299a, Tuva *xïlïš* T500a.

qïlïş 'pitiable', cf L192b 'id, miserable, tragic; disaster, calamity; murder case', *qïlïš* M63b 'poor fellow, poor man; unfortunate, unhappy, miserable; with difficulty'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **kïlïnč* 'behaviour, deed, act, action' (cf EDPT 623a).

qïmtan 'axe', cf L191b, CL167a, *qïmtam* L191b, *qïntan* L192a, *qamdam* M52a, *qandam* M52b, *gömdan* Her209.

qï^{h}qïr= 'to invite', cf L193b, CL9, *q^{h}ïqïr=* L211a, T204b, *q^{h}ï^{h}qïr=* L211a, *q^{h}ïχïr=* T204b, *qï^{h}rqïr=* L194a, *qaqïr=* M50a, *qaqar=* M50a 'id; to call, to shout', *qïsqïr=* M64b, *qïrqïr=* M64a 'of a sheep to bleat'.

¶ <CT **kïčkïr=* 'to shout' (cf Räs261a), cf Khak *xïsxïr=* BI302b, Tofa *qïšqïr=* R35a, *qï^{h}šqïr=* R71:78 'to shout', Tuva *kïškïr=* T280b 'to invite, to beckon with the hand', perhaps contaminated with CT **kï:kïr=* 'to shout' (cf EDPT 612a), cf Khak *xïʁïr=* BI295b 'to invite; to read', Sagay, Shor *qï:r=* RII:735 'to call, to shout', Tofa *qïɣïr=* R33b 'to invite, to beckon with the hand'.

qïq-qïzïl 'very red', cf *qïq^{h}-qïzïl* L193b, CL34, *qïp^{h}-qïzïl* L191b, CL34, *qïpqïzïɬ* M64a, *qïw-ɣïzïl* L195a. See ***qïzïl*** 'red'.

¶ <CT **kïp-kïzïl* (cf EDPT 578b), cf Khak *xïp-xïzïl* BI296a, Tuva *kïp-kïzïl* T278a, Tofa *qïp-qïzïl* R34b.

qïrïsla= 'to munch, to nibble something crispy', an onomatopoeic verb.

qïrlaş 'swallow', cf L196b, *qïrɬaş* T201b, *qïrɬa:š* M64a, *qïrɬaʁïš* M64a, *qarlaş* L191b, CL160a, *qarlaxş* L191b, *qarlaχş* CL160a, *garlaxs* Her199.

¶ <CT **kïrlaguč* ~ **karlïgač* < **kargïlač* 'swallow' (cf EDPT 657a, ESTJaV:307), cf Sagay *xarlaʁas* BI277a, Tofa *xarlïq* R37b.

° →EYu *garlaxs* Her199.

qï^{h}rq= 'to shave (the beard); to shear (sheep)', cf *qï^{h}rq^{h}=* L194a, CL178a, *q^{h}ï^{h}rq^{h}=* L211b, *q^{h}ïrq^{h}=* L212b, *qïrq=* M64a.

¶ <CT **kïrk=* (cf EDPT 651a), cf Khak *xïrïx=* BI301b, Yak *kïrt=* ~ *kïrk=* Slp210b.

qïs 'winter', cf L195a, CL158b, T201b, M64a, *q^{h}ïs* CL45.

¶ <CT **kïš* (cf EDPT 670a), cf Khak *xïs* BI301b, Tuva *kï^{h}š* IP26, Tofa *qï^{h}š* R35b, Yak *kïhïn* Slp213a (+ instrumental).

qïs= 'to press, to pinch', cf L195a, *qï^{h}s=* L194a, C86:8, *q^{h}ïs=* L211b.

¶ <CT *kïs= (cf EDPT 665b), cf Khak *xïs*= BI301b, Tuva *kïʰs*= T273a, Tofa *qïʰs*= R35b

qïsqa 'short', cf L195a, CL171a, T201b, M64a, *qʰïsqa* L212a, CL171a, *qʰïsqʰa* L212a.

¶ <CT *kïska (cf EDPT 667a), cf Khak *xïsxa* BI302a, Tuva *kïska* T280a, Tofa *qïʰsqa* R35b.

qïstïr= 'to tuck in the bosom of a garment', cf M64b 'to squeeze, to compress; to tuck (under one's armpit, in one's girdle)', *qʰïstïr*= L212a 'to tuck into; to put in between', *qïʰstïr*= L194a 'to pinch'.

¶ <CT *kïstur= (cf EDPT 666a), cf Khak *xïstïr*= BI302a 'to cause to pinch; to force', Tuva *kïstïr*= T280b 'to be pressed'.

qïş 'countenance', cf L194b, CL32 *qïʰş* L193b, *qʰïş* L211b, CL32 'id, complexion, look, facial expression; colour', *qïš* M64b 'spot of white wool on an animal's forehead; an animal (horse or sheep) having such a spot, sacrified to a deity'.

qïşta= 'to chase after, to pursue; to chase away, to repel', cf *qʰïşta*= CL179a, T204b, *qʰïşte*= T204b, *qïšta*= M64b, *kʰïşta*= T190a, *qaʰşta*= T200a 'to pursue', *qʰïşta*= L211b 'id, to chase away', *qïʰşta*= L194a, *qaşta*= L188b:Da 'to quicken one's pace, to catch up, to run after, to pursue'.

qïşwaş 'countenance, features, appearance', cf *qʰïşwaş* L211b.

¶ Compound consisting of *qïş* 'countenance' + *paş* 'head'.

qïti= (*qïtiɣi*) 'to call, to shout; to announce', cf *qïte*= L192a, CL176a 'id', T201b, *qïde*= M62b, *kïte*= L148a, *kde*= M65a, *kïde*= M72b, *kte*= M69b, *kěte*= M67b, *qete*= T13, *qete:*= T200a, *kude*= M69b 'to call, to shout; to invite', *kada*[*šter*] Her204 'to call'.

¶ Cf Tuva of China *ʁïyti*= ZT1590 'to invite', *kʰïyti*= ZT3578 'id, to call'.

qïtïr= 'to cut, to chop, to saw', cf T201b, M64b 'to cut, to saw', L192a 'to chop, to rip', *qatïr*= T200a, M55a, *qadïr*= M48b 'to cut, to chop'.

qïtïrt= 'to cause to cut, to make cut'.

qïyma (speech of Mínghǎi), see ***qayma*** 'cunt'.

qïz 'girl; daughter; unmarried young woman', cf L195a, CL163a, T201b, M62b, *qïs* T201b, M64a, *ɣïz* T179b, *kïz* PotII:435a, *kez* Man62.

• ***qïz-oɣïl*** 'children, daughters and sons'; ***eɣin qïz*** 'niece', cf *yeɣen qïz* L260a, *yiɣen qïz* L268b 'niece (sister's daughter)'; ***kïʰçiq qïz*** 'small girl, young girl'; ***pezïk qïz*** 'older girl, young woman'; ***sunzï qïz*** 'granddaughter', cf *sunzɪ qïz* L333b.

¶ <CT *kï:z (cf EDPT 679b), cf Khak *xïs* BI301b, Tuva *kïs* T280a, Tofa *qïs* R35a, Yak *kïïs* Slp216a.

° EYu *sunczɪ hkʰon* B102 'granddaughter' (*hkʰon* 'daughter').

qïzaqa 'elder sister', cf L195b, CL165a, T172b, M11a, *kïzaka* Man63, *gsaka* Her93 'id', *qïz aʁa* M62b 'id; father-in-law (wife's father)'.

¶ Compound consisting of *qïz* 'daughter, girl' + *aqa* 'elder brother'.

qïzar= 'to be or become red or red hot', cf L195b, CL180a, M62b 'to become red'.

• ***kunïŋ köz qïzarttï*** 's/he is jealous' (lit. his/her eye has become red).

¶ <CT *kïzar= (cf EDPT 685a), cf Khak *xïzar*= BI296a, Tofa *qïzar*= R34a, Yak *kïtar*= Slp213b.

qïzart= 'to make red or red hot', cf M62b, *qïzartʰ*= L195b.

¶ <CT *kïzart= (cf EDPT 685b), cf Khak *xïzart*= BI296a, Yak *kïtart*= Slp213b.

qïzïɣ (*qïzïqqa*) 'border, shore (of a lake)', cf L196a, CL158a, *qïzïʁ* M62b, *qïzïq* T210b, M63a.

¶ <CT *kïdïg (cf EDPT 598a), cf Khak *xïyïʁ* BI298a, Tuva *kïdïɣ* T271b, Tofa *qïdïɣ* R33b, *hïyïɣ* R43a. Khak and Tofa *y* < CT **d* is irregular.

qïzïɣla= 'to walk past, to walk along the border, to skirt', cf *qïzïʁɬa=* M62b 'id', L196a 'id; to discriminate against'.

¶ <CT **kïdïgla=* (cf EDPT 600b), cf Tuva *kïdïɣla=* T271b.

qïzïl 'red', cf L195b, CL171b, *qïzïɬ* T201b, M63a, *kïzïl* PotII:435b, Man64.

¶ <CT **kïzïl* (cf EDPT 683b), cf Khak *xïzïl* BI296a, Tuva *kïzïl* T274a, Tofa *qïzïl* R34a, Yak *kïhïl* Slp213a.

qïztar 'girl, little girl', cf L196a, CL60, *gösdar* Her193.

qïztarqaş 'little girl'.

qol 'arm', cf L197a, CL157a, *qoɬ* T200b, M57a, *quɬ* M60b, *kol* PotII:436a, Man64, *gol* Her194.

• ***kïʰçiq qol*** 'fore arm'; ***yaʰqa qol*** 'upper arm', calqued from Ch shāngbì (shāng 'upper', bì 'arm').

¶ <CT **kol* (cf EDPT 614b), cf Khak *xol* BI285a, Tuva *xol* T480a, Tofa *qol* R31a, Yak *xol* Slp493a.

qol 'river', cf L197a, CL157a, *qoɬ* M57a, *ggol* PotII:436a, *kul* Man64.

¶ ←EYu *qɔl* B78 'mountain valley; river', *qol* S301 'ravine', J̌101b 'streamlet', *qol* S298, *kul* Man64 'river', *gol* Her206 'stream, river', cf LM *ɣool* Les362b; modern Mongolic languages point to a short vowel.

qola (~ ***qula***) 'copper', cf L197a, *qoɬa* T200b, M57b, *gola* PotII:436a, *qula* L200b, CL158a 'brass', *golo bagör* Her209 'copper' (*bagör* for *payïr* 'brass'), *quɬa* M60b 'lead'.

• ***sarïq qola*** (~ ***sarïq qula***) 'brass'; ***qïzïl qula*** 'red copper'.

¶ ←EYu *qo:lo* S302, *qɔlɔ* B78 'brass', *qolo* S400 'bronze', *golȍ* PotII:416b 'brass', *kolό* Man64, *golo* Her209 'copper', cf Muq *ɣula* Poppe179b, LM *ɣauli(n)* Les355a 'copper'.

qolaŋqe 'rainbow', cf *solaŋqï* L328a, CL157a, *sołanʁï* M103b, *solaŋqa* L328a, *sołonʁa* M103b, *sołanɣa* M103b, *solaŋqa* L328a, *solamqa* L328a:Da, *sulaŋqï* L333b, *solongo* PotII:437 'id', *sulaŋqʰa* L333b:Da 'secondary rainbow'.

¶ ←EYu *sɔlɔŋqɔ* B101, *soloŋqo* J̌103b, S605, *sołoŋgo* Kot443, *solongo* PotII:418b 'rainbow'; cf LM solongɣa Les726a. WYu initial *q* and final *e* are inexplicable.

qoʰltïq 'armpit', cf *qoʰltïqʰ* L198a, C86:7, *qʰoʰltïqʰ* L214a, CL162a, *qoɬtïq* T200b, M58a.

¶ <CT **koltuk* (cf EDPT 619a), cf Khak *xoltïx* BI285b, Tuva *kolduk* T246b, Tofa *qoʰltuq* R32a.

qoŋïr 'dark reddish brown, purple brown', cf L197a, CL7, T200b, M58b, *qoŋïɹ* T200b, *quŋïr* T201a, *qʰoŋïr* L214a, T203b.

¶ <CT **koŋur* 'dark chestnut' (cf EDPT 639b), cf Khak *xoor* BI287a, Tuva *xoor* T483a, Tofa *hoor* R40b.

qoŋïrat 'Yugur surname (Chinese equivalent: Guō)', cf *qoŋïratʰ* L197a, CL150, *qon(ï)rat* T62:62, *qoŋrat* M58b, *khongrott* Man33 'name of a Yugur clan'.

qoŋqïr 'buttocks, butt; bottom', cf L197b, T200b, *qoŋʁïr* M58b, *qoŋïr* T200b.

¶ ←EYu *qɔŋqɔr* B78, *qoŋqor* J̌99a, S161 'buttocks', cf Kal *χɔŋgɛ:* (< **qɔŋɣai*) Ram185a 'coccyx (of a child)'. WYu *ï* is inexplicable.

qoŋqïri 'raven', cf *qoŋqïre* L197b, *qoŋqïreɣ* L197b, *qoŋqreɣ* CL18, *quŋqïre* L200b 'kind of crow' [Ch lánglǎoyā], *qoŋɣreɣ* M58b 'big bird, resembling a raven', *qoŋqïre* T200b 'id; a mythical bird'.

¶ ←EYu *honre* Her199 'raven', cf LM qong keriye(n) Les962a 'id'. The combination is not attested in other EYu sources, but for the second element cf EYu *kʰėrėi* B67, *kʰėri:* J̌100a, BǰǏ351, S343, *kʰere:* BǰǏ351, *kri* Man66 'crow'.

qoʰp= 'to get up, to rise', cf T200b, *qoʰpʰ=* L197b, CL177a, *qopʰ=* L197a, *qop=* T200b, M58b, *gob*[*ter*] Her209.

• ***qokkel=***, ***qokki=*** 'to get up, to rise', cf *qowupʰ kel=* L197b.

¶ <CT **kop=* (cf EDPT 580a).

qoʰqa 'chest; internal organs, intestines', cf C86:2 'cavity (of the body)', L198a, *qʰoqa* L214a, *qʰoʰqa* L214a, *qʰuʰqa* L216a 'thoracic cavity', *quʰqa* T201a, *qʰuqa* T204a, *qoqa* M57a, *koxqa* M59b 'upper part of the body, chest', *qoʰqʰpa* L198a:Da 'trunk, torso', *qoʰqpa* T200b 'body'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT khog-pa Jä43b 'the trunk of the body' (cf RT62:11), Xiàhé *kʰok-kwa* HL62b 'abdominal cavity', Reb-koň *kʰogŭa* Roe112, *kʰokŭa* Roe112 'stomach'. In Arïk only *kʰok* Qú91:151 'abdominal cavity' is attested.

° Also loanword in EYu *qʰɔqʰɔ* B64, *qopqa* S446 'body', BaoÑ *kʰȯχua* CN80 'core, heart, centre (of a thing)'.

qoʰqaʂ '(small) bird; sparrow', cf L198a, CL160b, *qʰoʰqaʂ* L214a, *qʰoqaʂ* T203b, *quqaʂ* T201a, *quqaš* M60b, *qoqaš* M57a, *qʰukaʂ* L216a, *qʰuʂqaʂ* L216b:Da, *qʰuʂqʰaʂ* L216b:Da 'id', [*utču*] *kïškaš* PotII:435a, *kukšgaš* Her199 'sparrow', *kugaš* Man63, *kuɣaš* Man63 'bird'.

• ***küy qoʰqaʂ*** 'grouse', calqued from Ch sōngjī (sōng 'pine', jī 'chicken').

¶ <CT **kuškač* 'sparrow' (cf EDPT 672a, read *kušgač*), cf Khak *xusxaʒax* BI294a 'id, small bird', Tuva *kuškaš* T267b 'small bird', Tožu *kuʰškaš* Čad66 'wagtail', Tofa *qušqaš* R33b, *quʰšqaš* R33b 'small bird'.

qorçaq 'short (of bodily stature)', cf *qorçaqʰ* L200a, CL73, *qurʒæq* M61a.

qoʰrq= 'to fear, to be or become afraid of (+ ABL)', cf *qoʰrqʰ=* L198b, CL179b, *qʰoʰrqʰ=* L214b, *qorq=* M59a, *qoɹχ=* T200b, *qʰuʰrq=* T204a, *qʰuɹq=* T13 'id', *gorʈe* Her205 'to frighten'.

¶ <CT **kork=* (cf EDPT 651b), cf Khak *xorïx=* BI289a, Tuva *koʰrt=* (*korɣar*) T252b, Tofa *qoʰrt=* (*qoʰrhar*) R32a, Yak *xort=* (*xorʁor*) Pek3512.

qoʰrqaçan 'timid, fearful', cf L198a, *quʰrqʰaçaŋ* L201a, *qʰoqʰaçaŋ* L215a 'coward'.

qoʰrqït= 'to frighten, to threaten', cf *qoʰrqïtʰ=* L198b.

¶ <CT **korkït=* (cf EDPT 655b), cf Tuva *korɣut=* T252b, Tofa *qoʰrhut=* R32a.

qort 'prick (a taboo word)', cf *qortʰ* L200a:Da, *qurtʰ* L203a 'male genitals', and perhaps *qurt* M61b 'worm'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **ku:rt* 'worm' (cf EDPT 648a), cf Khak *xurt* BI293a, Tuva *kurt* T266b, *kuʰrt* IP74, Tofa *quʰrt* R33b.

qortimi 'male genitals, penis', cf *qurtʰme* L203a 'genitals of a small boy'.

qortpaq 'sperm, cum (a taboo word)', cf *qurtʰpaqʰ* L203a 'seminal fluid'.

¶ Cf NUyg (Hami dial.) *qortmaq* Ghop193 'muddy water, fluid that has become viscid'.

° →EYu *qɔrtamaq* B79 'seminal fluid (common or vulgar speech)'.

qoruŋ 'korung (onomatopoeic for the croaking of a raven)'.

qowar= 'to erect', cf CL90, T200a 'to cause to rise; to build (a house)', L199a 'id, to help rise; to pile up (a burial stack)', *quwar=* M60a 'to cause to rise, to pile up'.

¶ <CT **kopar=* ~ **kopur=* (cf EDPT 586a).

qoy 'sheep', cf L199a, CL159a, T200a, M56b, *koy* Man63, PotII:436a, *goi* Her198, *ɣoy* C82:69, *ʁoy* M56b.

• ***aq qoy*** 'sheep'.

¶ <CT **koň* (cf EDPT 631a), cf Khak *xoy* BI284a, Tuva *xoy* T479a, Tofa *hoy* R40a.

qoyçï 'shepherd', cf *qoyçl* L199a, CL163a, T200a, *qoyčï* M57a, *qoyʒï* T16, *qoyçʰl*

L199a.

¶ <CT *koňcï* (cf EDPT 634b), cf Tuva *xoyžu* T479b.

qoyɣantïr= 'to cause to wear or put in the bosom of a garment', cf L199a, T200a.

¶ RFL + CAUS of CT **koyga=* (cf EDPT 677a), cf Shor *qoyʁa=* RII:503 'to embrace, to press to one's bosom', Tuva *xoygaš=* T479b 'to sleep together' (+ REC).

qoyn 'bosom', cf *qoyin* L198b, *qoyïn* T200b, M57a, *qoin* T9, M56b, *qoen* T200a.

¶ <CT **koyun* (cf EDPT 631b s.v. *koň*), cf Khak *xoyïn* BI284b, Tuva *xoyun* T486b, *xoy* T479a, Tofa *hoy* R40a, Yak *xooy* Slp499a, *xooyn* Pek3439.

qoz=, see ***quz=*** 'to pour'.

qozï 'lamb', cf L199b, T200b, M56a, *qozɪ* L199b, CL159a, T200b, *qocɪ* T200a, *qozǎ* M56a, *kòza* PotII:436b, *quzï* M60a.

¶ <CT **kuzï* (cf EDPT 681a).

qoẓɣar 'ram', cf L199a, CL159a, *qožʁar* M56a, *qʰoẓɣar* L214b, *χoǯɣar* T219a, *qužʁar* M60a, *huyegar* Her198 'id', *kušgar* Man64 'wild sheep'.

¶ <CT **kočkar* ~ **kočŋar* (cf EDPT 592a), cf Tuva *koškar* T254b, Tožu *qoʰšqar* Čad39.

quçaqta= 'to hug, to embrace', cf T200b, *quçaqʰta=* L201a, CL176b, *qučaqta=* M62a, *gudšagda*[*pter*] Her208 'id', *oçaqʰta=* L37a:Da 'id; to press under the armpit'.

¶ <CT **ku:čakla=* (cf EDPT 591b), cf Khak *xuǯaxta=* BI294b, Tuva *kužakta=* T262b, Tofa *quǯaqta=* R33b.

quçaq 'the north', cf *quçaqʰ* L201a, *quçaqʰ* L201a, *qoçaq* T200a, *quẓaqʰ* L201b, *qužaq* M60a, *qučaq* M67:118.

¶ Crasis of *quzï* 'north' + *yaq* 'side', cf *quzɪyaqʰ* L202a, *quzu yaqʰ* L201a, L250b, C92:37, *quzï yaq* M67:118.

qula, see ***qola*** 'copper'.

qulaɣï 'bracelet', cf L200b, CL169b, *quɬaɣï* T201a, *quɬaʁï* M60b, *qolaɣï* L197a, *qoɬaʁï* M57b.

¶ Perhaps a compound consisting of *qol* 'arm' + CT **agï* 'precious object' (cf EDPT 78a).

qunan 'ox, castrated bull', cf L200b, CL69 'id', M61a 'two or three-year-old ox', *kunan* L156a 'three or four-year-old ox'.

¶ ←EYu *qunan* S304 'three-year-old ox', B79 'three-year-old animal', cf LM *ɣ*una(n) Les368a.

qur-qur-qur 'flap-flap-flap (onomatopoeic for the fluttering sound of wings)', cf *qur-qur* L203a, CL147 'onomatopoeic for the sound of water', *kur-kur-kur* L159a 'onomatopoeic for the sound of a trumpet, an aeroplane, a train'.

quran 'fence', cf L202b, CL27, T201a 'pen, fold, sty for livestock', *qoran* M59a 'fence, made from thorny plants', *yiraš guran* Her206 'fence' (*yiraš* for *yiɣaş* 'wood').

¶ ←EYu *xorön* Her206 'fence', *qʰėša: χoro:n* B64 'shed, shack, sty' (*qʰėša:* 'enclosure'), cf LM qoriya(n) Les967a 'courtyard, enclosure, etc'.

qurat 'behind the fence', cf *quratʰ* L202b, *qʰoratʰ* L215a, *quratta* M61a (+ LOC) '[the place] behind the pen', *qorat* M59a, M17a 'grounds around the house, yard, property'.

¶ Crasis of *quran* 'fence' + *art* 'backside', cf *quran artʰ* L202b.

quʰqïra= 'to snore', cf *quʰrqïra=* CL180b 'id', L201a, *quʰrqura=* L201a, *qʰuʰrqïra=* L216a, *qʰuʰrqura=* L216a 'id; to snort (of a mother sheep while licking her newborn lamb); to dote on', *qoʰqïra=* L197b, *qoʰrqïra=* L198b 'of water to murmur', *qurqura=* M61a 'to rumble, to snort, of the thunder to roll', *qʰurʰkïre=* T204a 'to rumble; of a camel to bellow', *qoʰqar=* L198a 'of a sheep to bleat'.

¶ ←EYu *qʰurqʰura=* B65 'to snore; to snort (of animals)', cf LM qurkira= Les990b.

quʰrtqa 'old woman, old hag (not polite)', cf *quʰrtʰqa* L201a, CL165a, *qoʰrtʰka* L198a, *qoʰrtʰqa* L198a, CL9, *qʰurtʰqa* L217b, *qʰuʰrtʰqa* L216a, *qoʰrʂqa* CL9, *qʰurtqa* T204a, *qurtqa* M61b.

• ***ɕʰa quʰrtqa*** 'person who drinks a lot of tea (as is the habit of old women to sit all day and drink tea)'.

¶ <CT **kurtka* (cf EDPT 469b, read *kurtga*), cf Khak *xurtuyax* BI293a, Tuva *kuruyak* T266b, *kuʰyak* T268a, Tožu *kuʰruyak* Čad22, *kuʰrɣoyak* Čad22, *koʰrɣoyak* Čad22, Tofa *qoʰrhïňaq* R32a.

qurzïq, idiolectical for ***quzïrïq*** 'tail'.

qus '(a large) bird', cf L201b, CL160a, T201a, M62a, *kus* PotII:436a, *qʰus* L216b, T204b, *qos* T200b, M59b.

• ***aq qus*** 'swan'.

¶ <CT **kuš* (cf EDPT 670b), cf Khak *xus* BI294a, Tuva *kuʰš* IP26 'bird', Tofa *quʰš* R33b 'woodgrouse', Yak *kus* Slp193b 'duck'.

qus= 'to vomit', cf L201b, CL15, M62a, *quʰs=* L201a, CL175b, *qʰus=* L216b.

¶ <CT **kus=* (cf EDPT 666a), cf Khak *xus=* BI294a, Tuva *kus=* T263a, Tofa *quʰs=* R33b.

qusan= 'to put on a girdle or belt', cf *quʰsan=* L201a, CL8, *qʰusan=* L216b, *qʰu̧san=* CL8, *qʰuʰsan=* L216a, *qosan=* M59b, *qʰursan=* L218b, *qʰustan=* L217a.

¶ <CT **kuršan=* (cf EDPT 665a), cf Tuva *kuržan=* T266a, Tofa *quršan=* R33a.

quʂqala= 'to singe', cf *qʰuʂqala=* L216b:Da 'to scald a sheep', *quʂxala=* L201b 'to singe, to burn', *quš qola=* M57b, M62a 'to put together (in a cauldron)'.

¶ <CT **kuykala=* 'to burn the hair off' (cf EDPT 677a), cf Tuva *kuyɣala=* T263a. WYu *ʂ* < CT **y* (probably over *z*) is irregular.

° →EYu *qošqola=* S387 'to singe, to scorch, to burn off (hair)'.

quz= (~ ***qoz=***) 'to pour (out)', cf L201b, CL177a, T201a, M60a, *qoz=* L199b, M56a.

¶ <CT **kud=* (cf EDPT 596a), cf Khak *xus=* BI294a, Tuva *kut=* T261b, Tofa *qut=* R33a, Yak *kut=* Slp194a.

quzï 'down(wards), down on, down at; north, northern', cf L202a, C92:37, M60b, *quzɪ* L202a, C92:37, T201a, *quzu* L202a, CL158a, T201a, M60a, *qozï* T200b, M56a, *qozu* M56a 'id', *gozù* PotII:436b, *gudsün* Her204 'north'.

¶ <CT **kodï* 'downwards' (cf EDPT 596a), cf Tuva *kudu* T262a, Tofa *qudu* R32b 'down(wards)', Yak *xotu* Slp503b 'north; downstream'.

quzïrïq (~ ***qurzïq***) 'tail', cf *quzïrïqʰ* L202a, *quzuruqʰ* L202b, CL160b, *quzʷuruq* T201b, T15, *quzruq* M60a, *goserak* Her207, *gudrug'* PotII:436b.

¶ <CT **kuduruk* (cf EDPT 604a, read *kudruk*), cf Khak *xuzurux* BI291a, Tuva *kuduruɣ* T262b, Tofa *quduruq* R32b, Yak *kuturuk* Slp195a.

qʰaɕa 'too much', cf *qʰalɕa* L205b, CL174b, *qaɬɕa* M51b, *qaɬža* M50a, *qʰaɬeʂa* T202a.

qʰaɣïr= (~ ***qʰar=***) 'to bake, to fry, to stir fry, to roast, to parch', cf L207a, CL177b, T202b, *qaɣïr=* T202b, *xaɣïr=* L178a 'id', *qaʁïr=* M48b 'id; to cut and prepare grass (as a food product)'.

¶ <CT **kagur=* (cf EDPT 612a, ESTJaV:175), cf Khak *xaar=* BI260b, Tuva *xaar=* T459b.

qʰal= 'to remain; to fall, to fall off, to fall down', cf L204b, CL178a, *qʰaɬ=* T203a, *qal=* L184a 'id', *qaɬ=* T199a, M50b, *χaɬ=* T219a 'to remain'.

• ***soŋ qʰal=*** 'to remain behind', cf L328a.

¶ <CT *ka:l= 'to remain' (cf EDPT 615b, ESTJaV:226), cf Khak *xal*= BI268b, Tuva *kal*= T223a, Tofa *qal*= R28b, Yak *xaal*= Slp465a. The meaning 'to fall' is peculiar of WYu.

qʰala= 'to cover, to use something as a cover onto', cf CL180b, *qʰała*= T202a, *qała*= M50b, *qa:ɬa*=T200a, *xala*[*bdro*] Her201 'id', *qʰala*= L205a 'to cover; to seal off, to close'.

• (***yü***) ***qʰala=*** 'to build (a house)', cf L205a, CL127 'id', *qʰała*= T202a, *qala*= M50b 'to build', calqued from Ch gài fáng 'to build a house' (gài 'to cover', fáng 'house').

¶ <CT *ka:la= 'to heap up' (cf EDPT 617b, ESTJaV:228), cf Yak *xaalaa*= Slp465b.

° Also calque in Eyu *ker xa:*= B83 'to build a house' (*ker* 'house', *xa:*= 'to cover').

qʰalaq*:: *köz qʰalaq 'eyelid; the blinker of a horse harness', cf *qʰalaqʰ* L205 'an implement to seal off', CL43 'lid of a cauldron', *yuz qałaq* M50b 'veil' (*yuz* 'face').

qʰalïm 'dowry', cf L205a, CL166a, *qałïm* M51b, *qʰalïn* L205a, *qałïn* T199b, M51b, *qʰałïŋ* T202b, *qałïŋ* T199b 'bride price, betrothal gifts', *galöŋ* Her193 'dowry'.

¶ <CT *kalïm ~ *kalïŋ (cf EDPT 622a, ESTJaV:239), cf Khak *xalïm* BI270a, Sagay *xalïŋ* BI270b, Tuva *kalïm* T223a, Tofa *hïlïm* R71:193, Yak *xalïïm* Slp477a.

° →EYu *χalaŋ* B44 'betrothal gifts, bride price', *galöŋ* Her193 'dowry'.

qʰalïn 'thick', cf L205a, CL171a, T202b, *qałïn* M51b.

¶ <CT *kalïn (cf EDPT 622a, ESTJaV:238), cf Khak *xalïn* BI270a, Tuva *kïlïn* T277a, Tofa *hïlïn* R43a, Yak *xalïŋ* Slp477a.

qʰaltïla= 'to shake', cf L205b, CL180a, *qʰaltʰila*= L205b, *qałtïɬ bol*= M51b 'id, to tremble, to shiver'.

¶ Perhaps related to *qaldïra*= 'to rustle' (cf EDPT 620b) recorded by Kashgari, cf Khak *xaltïra*= BI270a 'to tremble, to quiver, to wave to and fro', Tuva *kaldïra*= T222b 'to rustle'. For a similar formation, see ***sïltïla=*** 'to shake'.

° →EYu *χaltʰla*= BJ347, *χaltʰėla*= S190, *χaltʰėla:*= S583 'to tremble, to shiver'.

qʰaltïr= 'to drop, to let fall, to cause to fall; to cause to remain, to cause to stay', cf L205b, *qʰaltur*= L205b 'id', *qʰałtïr*= T202a, *qaldïr*= M51a 'to drop'.

¶ <CT *ka:ldur= (cf EDPT 619b s.v. *ka:ltur*=), cf Khak *xaldïr*= BI269b.

qʰan 'where (is)?', cf L204a, T202b, T246, *qan* M52a, *xan* M135a.

¶ Cf the runic Turkic particle *kanï* 'where', related to the interrogative *ka:ňu (cf EDPT 632b).

qʰan 'blood', cf L204a, T202b, *qan* M52a, *xan* L177b.

¶ <CT *ka:n (cf EDPT 629b, ESTJaV:251), cf Khak *xan* BI271a, Tuva *xan* T467a, Tofa *qan* R28b, Yak *xaan* Slp466b.

qʰan 'khan, king', cf L204a, CL31, T202b, *qan* T202b, M52a, *qa:n* M52a, *xan* L177a, CL163b, T219a, *χen* Man63, *kan* PotII:436b.

¶ <CT *ka:n (cf EDPT 630a), cf Khak *xan* BI271b, Yak *xan* Slp478a.

qʰana= 'to forge', cf L204a, *xana*= M135a 'to prepare, to get ready'.

qʰanaq (speech of younger people) (~ ***qʰanat***, ***qʰaynat***) 'wing', cf *qʰenatʰ* L212b, CL160b, *qʰanaʰtʰ* L204a, CL160b, *qanaʰt* T199b, *qanat* M52b, *xanat* PotII:435b.

¶ <CT *ka:nat (cf EDPT 635a, ESTJaV:252), cf Khak *xanat* BI271b, Tofa *hanat* R37a, Yak *kïnat* Slp207b.

° →EYu *χanat* B43, Kot443, S193, *χana:t* S443 'wing', *xanat* Her207 'feather'.

qʰanat (speech of older people), see ***qʰanaq*** 'wing'.

qʰantampu 'terrific, splendid, marvelous', cf L204b, *qʰantanpu* L204b, *kʰantembo* T104, *qantama* M53a.

qʰantïr= 'to cook', cf *qʰayintïr*= L207b, *qʰayintur*= T202a, *qaindïr*= M49b, *qaindur*= M49b, *qaintïr*= M49b, *qeindïr*= M55b.

¶ <CT *kayïndur= (cf EDPT 678b, read *kayïntur=), cf Khak *xayïndïr*= BI268a, Tuva *xayïndïr*= T463a.

qʰap= 'to seize with the teeth, to snap at, to bite (of an animal)', cf T202b, *qʰapʰ*= L203a, *qaʰpʰ*= L185a, *qap*= M53a.

¶ <CT *kap= (cf EDPT 580a, ESTJaV:264), cf Khak *xap*= BI273a, Tuva *kap*= R218, Tofa *qaʰp*= R30a, Yak *xap*= Slp480a.

qʰapaq 'a large lid or cover, especially of a cauldron', cf T202b, *qʰapaqʰ* L203a, CL11, *qapaq* T199b, M53a, *qʰapʰpaqʰ* L203a:Da, *qapqaq* M53a (mountain dial.) 'lid, cover'.

¶ < *kappak <CT *kapkak (cf EDPT 584a, read *kapgak*, ESTJaV:263), cf Khak *xaxpax* BI281b, Tuva *kakpak* T221a, Tofa *qaʰqpaq* R29b, Yak *xappax* Slp480a.

qʰaq 'dry', cf T202b, *qʰaqʰ* L206b, CL171b, *kak* PotII:436b.

¶ <CT *kak (cf EDPT 608b).

° →EYu *xak* B44.

qʰaqïŋqʰa 'an exclamation (used in a folk tale)', cf *qʰa* L203a, CL175a 'exclamation expressing disappointment'.

qʰaqta= 'to dry; to roast', cf T202b, *qʰaqʰta*= L206b, CL177b, *xaqʰta*= L178ba.

• ***yikʰï qʰaqtama*** 'lazybones', cf *yikʰï qʰaqʰtama* L266b.

¶ <CT *kakla= 'to dry' (cf EDPT 610b).

qʰar 'snow', cf L209a, CL157a, *qar* T181b, M53a, *xar* PotII:436a, xar Her208.

¶ <CT *ka:r (cf EDPT 641a, ESTJaV:284), cf Khak *xar* BI274a, Tuva *xar* T468b, Tofa *qar* R28b, Yak *xaar* Slp591a.

qʰar, see ***qʰarï*** 'old'.

qʰar=, see ***qʰaɣïr=*** 'to bake'.

qʰar(ï)= 'to choke, to eat with difficulty or disgust' (translation uncertain), cf *qʰarï*= L209b:Da 'to choke', *qaqu* M50a, M67:176 '? [eating] while coughing'.

¶ <CT *kar= (cf EDPT 643b, ESTJaV:283), cf Tuva *xar*= T470a, Tofa *qar*= R28b, Yak *xar*= Slp481b 'to choke (in food)'.

qʰarï (~ ***qʰar***) 'old', cf L209b, CL165a, *qarï* M54a, *qʰareɣ* L210a, *qarï* M54a, *qæri* M55b, *qarïɣ* M54a, *qʰar* L209b, CL172a, T202b, *qar* T199b.

• ***qʰar-qʰur*** 'old and so'.

¶ <CT *karï (cf EDPT 644b), cf Khak *kirǐ* BI77a.

qʰarï= 'to be or become old, to grow old', cf L209b, *qarï*= L19a, *qaɹï*= T200a, *qara*= M53a, *xarï*= M135b.

¶ <CT *karï= (cf EDPT 645b), cf Khak *kirǐ*= BI77a, Tuva *kïrï*= T280b, Tofa *qïrï*= R256b, Yak *kïrïɣ*= Slp211a.

qʰaryïm (~ ***qʰaryïn***) 'frost', cf CL157a 'id', L210b, *qʰaryïn* L210b 'rime'.

° EYu *xarʁėm* (or *xarqėm*) B88 'extremely thin ice formed on water', *χarʁam* (or *xarqam*) *čalėm* S562 'hoar-frost'.

qʰaryïn, see ***qʰaryïm*** 'frost'.

qʰarmaŋqï 'ancestor', cf L210a, *qʰarmanqï* L210a, *karmaŋe* Her207 'id', *qarmaŋɣï* T199b, *qarmaŋʁï* M53b, *qarmanʁï* M53b 'old; former (said of people)'.

qʰarn 'stomach (of an animal)', cf *qʰarïn* L210a, CL162a, *qarïn* L191a, M54a.

¶ <CT *karïn (cf EDPT 661a, ESTJaV:321), cf Khak *xarïn* BI278a, Tuva *xïrïn* T501a, Tofa *hïrïn* R43b, Yak *xarïn* Slp485b.

qʰarʊ 'letter', cf *qʰaro* L210a, C87:573, T203a, *qaro* T199b, M54a, *qaru* M54a 'id, epistle; information, news'.

¶ ←EYu *χaru:* B48 'id', S437 'letter', S570 'news, information', S229 'signal' S332

'answer', *haru* Her203 'letter', cf LM qari*ɣ*u Les739b.

qʰars-qʰars 'knock knock (onomatopoeic)', cf L210b, C87:563.

¶ <CT **kars-kars* (cf EDPT 663b).

qʰarsla= 'to explode', cf L210b.

qʰarslaŋ 'gun', cf L210b 'id, spear'.

qʰart= 'to extinguish (the fire)', cf *qʰartʰ=* L210b, CL115, *qart=* M54a, *qʰarïtʰ=* L209b, *qarat=* M53b, *gard*[*i*] Her210, *qʰartïwat=* T203a, *qʰaɹtïwat=* T203a, *qarduwat=* M53b.

qʰatïr 'mule; derogatory term for a person without progeny', cf L203b, CL159b, T203a, *qatïr* M55a, *qadïr* M48b, *katïr* Man65 'mule'.

¶ <CT **katïr* (cf EDPT 604a, ESTJaV:339).

qʰawan (~ ***qʰowan***) 'pig', cf L208b, CL159b, T203a, *qawan* M48b, *χawan* CL31, *xawan* L178b, *gawan* Her207.

¶ ←EYu *qavan* Kot453 'pig', *χaßaŋ* BǰǏ347 'boar', cf LM qaban ~ qabang Les895b.

qʰawïr= 'of animals to kick', cf L208b, *qʰawur=* L209a, *qawïr=* M48a, *qaur=* M67:102 'id', *qʰawïr=* CL176b 'of people to kick'. See ***kaŋna=*** 'of people to kick'.

qʰay (~ ***qʰey***) 'shoe', cf L207b, CL169a, T13, *qʰæy* T203a, *qʰey* L212b, *qæy* T200a, *qay* M49a, *xay* L178b, CL169a, *xey* L179b.

¶ ←Chinese; in view of the *qʰ-* an older loan, cf modern NwM *xai*^{51} CZW228b, *xɛ*^{24} Liú122b 'shoe', Ch xié.

° Also loanword in EYu *χai* B42.

qʰayaq 'cream', cf *qʰayaqʰ* L207b, *qayaqʰ* CL170a, *χayak* Man62 'cream'.

¶ <CT **kaňak* (cf EDPT 636b), cf Khak *xayax* BI282b 'butter'.

° →EYu *qʰayaq* BǰǏ339, *qʰayak* BǰǏ:297, *hėyaq* B55, *χayaq* J̌84, *kʰėyaχ* S549, *kayák* Man62 'cream, skin on the milk'.

qʰayçi 'scissors, shears', cf L208a, CL166b, *qayči* M50a, *qayǯi* M49a, *qʰeyçʰi* L213a, C92:34, *qʰeyçi* L213a, *qʰeçʰi* L213a, *xeyçʰi* L179b, *gaid'e* Her211.

¶ ←EYu *χaičʰė* B42, J̌98b, *χaičʰi* S318, *χeiči* Man69, *xaǐči* TT50, A″M1*'e* Her211, cf LM qayiči(n) Les912a.

qʰayçila= 'to clip', cf L208a, *qʰeyçila=* L213a, *qʰeyçʰila=* L213a, *qʰeyçʰile=* L213a.

¶ ←EYu *χaičʰla=* B42, *χaičʰėla=* S31, J̌98b, *χičʰila=* S272, cf LM qayičila= Les912a.

qʰaynaq 'crossbred between a bull and a female yak; yak', cf *qʰaynaqʰ* L207b, *qʰeynaqʰ* L213a, *qʰenaqʰ* L212b, CL159a, T203b, *qeynaqʰ* L196b, *qenaq* T200a, *qïynaq* M63b 'yak', *qaynaq* M49b (steppe dial.) 'mountain yak', *kainag* Her198 'yak ox'.

¶ ←EYu *χainaq* B42 'yak bullock', J̌15 'bullock', *kaynak* Man63 'ox', *kainag* Her198 'yak ox', cf LM qayinu*ɣ* Les913a 'a hybrid between a yak and a cow'.

qʰaynat, see ***qʰanaq*** 'wing'.

qʰaynat= 'to cook', cf *qʰaynatʰ=* L207b, CL178a, *qʰeynatʰ=* L213a, *qʰenatʰ=* L212b, *qʰenat=* T203a, *qæynat=* T200a, *qaynat=* M49b.

• ***semen qʰaynat=*** 'to cook (food)', cf L207b.

¶ <CT **kaynat=* (cf EDPT 678b), cf Khak *xaynat=* BI267a.

qʰaztïq 'covering: bark; chaff; skin (of e.g. a potato); a book's cover; excuse, cover-up story', cf *qʰaztïqʰ* L209a 'bark; chaff; skin (of garlic, an egg); a book's cover', *qaztïqʰ* L189a:Da 'skin, cover', *qazdïq* M49a 'bark of a tree; skin of an egg'.

• ***terek qʰaztïq*** 'bark', cf *terekʰ qʰaztïqʰ* L209a; ***soqpa qʰaztïq*** 'chaff'.

¶ Cf Khak *xastïrïx* BI279b 'bark', perhaps related to CT **ka:z* 'bark' (Räs243a).

qʰey, see ***qʰay*** 'shoe'.

qʰïr= 'to scrape, to peel off', cf L212b, CL178a, *qïr=* M64a.

¶ <CT *kïr= (cf EDPT 643a), cf Khak *xïr*= BI300b, Tuva *xïr*= T500b, Tofa *qïr*= R34b.

qʰïti (*qʰïtiɣa*) 'Chinese', cf *qʰïtey* L210b, CL164b, *qïtey* T201b, M64b, *qtey* M59a, *xïtey* L179a, *χïtey* T219b, *kïtay* PotII:435b, *qʰetey* L212b.

¶ <CT *kïtaň (cf Räs268b).

qʰol= 'to ask for', cf L214a, CL17, *qʰoł*= T203b, *qoł*= M57a, *quł*= M60b, *kol*= M68a.

¶ <CT *kol= (cf EDPT 616b).

qʰolqïçï 'beggar', cf *qʰolqïçl* L214a, *qʰołqïçl* T203b, *qʰolqʰïçl* L214a, *qʰołqʰïçl* T203b, *qʰolɣïçl* L214a, *qołqïčï* M57b, *qołqïča* M57b.

¶ <CT *kolgučï (cf EDPT 621b). WYu points to *kolkučï.

qʰom 'sand, desert', cf L213b, C87:566, *χom* C87:566, *hom* Her210, *qom* M58a, *qum* M61a, *qʰum* L215a, *kum* PotII:436a, Man64.

¶ <CT *kum (cf EDPT 625b), cf Khak *xum* BI292b, Tuva *kum* T264b, Tofa *hum* R42a, Yak *kumax* Slp187b.

qʰon=, see ***qʰun=*** 'to seize'.

qʰonïq 'a day and a night', cf *qʰonïqʰ* L213b, *qʰonïq* T203b, *qʰonuqʰ* L213b, *qʰonuq* T203b, *qonuq* M58a, *qonoq* M58a, *qʰunïqʰ* L215b, CL129.

¶ <CT *konuk (cf EDPT 637b), cf Khak *xonïx* BI286b, Tuva *xonuk* T482a, Yak *xonuk* Slp497b.

qʰoŋqïra 'bell', cf *qʰoŋqïraɣï* L214a, *qʰoŋqïraq* T14, *qʰoŋɣïraq* T203b, *qoŋqïraq* T14, *qoŋɣïrax* M58b, *qoŋɣrax* M58b.

¶ <CT *koŋragu (cf EDPT 640a).

qʰor 'girdle, belt', cf L241b, *qor* M59a, *qʰur* L217a, CL169a, *qʰuɹ* T204a, *qur* T201a, M61a, *kur* Man63, *kor* Man63, *gur* Her196, *xur* L183b.

¶ <CT *kur (cf EDPT 642a), cf Khak *xur* BI292b, Tuva *kur* T265a, Tofa *qur* R33a, Yak *kur* Slp190b.

qʰora 'pen, enclosure for animals', cf L215a 'courtyard', *qora* M59a 'enclosure for animals, having a wattled fence'.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM qoroɣa Les968b 'courtyard, enclosure'.

qʰorɣaq 'hot dung used as a fuel; crust of something burned', cf T203b, *qorʁaq* M59a 'small firewood, brushwood', *qʰorɣaqʰ* L215a 'charcoal fire; hot ashes'.

¶ ←EYu *qʰɔrqʰɔq* BǏ345 'fire-red hot ashes', cf Kh *xorxog* Han655a 'a meat dish prepared in its skin or a rumen sac, into which red hot stones are put in order to cook the meat', Kal *χurχăg* Ram198b 'stomach with the meal cooked in it'.

qʰort= 'to dry, to make dry', cf *qʰurtʰ*= L217b, *qʰuɹt*= T204a, *qurt*= M61b, *qort*= M59a, *qʰurïtʰ*= L217b, *qʰurutʰ*= L217b, *qorut*= M59b.

¶ <CT *kurït= (cf EDPT 649b), cf Khak *xurut*= BI293b, Tofa *qurut*= R33b.

qʰowan, idiolectical for ***qʰawan*** 'pig'.

qʰulaq 'ear; ear of a pot', cf *qʰulaqʰ* L215b, CL161b, *qʰułaq* T204a, *qułaq* T201a, M60b, *gulak* PotII:436b, *kulak* Man65, *qołaq* M57b, *wlak* Her194.

• ***qara qʰulaq*** 'derogatory term for a Chinese', cf *qara qʰulaqʰ* L190a 'id', *qara qulaq* M60b 'female genital organs'; ***tʰeŋï qʰulaq*** 'deaf', cf *teŋï qulaq* M117b 'id', *tʰeŋï qʰulaqʰ* L124a 'a deaf person'.

¶ <CT *kulak, cf Khak *xulax* BI292a, Tuva *kulak* T263b, Tofa *qulaq* R32b; Yak *kulgaax* Slp186b < *kulgak (cf EDPT 621a) probably < *kulakak (+ diminutive).

qʰulïm (~ ***qʰulïn***) 'foal', cf L216a, *qʰulum* L216a, CL159a, *qulïm* M61a, *qułum* M61a, *xulum* L182b, *xułum* T220a, M138a, *qʰulïn* L216a, *qʰulun* L216a, *qułun* M61a, *qołun* M58a, *gullön* Her198.

¶ <CT *kulun (cf EDPT 622b), cf Khak xulun BI292a, Tuva kulun T264a, Tofa hulun R42a, Yak kulun Slp187a.

qʰulïn, see **qʰulïm** 'foal'.

qʰun= (~ **qʰon=**) 'to seize, to get hold of', cf L215b 'id; to rob, to loot', CL179a, T204a, kʰun= L173a, xun= M138b.

¶ <CT *kun= (cf EDPT 632b), cf Tofa qun= R33a.

qʰuraʰqe 'insect, bug', cf L217a, qʰuraʰqʰe L127a, qʰuraʰqeɣ L217a, quraʰqe CL160a, quraʰqeɣ C86:10 'id, maggot', qoraxqï M59a, horaxke Her212 'worm'.

¶ ←EYu χɔrɔqʰɔi B51, χoroˣqui J̌100a, S367 'insect; worm', χoroˣqoi S550 'maggot', horaxke Her212 'worm', cf LM qoroqai Les970a.

qʰurïɣ 'empty; in vain', cf L217b, qʰuruɣ L217b, quruʁ M61b, quruq M61b.

¶ <CT *kurug 'dry; empty; in vain' (cf EDPT 652b), cf Khak xuruʁ BI293b, Tuva kuruɣ T266b, Tofa quruɣ R33a.

rïzaqta= 'to be troublesome', cf ïrzaqʰta= L25b 'id, to be long winded'.

¶ Perhaps related to ïrzaqʰ L25b 'ugly; with irregular teeth', cf LM irǰaɣar Les416a 'showing teeth; having protuding teeth', EYu ėrcai= S736 'to bare one's teeth'.

saɋaq 'tassel', cf saɋaqʰ L318b:Da, C92:35, saɋïqʰ L318b, C92:35, saʐïq T206b, saǯïq M98b.

¶ <CT *sačak (cf EDPT 796a s.v. sačgak).

° →EYu ssadšak Her212.

saɣ= 'to milk', cf L318a, CL13, T205a, saʁ= M98a, sak[š] Man62.

¶ <CT *sag= (cf EDPT 804b), cf Khak saʁ= BI176b, Tuva saɣ= T359a, Yak ïa= Slp519a.

saɣa 'to you', cf L318a, CL81, saʁa M98a, saŋa M100a, sara Her213. DAT of **sen** 'you'.

¶ <CT *saŋa (cf EDPT 831a s.v. sen), cf Khak saʁaa B75:146, Tuva seŋee T373b, Tofa seŋe R62b, see R67b.

saɣlïq (speech of older speakers), see **saq** 'ewe'.

sal= 'to put, to put down; to release', cf L315a, CL176b, saɬ= T205a, M99b.

• **oʰsïrïq sal=** 'to release a fart'; **ot sal=** 'to make fire', cf otʰqa sal= L316a; **pʰo sal=** 'to shoot'; **quzï sal=** 'to put down', **yüs sal=** 'to do evil'.

¶ <CT *sal= (cf EDPT 824b), cf Khak sal= BI179a, Tuva sal= T366a, Tofa sal= R61a.

salïɣ 'heavy; serious, grave (of a disease)', cf L316a 'id', CL117b, saɬïɣ T205a, saɬïʁ M99b (mountain dial.), salx Her209 'heavy'.

samsaq, see **sarïmsaq** 'garlic'.

samtïq 'tattered, worn out', cf samtïqʰ L313b.

¶ Cf EYu samtaq S473 'tattered, worn out, worn down', BǏ340 'smashed, broken', perhaps related to LM sanda= Les671a 'to be in disorder'. For the forms in -m, cf Tuva samdar T366b 'ragged', Tofa samdarʁaɣ R61b 'torn, in rags, ragged (person)'.

san 'number', cf L314b, C82:67b, T205a, M99b.

¶ <CT *sa:n (cf EDPT 831a), cf Khak san BI180b, Tuva san T367a, Tofa san R61a.

sana= 'to count', cf L314b, CL177b, T205a, M100a.

• **san sana=** 'to count'.

¶ <CT *sa:na= (cf EDPT 835a), cf Khak sana= BI181a, Tuva sana= T367a, Tofa sana= R61a.

sanɋï= 'to stab, to poke, to jab', cf T205a, sanɋɻ= L315a, CL178a, sanǯ= M100a.

¶ <CT *sanč= 'to pierce, to transfix' (cf EDPT 835b), cf Khak sas= BI183a, Tuva

šaš= (*šančar*) T567a, Tofa *šeeš=* (*šeňčar*) R99b, Yak *as=* (*anň-*) Slp48b.

sanïs 'cheap', cf L314b, CL172a, M100a.

¶ Perhaps an irregular development of CT **sa:nsïz* 'innumerable' (cf EDPT 842a).

sanyüɛ 'potato', cf L315a.

¶ ←NwM *san*^{44}*üɛ* CZW70a 'general term for Chinese yam', cf Ch shānyao.

saŋqïla= 'to hang', cf L316b 'to hang down, to droop', *saŋʁła=* M100a, *sanʁła=* M100a 'to hang loosely, to dangle'.

¶ Cf NUyg *saŋgila=* Nad498c 'to hang (something)', probably related to *salŋula=* 'to hang, to hurl' (cf EDPT 828a) recorded by Kashgari.

saŋsïrïq, (Dàhé speech), see ***sarïmsaq*** 'garlic'.

sap-sarïɣ 'very yellow', cf *sap*^{h}*-sarïɣ* L313a, *saw-sarïɣ* L319a, *sau-sarïʁ* M101a. See *sarïɣ* 'yellow'.

¶ <CT **sap-sa:rïg* (cf EDPT 848a), cf Tuva *sap-sarïɣ* T368b, Tofa *sap-sarïʁ* R61b.

saq, (~ ***sayl̈q***) 'ewe', cf *saq*^{h} L318a 'id', *sa:q* M98b 'giving milk', *saʁɬïq* M98a 'milch animal', *sayl̈q*^{h} L318b 'id; ewe', *sayaq*^{h} L318a, *salak* Her198 'ewe', and the irregular forms *sayl̈ɣ* L318b:Da 'ewe', *sayɬïɣ* M98a 'giving milk'.

¶ <CT **saglïk* 'a milch animal' (cf EDPT 809a).

° →EYu *saklaq* B97, *saqlėq* J̌68, *salak* Her198 'ewe'.

saqal 'moustache, beard', cf L317a, CL162a, *saqaɬ* M98b, *sakal* Man65, *sagal* Her194.

• ***miça saqal*** 'moustache', cf *k*^{h}*ïç*^{h}*iɣ saqal* L317a:Da 'goatee'; ***pezïk saqal*** 'beard', cf *pezïk*^{h} *saqal* L317a 'whiskers, full beard'.

¶ <CT **sakal* (cf EDPT 808b), cf Khak *saʁal* BI176b, Tuva *sal* T363b, Tofa *sa*^{h}*hal* R62.

saqï= 'to wait for', cf L317a, CL179a 'id', T205a, M99a, *saq=* T205a, M98b 'id; to worry'.

¶ ←EYu *sa:qė=* B69 'to wait; to watch', cf LM saki= Les662b 'id, to protect, guard'.

saqïn= 'to think, to consider, to suppose, to reflect; to intend; to think of, to miss, to long for; to want, to wish, to desire; to hope, to expect', cf L317b, CL179b, T205b, M99a, *ssagön* Her208.

• ***kön̈ïlïşti saqïn=*** 'to think by oneself'.

¶ <CT **sakïn=* (cf EDPT 812b), cf Khak *saʁïn=* BI177a, Tuva *sayïn=* T363b, Tofa *saʁïn=* R60b, Yak *aʁïn=* Slp31a.

saqïs 'eight', cf L317b, CL173a, M99a, *saq*^{h}*ïs* L318a, CL74, *sak*^{h}*ïs* T205a, *saks* Man61, *sa:qïs* T206a, *sakïz* PotII:436b, *saxes* Her197, *sekes* T206a.

¶ <CT **sekiz* < **sekkiz* (cf EDPT 823b), cf Yak *aʁïs* Slp31b, Khak *siɣǐs* BI186a, Tuva *ses* T374b, Tofa *se*^{h}*hes* R63. The WYu and Yak back vocalic forms are exceptional.

saqïsqan (~ ***ɋaqïsqan***) 'magpie', cf M99a, *saq*^{h}*ïsqan* L318a, *saqïsxan* L318a, *saxïsxan* L317a, *saqïsɣan* L318a, CL160a, *saq*^{h}*ïsɣan* L318a, *saxkan* Her199.

¶ <CT **sagïzgan* (cf EDPT 818a), cf Khak *saasxan* BI380a, Tuva *saaskan* T359b, Tofa *saasqan* R60a. WYu points to **sakïskan*.

saqïsun 'eighty', cf *saqïson* L318a, CL173b, T205b, *saq*^{h}*ïson* L318a, *saqïson* M99a, *saqson* M99a, *sakson* PotII437b, *saxson* Her198.

¶ <CT **sekson* (cf EDPT 823a), cf Khak *siɣǐzon* BI186a, Tuva *sezen* T371a, Tofa *se*^{h}*hezon* R62b.

saqïs-yiɣïrmï 'eighteen', cf *saqïşeyɣïrmï* L317b, CL74, *saq*^{h}*ïşeyɣïrmï* L318a, *saqïšïʁïrma* M99a, *sakše germe* PotII:437a, *saksigerma* Man62, *saxsigörmen* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *saqïs* 'eight' + *yiɣïrmï* 'twenty'.

sar 'a bird of prey, eagle', cf CL160a 'eagle; black-eared kite; hawk', L319b 'id; goshawk', L319b:Da 'a species of bird of prey', *saɹ* CL16 'goshawk'.

¶ ←EYu *sar* B99 'hawk; eagle', cf LM sar Les674a.

sarïɣ 'yellow', cf L319b, CL171b, T205b, *sarïʁ* M100b, *sarïk* PotII:435b, *sarõ* Man64, *saraχ* Her203.

¶ <CT **sa:rïg* (cf EDPT 848a), cf Khak *sarïʁ* BI182b, Tuva *sarïɣ* T369b, Tofa *sarïʁ* R61b 'yellow', Yak *arïï* Slp48a 'butter'.

sarïmsaq (~ ***samsaq***, ***saŋsïrïq***) 'garlic', cf *sarïmsaq^{h}* L319b, CL161a, *sarmsag* Her212, *samsaq^{h}* L313b, *samsaq* T205a, M99b.

¶ <CT **sarumsak* (cf EDPT 853b).

sarma= 'to scratch', cf M100b 'id', L320a 'to scratch where it itches'.

sart 'muslim; Hui; Uygur', cf T205b, M100b 'Dungan', *sart^{h}* L320a, CL164b 'Hui'.

¶ <CT **sart* 'merchant; town dweller' (cf EDPT 846a).

sat 'time; hour', cf *sat^{h}* L314a, CL158b, T205b, *sa:t* T206a 'id; clock'.

• ***ni sat pottï?*** 'what time is it?', cf *niɕi sat^{h} pop^{h} tï?* L314a.

¶ Ultimately ←Ar *sāʿat*.

sat= 'to sell', cf T205b, M101a, *sat^{h}=* L314a, CL177b, *sat*[*aine*] Her205.

¶ <CT **sat=* (cf EDPT 789b), cf Khak *sat=* BI183b, Tuva *sat=* T361b, Tofa *sa^{h}t=* R62a.

satpa 'merchant', cf T205b, M184, *sat^{h}pa* L318b.

• ***örɕü satpa*** 'merchant'; ***qayma satpa*** 'whore', cf *qïyma satpa* M184.

saz, see ***ʂaz,*** 'hair'.

sɛnluŋsïnuŋ 'gradually, taking its time'.

seli=, see ***seyli=*** 'to stuff in, to squeeze in'.

selir 'you (PL)', cf *seler* L325b, CL174b, T206a, M101b, Her200, *sler* M102b, *sele* T206a, *siler* T206b.

¶ < **seler* <CT **senler* (cf EDPT 831b s.v. *sen*); elsewhere **siler* prevails, cf Khak *sïrer* BI189a, Tuva *siler* T376b, Tofa *siler*, *sler* R63a, perhaps influenced by CT **sizler* (cf EDPT 860a s.v. *siz*).

seme 'temple', cf L324b, CL166a, T206, M101b, Her207, *semi* M101b, *semi:* M101b, *semeɣ* T8, M101b, *semęɣ* T8, *sume* L332b, M106a (mountain dial.), *syume* PotI:444.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM süme Les743b, Kal *sümü* Ram340b.

semen 'food (usually fluid); meal', cf L324b, CL169b, T206a, *semin* M102b, *sumen* L332b, PotII:437, *sümen* L336b, *sömen* L336b:Da 'food, meal, rice, noodles'.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf EYu *šėme* BǰǴ343 'taste, flavour', S717 'nutrition, nourishment', LM sime Les709b. For the final *-n*, cf Mgr *sime:n* Khas153 'juice'.

semïr= 'to be or become fat', cf L324b, M102a.

¶ <CT **semir=* ~ **semri=* (cf EDPT 830a) < **semiri=*, cf Khak *simĭr=* BI1876b, Tuva *semiri=* T373a, Tofa *semiri=* R62b.

semïs 'fat', cf L324a, CL171b, *semes* L324b:Da, *semïz* M102a, *semiz* M102a.

¶ <CT **semiz* (cf EDPT 830b), cf Khak *simĭs* BI187a, Tuva *semis* T373a, Tofa *semis* R62b, Yak *emis* Slp540a.

semse^{h}lɕïn 'Semsehlchın (a man's name from a tale)', cf *semselčin* M101b, M102a.

sen 'you', cf L325a, CL174a, T206a, M102a, Her200, *san* Her212.

¶ <CT **sen* (cf EDPT 831b), cf Khak *sin* BI187a, Tuva *sen* T373a, Tofa *sen* R62b, Yak *en* Slp541a.

senï 'you', cf L325a, CL81, T76, *seni* M174, *sannö* Her212. ACC of ***sen*** 'you'.

¶ <CT **seni* (cf EDPT 831b s.v. *sen*), cf Khak *sinĭ* BI187b, Tuva *seni* T373a, Tofa *seni* R62b.

senïŋ (~ ***seŋ***) 'of you, your', cf L325a, T76, *seniŋ* T76, M174, *sinïŋ* T76, *seŋ* L325b, *sannaŋ* Her212. GEN of ***sen*** 'you'.

¶ <CT **seniŋ* (cf EDPT 831b s.v. *sen*), cf Khak *sinǐŋ* BI187b, Tuva *seeŋ* T373a, Tofa *siiŋ* R63a.

senti 'at you', cf *sente* CL81, *sende* T76, M174a. LOC of ***sen*** 'you'.

¶ <CT **sende* (cf EDPT 831b s.v. *sɛn*), cf Khak *sinde* BI187a, Tuva *sende* T373a, Tofa *sende* R62b.

sentiɣ 'like you', cf *senteɣ* L325a, CL83, T206a. EQU of ***sen*** 'you'.

sentin 'from you', cf *senten* CL81, *senden* T76, *senïŋden* T76, *seniŋdin* M174. ABL of ***sen*** 'you'.

¶ <CT **senden* ~ **sendin* (cf EDPT 831b s.v. *sen*), cf Khak *sinneŋ* BI187a, Tuva *senden* T373a, Tofa *senden* R62b.

seŋ, see ***senïŋ*** 'your'.

sereʰçï, see ***surïʰçïn*** 'wild goose'.

seɣin 'shade; cool', cf *seɣïn* L326a, CL172a, *seɣen* L326a, *serkïn* L326a, *sergin* T206a, *sergïn* T206a, *ssergen*[*dro*] Her203, *selɣin* M101a 'cool'.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf EYu *sürüin* B103, *surü:n* J̌103a, *sörü:n* BǰǏ350, S601, *surüm*[*bai*] Her203 'id', *sörö:n* S443 'ice-cold, cold', *suri:n* S419 'cold', LM serigün Les691a, seregün Les689b. WYu *ɣ* is only attested in LM.

serïn-tonçïp 'Yugur man's proper name', cf *serin* M102a 'second part of a man's proper name', *tonǯep* M121b 'a man's name'.

¶ ←Tibetan, the first element Amdo *cʰe-raŋ* MG466 'long life', cf LT che-riṅ Jä450b 'very common name both of men and women', the second Amdo *dön-ḏʳïp* Roe131 'all-accomplishing' (LT don-'grub).

seɣ (~ ***cʰaɣ***) 'vegetables', cf L325b, CL54, M101b, *sæɣ* T185a, M98b, *sɐ* L324a, T206a, *saɣ* L318b, CL161a.

¶ ←Ch cài.

° Also loanword in EYu *cʰai* B140.

seɣli= (~ ***seli=***) 'to stuff in, to squeeze in', cf *sele=* L325a.

¶ ←Ch sāi.

siki 'two-year-old goat', cf L327a:Da 'goat', *eske* L29b, *esɣe* L29b 'two or three-year old sheep'.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM isige(n) Les416b, esige Les334b 'kid, young goat'.

-sin (~ ***-sin***) 'every', cf L325a, C87:573, T206a, M102a, *seɣn* M101b, *sæin* M101b.

¶ <CT **sa:ɣïn* (cf EDPT 858b, Räs390a), cf Khak *kün say* BI178a 'every day'.

sï= (*sïɣa*) 'to break (something)', cf L320b, CL176a, T208a, M107b, *sɿ=* L326b, *ssï=* M105a, *ssi*[*ne*] Her208.

¶ <CT **sï:=* (cf EDPT 782a), cf Sagay, Kacha *sï=* RIV:602, Tuva *sïɣ=* T400a.

sïk (~ ***zïk***) (*sïkki*) 'door', cf T208a, M108a, *sïkʰ* L321b, CL166a, *sɿkʰ* L327a, *sïʰkʰ* L323b, *sïq* T208b, M108a, *sek* T206a, *zɿkʰ* L337b:Da, *zïq* T220b, Man64, *sök* Her208, *isïk* PotII:437.

¶ <CT **e:šik* 'threshold' (cf EDPT 260a, ESTJaI:396), cf Khak *ǐzǐk* BI66b, dial. *izǐk* BI57a, Tuva *ežik* T607b, Tofa *eǯik* R105b 'door'.

sïltïla= 'to shake, to tremble', cf L321b, CL180b, *sïɬtïɬa=* M108a, *seltïl=* M101b.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **silk=* 'to shake (something)' (cf EDPT 826b). For a similar formation, see ***qʰaltïla=*** 'to shake'.

sïmïk 'bone; surname, clan name', cf M108a, *sïmïkʰ* L321a, CL162a, *sïmïq* M108a, *sïmïqʰ* L321a, *sumukʰ* L332b, *sïŋïkʰ* L322b:Da, *suŋuqʰ* L334a:Da, *soŋuqʰ* L328b:Da, *soŋuk*

M104 (mountain dial.) 'id', *suŋukʰ* L334a:Da 'bone'.

• ***paş sïmïk*** 'skull'; ***qarïqtïŋ sïmïk*** 'bridge of the nose'.

¶ <CT **süŋük* 'bone' (cf EDPT 838b), cf Khak *söök* BI196b, Tuva *söök* T386a, Tofa *söök* R65a 'bone; clan', Yak *uŋuox* Slp436a 'bone'. For the semantics, cf also Alt *söök* BT131b, Kir *söök* Jud659b, Kzk *süyek* Shnit184b 'bone; clan', and further EYu *yasėn* B153 'bone; clan', LM yasu(n) Les430a 'id', and LT rus-pa Das1188a 'id'.

sïn= 'to break, to be or become broken' cf L321a, CL176a, M108b, *sɪn=* L326b, *sun=* M106a.

¶ <CT **sï:n=* (cf EDPT 833b), cf Khak *sïn=* BI208a, Tuva *sïn=* T397a, Tofa *sïn=* R66b.

sïŋar 'one out of two, one half', cf L322a, CL22, T208b, M108b, *sɪŋar* T206b.

¶ <CT **sïŋar ~ *saŋar* 'side; one out of two' (cf EDPT 840b), cf Sagay, Shor *saar* RIV:313 'one out of two', Tuva *saar* T359a 'side', Yak *aŋar* Slp43a.

sïŋïr= (*sïŋïrɣi ~ sïŋïrɣa*) 'to swallow', cf L322b, CL175b, T208b, *seŋer=* M102a, *saŋre*[*pter*] Her205.

¶ <CT **siŋür=* (cf EDPT 841a), cf Khak *sĭŋĭr=* BI189a, Tuva *siŋir=* T377a, Tofa *siir=* R63a.

sïŋkïk 'horsefly', cf *sɪŋkekʰ* L327a, *sïŋkekʰ* L322b, CL24, *sɪŋkïkʰ* L327a 'gadfly; camel fly', *sïŋkek* T208b 'hornet', *sïŋɣek* M108b 'an insect (on livestock)'.

¶ <CT **siŋek* 'a buzzing insect' (cf EDPT 838b), cf Khak *seek* BI185a, Tuva *seek* T400b, Tofa *seek* R67b 'fly'.

sïŋnï (*sïŋnïɣa*) 'younger sister', cf L322b, CL165b, T208b, M108b, *sïŋna* Man63, *sönne* Her193.

¶ <CT **siŋil* (cf EDPT 839a), perhaps over **siŋili* (+ POS3) > **siŋli*.

sïp 'three-year-old horse', cf M108b 'two-year-old horse', *ssöp* Her198 'colt of one year', *sïpʰ* L320b, C82:67a 'one-year-old horse of which the manes have been clipped'.

¶ <CT **sïp* (cf EDPT 783a).

sïʰq= (*sïʰqqa*) 'to squeeze; to wring out', cf *sïqʰ=* L323a, CL176b, *zïʰqʰ=* L337a, *zïqʰ=* L237a 'id; to draw near', *sïq=* M108a, *sïk=* M108a 'to press; to hold back'.

¶ <CT **sïk=* (cf EDPT 804b), cf Tuva *sïk=* T395b, *sïʰk=* Jan38, Tofa *sïʰq=* R67a, Yak *ïk=* Slp524a.

sïqas= 'to press upon one another', cf L322b, M108a, *sɪqas=* L327a, *sqas=* M102b, *sïqʰas=* L323a.

¶ REC of *sïqa=* L322b 'to press, to squeeze, to cram' ←EYu *šėqa=* B105, S711 'to press', cf LM siqa= Les721a. In view of the s- perhaps contaminated with *sïʰq=*.

sïraʰkïn 'three days from now', cf *sɪraʰkïn* L327b, *saraʰkïn* L319b, *sraʰkïn* L336b, CL158b, *sraxkïn* M105a, *sraxqïn* M105a, *seragen* Her209 'id', *ssragen* Her209 'three days ago'.

¶ From an older compound *asrakï kün* 'the day before yesterday' (cf EDPT 252a).

sïrkïra= 'to shriek', cf *sïrqara=* L324a, T234, *sɪqʰïra=* L327a 'id, to scream with a shrill voice', *sïrqïra=* L324a, CL180b, *sïrqʰïra=* L324a, *sïrɣara=* T208b, *sïrqïr=* M108b 'id; to neigh', *sïrkïra=* L324a, *sɪqʰïra=* L327a 'to speak hoarsely', *sɪrkïra=* CL180a 'to neigh'.

¶ Perhaps ←EYu *sėrqėra=* S709 'to rustle, to sizzle', cf LM surkira= Les739b 'to whistle, sing (as a flying arrow)'.

sïsaŋna= 'to think', cf *sɪsaŋna=* L327a, *šæšænna=* M151a *šišænna=* M151a 'id, to be lost in thought, to ponder'.

¶ ←NwM *sɪ⁴⁴ʂiaŋ* CZW74a 'to think', cf Ch sìxiǎng 'thought, idea'.

sïtïk 'urine', cf *sïtïkʰ* L321a, CL162b, *sïtïq* M108b, *sïdïq* M108b, *sɪtïkʰ* L326b.

• ***saɣa sïtïk par mi?*** 'do you have to pee?'.

¶ <CT **siddük* ~ **sidük* (cf EDPT 801b), cf Khak *sǐdǐk* BI188b, Tuva *sidik* T375b, Yak *iik* Slp142a.

sïxoula= 'to attend, to look after', cf *sɪxoula=* L327a.

¶ ←Ch shìhòu; the first element probably represents the NwM pronunciation *sɪ*.

sïz= (*sïzki*) 'to pee', cf L323b, CL180a, M107b, *sɪz=* L327b, CL31, *siz=* M102b, *sez=* M102b.

¶ <CT **sid=* (cf EDPT 799a).

sïz= (*sïzki*) 'to swell', cf L323b, CL180a, M107b, *sɪz=* L327b.

¶ <CT **si:š=* ~ **sï:š=* (cf EDPT 857a), cf Khak *sis=* BI189b; the development of the initial **s-* is irregular in Tuva *ïš=* T592b, Tofa *ïš=* R102a, Yak *is=* Slp154b.

sïzïrt= (*sïzïrtqa*) 'to take a beating'.

¶ CAUS of *sïzïr=* L323b 'to whip, to lash, to flog', M107b 'to scrape, to rub off' <CT **sïdïr=* 'to strip, to scrape' (cf EDPT 802b), cf Khak *sïzïrt=* BI206b.

soɕï= 'to be or become startled (of animals)', cf L330b, *soɕɻ=* L330b 'id', CL53 'to be panic-stricken', *sočï=* M104b 'to provoke, to make angry'. Synonym of ***uʰk=***.

¶ ←EYu *čʰɔčʰė=* BǰǏ346, *čʰočʰi=* S577 'to be startled', cf LM čoči= Les193b, soči= Les723a.

soɕït= 'to frighten, to startle (animals)', cf T206b 'to make angry'.

sokïlïɣ (~ ***suɣïlïɣ***) 'index finger', cf *sukulïɣ* L333b, *suqulïɣ* L334a, *suɣuluɣ* L334b, *soqïlïq* M103b, *sukulïk* PotII:436a.

¶ Compound consisting of CT **suk* as in **suk kol*, **suk barmak* 'the index finger' (cf EDPT 804a) + *ïlïɣ* ~ *ïlïk* 'hand; finger', cf Shor *suqqol* RIV:753.

sol 'left', cf L328a, CL158a, M104a, *soɬ* T207a, M103b, *söl* M105a, *suɬ* M106a.

¶ <CT **so:l* (cf EDPT 824a), cf Khak *sol* BI192a, Tuva *sol* T381a.

sola= 'to lock; to lock up', cf L328a, CL177b, *sula=* L333b 'id; to shut in a pen', *soɬa=* M103b, *solo* PotII:437 'to lock'.

¶ Ultimately ←Ch suǒ, either borrowed directly or through Old Uygur *sola=* 'to chain, to interlock' (cf EDPT 825a).

° Also loanword in EYu *sɔlɔ=* B101 'to close, turn off; to lock up, enclose', J̌35 'to close', S161 'to stop up, to block up', *sɔlɔ:*[*č ʁur=*] S366 'to imprison, to lock into a pen'.

soŋ 'after; behind; afterwards', cf L328a, C82:76b, T207a, M104b, *coŋ* T175a.

• ***antan soŋ*** 'after that', cf L3b; ***soŋta*** 'later, afterwards', cf L328a, *soŋda* M104b; ***yiŋ soŋtaqï*** 'the last (one)'.

¶ <CT **soŋ* 'end; later; afterwards' (cf EDPT 832b), cf Khak *soŋ* BI193a, Tuva *soŋ* T382a, Tofa *soŋ* 63b.

soŋkap 'hammer' (obsolescent), cf *soŋkapʰ* L328b, CL167b, *soŋkʰapʰ* L329b, T207a, *soŋqapʰ* L328b, *soŋɣap* M104a, *suŋqapʰ* L334a.

° EYu *cɔŋkʰɔp* B151.

soq= 'to knock, to beat; to build, to construct', cf T207a, M103a 'to knock, to beat; to weave', *soqʰ=* L329a 'id; to mow; to slaughter; to forge', CL176a 'to mow', *sok*[š] Man62 'to weave'.

• ***sïktï soq=*** 'to knock at the door', cf *sïkʰtï soqʰ=* L329b; ***temïr soq=*** 'to forge, to weld', cf M103a, *temïr soqʰ=* L329a, perhaps calqued from Ch dǎtiě 'to forge iron' (dǎ 'to strike', tiě 'iron'); ***temïr soqpa*** (~ ***temïr soqma***) 'blacksmith', cf M103a, synonym of ***temïrɕï***; ***yiz soq=*** 'to weave'; ***yiz soqpa*** (~ ***yiz soqma***) 'weaver'.

¶ <CT **sok=* 'to beat, to crush' (cf EDPT 805a), cf Khak *sox=* BI195a, Tuva *sok=*

T379a, Tofa *soʰq=* R64b, Yak *oʁus=* Slp266b (+ REC). For the semantics, cf Ch dǎ 'to strike, to knock; to build, to construct; to forge; to knit, to weave'.

soqa 'a species of plant', cf L329a, CL160b 'splendid achnatherum (Achnatherum splendens)', M103b 'a heap of earth covered with steppe grass'.

soqalïɣ 'grown with *soqa*; a Yugur surname (Chinese equivalent: Suǒ)', cf L329b, *soqʰalïɣ* L329b 'id', *soqaɬïʁ* M103b 'a Yugur clan name'.

soqïl= 'to be constructed'.

¶ <CT **sokul=* 'to be crushed' (cf EDPT 809b), cf Khak *soʁïl=* BI191b.

soqpa 'millet', cf T207a, M103b, *soqʰpa* CL161a 'id', L329b, *sokpa* PotII:401 'broom corn millet (Panicum miliaceum)', [*yugul*]*sokba* Her195 'millet'.

• ***aq soqpa*** 'glutinous millet', cf *aqʰ soqʰpa* L329b, C92:39; ***kïʰçiɣ soqpa*** 'millet', calqued from Ch xiǎomǐ 'id' (xiǎo 'small', mǐ 'rice'); ***pezïk soqpa*** 'barley', calqued from Ch dàmài (dà 'big', mài 'grain'); ***sarïɣ soqpa*** 'grain', cf *sarïɣ soqʰpa* L329b, C92:39 'millet', *sarïʁ soqpa* M103b [untranslated].

soqtï 'thick, round sausage; abusive term for a short, fat person', cf *soqʰtï* L329b 'sausage (consisting of chopped meat, liver and parched grain put in tripe or the duodenum)', CL170b 'sausage', *soqtï* T207a 'parched grain', M103a, *soqta* M103a 'sausage consisting of parched grain, meat and sheep blood'.

• ***aʰrq soqtï*** 'bugger, abusive term for a person who is a complete failure'.

¶ <CT **suktu* 'guts stuffed with liver, meat and spices, cooked and eaten' (cf EDPT 806b).

soqtïr= 'to cause to beat', cf *soqʰtïr=* L329b, *soqter=* M103b.

¶ <CT **soktur=* (cf EDPT 807b), cf Khak *soxtïr=* BI195a, Tuva *soktur=* T380b.

sor= 'to suck', cf L331b 'id, to suckle'.

¶ <CT **so:r=* (cf EDPT 843b), cf Khak *sor=* BI194a, Tuva *sor=* T384a, Tofa *sor=* R64b.

sorïʰçïn, see ***şorɣïʰlçïn*** 'ant'.

sosïkïn 'the next day', cf *soskïn* L331a, *sʰoskïn* T208b, *soŋïskïn* L328b, T207a, *soŋïskʰun* L328b, *seŋïskïn* T206a 'id', *soŋïsqon* M104b, *soŋusqon* M104b, *sonʁosqon* M104a, *soŋʁïsqon* M104b 'id; tomorrow; the day after tomorrow; on the fourth day from today; one of the following days'.

¶ Cf Tuva *soŋɣuzu xün* T382b, Tuva of China *sooŋkus kün* ZT3958, Shor *soŋïzï* RIV:534, Alt *soŋzun* BT130a 'the day after tomorrow'.

soʰt= 'to put; to release, to set free', cf *soʰtʰ=* L330a, CL176b, *so:t=* M104b, *saut=* M101a, *soust=* M104b.

¶ Contraction of *sal=* 'to put' + the completive *-uʰt*.

soɣ= 'to skin, to flay, to peel', cf L330a, CL35, T206b, M103a, *so=* T206b.

¶ <CT **soɣ=* (cf EDPT 858b), cf Khak *soɣ=* BI192a, Tuva *soɣ=* T385b, Tofa *soɣ=* R63b.

söɣïl=, see ***soɣïl=*** 'to bake'.

söl: ***aq söl*** 'stomach', cf *söl* M105a '(sheep's) blood'.

¶ <CT **söl* 'the juice in the meat; lymph' (cf EDPT 824b). Perhaps calqued from EYu *čʰėʁa:n čʰüsėn* B134 'stomach' (*čʰėʁa:n* 'white', *čʰüsėn* 'blood').

söyn= (*söynki*) 'to be or become happy, glad', cf *soin=* CL10, *söyin=* L336b, CL179a, *söyön=* M105a, *söyün=* M105a, *soyin=* L330b, CL10, *sön=* L336b, T207a, *sö:n=* M105a, *sön*[*öpter*] Her205, *sün*[*i-dro*] M107a.

¶ <CT **sebin=* (cf EDPT 790b).

söyt 'bucket', cf *sowetʰ* L331a, CL167a, *suwetʰ* L335:Da, *sewet* M101b, *soetʰ* L327b,

soit T206b, M101b, *soyt* M103a, *suit* M106a, *swit* M101b 'wicker can, wicker dipper'.

¶ According to Malov ultimately ←Ir *sabad*.

söz, see ***soz*** 'word'.

sözti=, see ***sozti=*** 'to speak'.

su (*suɣa*) 'water', cf L331b, CL157a, T207b, M105a, PotII:435a.

• ***pezïk su*** 'flood'; ***tamïr su*** 'canal, gutter'.

¶ <CT **su:b* (cf EDPT 783a), cf Khak *suʙ* BI200a, Tuva *suɣ* T389a, Tofa *suʙ* R65a, Yak *uu* Slp446b.

suanna= 'to count', cf L332a, *suanła=* M105b, *soanła=* M102b, *ṣuanna=* L308a, *šoanła=* M151b. Equivalent of ***sana=***.

¶ ←Ch suàn; WYu *ṣ-* is inexplicable.

suanpuçʰulay 'cannot figure out'.

¶ ←Ch suànbùchulai.

suçou 'Sùzhōu (former name of Jiŭquán)', cf *suǯu* M105b. Equivalent of ***sukçi***.

¶ ←Ch Sùzhōu.

suçiɣli= 'to belief in, to trust', cf *suçiɣle=* L334b, CL46, *sučiʙle=* M107a, *süčiɣle=* M107b, *söči:ɣle=* M105a 'id; to worship a deity'.

¶ ←EYu *sücėkle=* B88:342 'to believe in', cf LM süsügle= Les745b.

sueyẓan 'although'.

¶ ←Ch suīrán.

suɣar= 'to water (animals)', cf L334a, CL47, T207.

¶ <CT **su:bgar=* (cf EDPT 786b), cf Khak *suʙar=* BI200a, Tuva *suɣɣar=* T389b, Tofa *suʙar=* R65a.

suɣïlïɣ, see ***sokïlïɣ*** 'index finger'.

suɣïn 'deer', cf L334b, C92:34, T207b, *suʙïn* M105b, *suɣun* L334b, CL159b, T207b, *suʙun* M105b, *sugun* Man64, Her199, *soɣun* L330a, C92:34, *soʙun* M103a.

¶ < **sugun* <CT **sïgun* (cf EDPT 811b), cf Khak *sïïn* BI210b, Tuva *sïïn* T399b, Tofa *sïïn* R67b.

sukçi (*sukçiɣi*) 'Sùzhōu (former name of Jiŭquán)', cf T207b, *sukʰçi* L343b, CL24, *sukʰçʰi* L343b, CL31, *sukçe* T207b, *sukči* M106a, *suqču* M106a, *sukč'u* PotII:436b.

sukʰïr 'Yugur man's proper name'. See also the proper name ***yakʰïr***.

¶ Compound consisting of *su* 'water' + *kʰïr* 'dirty'.

sumaq 'gruel', cf *sumaqʰ* L332a:Da, *sïmaqʰ* L320b:Da, *sɪmaqʰ* L326b:Da, T206b 'sour milk', *smak* Her195 'butter milk', *osmaq* M83a 'sour clotted milk'.

sunçaŋ (~ ***cʰunçaŋ***) 'chief, head of a village'.

¶ ←Ch cūnzhǎng.

sunzï (~ ***cʰunzï***) 'village', cf *suŋ* L333b, T208a.

¶ ←Ch cūnzi; for the first element cf NwM *cʰfuŋ*[44] CZW366a.

sunzï 'grandson', cf *sunzɪ* L333a, CL165b, *sunza* M106a, *suŋzɪ* L334a.

¶ ←Ch sūnzi; for the first element cf NwM *suŋ*[44] CZW366a.

° Also loanword in EYu *suncɪka* B102 'grandchild' (+ affective suffix *-ka*).

suŋsï 'from this time on, thereupon, henceforth'.

¶ ←Ch cóngcǐ.

sur= (*surɣi*) 'to chase, to pursue', cf L335b, CL179a, T208a, M106b, *sür=* L336b, M107b.

¶ <CT **sü:r=* (cf EDPT 844a), cf Khak *sür=* BI203b, Tuva *sür=* T393b, Tofa *sür=* R65b, Yak *üür=* Slp460a.

surïʰçïn (~ ***sereʰçï***) 'wild goose', cf *sureʰlçïn* L336a, *sureʰlçl* C160a, L336a, *sureʰçl*

L336a, *sure^{h}ɕ^{h}ɳ* L336a 'id', *surelči* M106b, *suritče* M106b 'crane'.

° EYu *süre:č^{h}ė* B103 'wild goose', *söreč^{h}i* S281 'goose'.

surïs= (*surïski*) 'to chase, to pursue', cf L336b, CL179a, *surus=* L336a.

¶ <CT **sü:rüš=* (cf EDPT 855b), cf Khak *sürïs=* BI204a, Tuva *sürüš=* T393b, Yak *üürüs=* Slp460a.

surnïk= (*surnïkki*) 'to stumble', cf M106b, *surnïk^{h}=* L336a, *sïrnïk^{h}=* L324a, *sunnuk=* M106b, *surneɣ*[*eš*] M106b.

¶ Cf Khak *sürnük=* BI204a, Shor *sürnük=* RIV:824 < **sürün=* (cf EDPT 845a s.v. *sürč=*), perhaps related to *sürŋüle=* 'to slip' (cf EDPT 854b), recorded by Kashgari.

surt= (*surtki*) 'to coat, to smear', *surt^{h}=* L336a, CL177b, T208a, *suɹt=* T208a, *sürt=* M107b, *sört=* M105a, *sut^{h}=* L333a.

¶ <CT **sürt=* (cf EDPT 846b), cf Khak *sürt=* BI204a, Tofa *sürt=* R66a.

sut (*sutki*) 'milk', cf T208a, M106b, Man62, Her195, *sut^{h}* L332b, CL162b, *süt* T208a, M107a, *söt* T207b, M105a, *sot* M104b.

¶ <CT **sü:t* (cf EDPT 798b), cf Khak *süt* BI204b, Tuva *süt* T394a, Tofa *süt* R66a, Yak *üüt* Slp460a.

su^{h}t= 'to break', cf *sï'o^{h}t*[*ïrïp^{h}*] L320b.

¶ Contraction of *sï=* 'to break' + the completive *u^{h}t-*.

sutɕis 'Yugur woman's proper name', cf *süt čes* M142b 'Yugur boy's name'.

¶ Compound consisting of *sut* 'milk' + *ɕis* 'malachite', cf *sut qïz* M106b 'Yugur women's proper name' (*qïz* 'girl'), *yaʁ čes* M142b, *yaɣɕis* L62a [a name].

suwat= 'to put (down), to lower', cf *sawat=* T205b, *sawad=* M98a, *swat=* M99a, *saut=* M101a, *so:t=* M104b.

¶ Contraction of *sal=* 'to put' + finitive -(ï)*wat*, cf *salïwat^{h}=* L315a, *saluwat=* M101a.

suz= (*suzki*) 'to butt; to knock against, to bump', cf L335b, T208a, M105b, *sus=* L335a, M106b, *süz=* M107a.

¶ <CT **süz=* ~ **süs=* (cf EDPT 855b), cf Khak *süs=* BI203a.

suzti= (*suztiɣi*) 'to slip, to be slippery', cf *suztï=* L335b 'id; to swim'.

ʂaɣïr 'tinkle (onomatopoeic for a tinkling sound)', cf L300a.

ʂanna= 'to fan', cf L299a, *šanna=* M149b.

¶ ←Ch shān.

ʂanna= 'to geld, to castrate', cf L299a, CL177b, *šanna=* M149b.

¶ ←Ch shàn.

ʂanzï 'fan', cf *ʂanzɿ* L299a, *šanza* M149b.

¶ ←Ch shànzi.

ʂaŋ 'wound'. See also ***teyla=*** 'to bear (a wound)'.

¶ ←Ch shāng.

ʂar 'small, fragmented', cf L301a, *šar* M150a, *šær* M150b.

ʂarla= (~ ***ɕarla=***): ***ïʂttï ʂarla=*** 'to call back the dog'; ***toqqan ʂarla=*** '(of a bride) to go home to visit her parents', cf *tuq^{h}qan ʂa=* L298a, *tuqqan šałïʁła=* ~ *šałʁïła=* M149a, *tuqqan salï=* M67:66.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **čarla=* 'to call, to summon' (cf EDPT 429b).

ʂart= 'to cut up, to cut into pieces', cf *ʂuart^{h}=* L308a, *ʂart^{h}=* CL179b 'to crush, to smash, to break into pieces', L301a 'id, to cut up, to cut into pieces (e.g. meat, bread)'. See also ***o^{h}ʂaq*** 'crumb'.

• ***uzv ʂart=, uzki ʂart=*** 'to tear to shreds'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **ušat=* ~ **ubšat=* 'to crush, to crumble' (cf EDPT 16b, ESTJaI:618), though CT **š* > WYu *ʂ* is irregular, and WYu has a secondarily inserted *r*.

ʂartīstïr= 'to cut up a bit'.

ʂat 'yearling calf', cf T209a, *ʂat^{h}* L299a, CL159a, *šat* M150a, *šæt* M151a 'calf, younger than one year', *š'at* PotII:436b 'calf', *šat* Her198 'calf (yak)'.

• ***ʂeylï ʂat*** 'motherless calf'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT šad Zhāng2833b 'three-year-old bovine (i.e. yak, domestic cow and the crossbred of these two)', cf also LT šad-yar Das1230b, Zàng875b 'yak-calf one year old', Zhāng2834a 'two or three-year-old yak calf'.

° Also loanword in EYu *šat* B105, J̌105a, S650 'calf', *šat* Her198 'calf (yak)'.

ʂaʐ (~ ***saʐ***) 'hair', cf L300b, CL161b, T209a, *saʐ* L319a, CL161b, T206a, *sæž* M101a, *saš'* PotII:435a, *šaš* Man65, *saš* Her194, and the oblique forms *sač* M101a, *šač* M101a, *šæč* M151a.

¶ <CT **sač* (cf EDPT 794a), cf Khak *sas* BI183a 'hair', Tuva *čah*š T522b 'braid', Tofa *čeh*š R88a, Yak *as* Slp48b 'hair'.

ʂaʐ= (*ʂaɕ-*) 'to sprinkle, to scatter', cf L301a, CL176b, T209a, *saʐ=* L319a, CL170b, *šæž=* M150b, and the oblique forms *sač* M101a, *šæč* M151a, *ssad*[*epter*] Her206.

• ***azïq ʂaʐ=*** 'to sow', cf *soqhpa saʐ=* L319a, *soqpa šæž*[*ʁučï*] M150b.

¶ <CT **sač=* (cf EDPT 794b), cf Khak *sas=* BI183a, Tuva *čaš=* T598b, Tofa *čeh*š*=* R88a, Yak *ïs=* Slp529b.

ʂaʐtïɣ '(married) woman', cf L301a, CL162b, T209a, *ʂaʐdïɣ* T209a, *saʐtïɣ* L319a, *šæždïʁ* M150b, *sæždïʁ* M101a, *šaždïʁ* TT21, *saždïk* PotII435b 'id', *saṛtax* Her192, Her193 'woman, older girl, bride, fiancée'. Synonym of ***khempiʂtïɣ***.

¶ <CT **sačlïg* 'hairy' (cf EDPT 797a), cf Khak *saštïʁ* BI183a. For the semantics, cf Tuva *čahštïɣ ool* (Taube 1974: 598) 'girl' (*ool* 'boy'), Nuyg (Turfan dial.) *čačliq bala* Ghop100 'unmarried girl' (*bala* 'child'), EYu *hsütʰė kʰün* B60 'woman' (*hsün* 'hair' + ADJ, *kʰün* 'person').

ʂeylï 'motherless, orphan (of both humans and animals)', cf *šeyɬï* M151a, *ʂelï* L303b, *ʂaylï* L300b, *šayɬï* M149a.

ʂeyzï 'sieve, sifter, filter', cf *ʂeyzɿ* L303b, *ʂezɿ* L303b, *ʂayzɿ* L300b.

¶ ←Ch shāizi.

ʂï 'to be, is'.

¶ ←Ch shì.

ʂï 'ten'. Equivalent of ***on***.

¶ ←Ch shí.

ʂï 'matter'. Equivalent of ***yotal***.

¶ ←Ch shì.

ʂïɕɛ 'world', cf *ʂɿɕe* L305b.

¶ ←Ch shìjiè.

ʂïɕɛn 'time, period of time', cf *šešin* M151a, *šišin* M151b, *šušin* M153a.

¶ ←Ch shíjiān.

ʂïɕhiŋ 'matter'. Equivalent of ***yotal***.

¶ ←Ch shìqing.

ʂïɣan 'mouse, rat', cf *ʂɿɣan* L305b, CL159b, T209b, *šïʁan* M151a, *šiʁan* M151a, *šïšqan* PotII:436a.

• ***küy ʂïɣan*** 'squirrel', calqued from Ch sōngshǔ (sōng 'pine', shǔ 'mouse').

¶ < **sïžgan* <CT **sïčkan* (cf EDPT 796a, read *sïčgan*), cf Koybal *sïsqan* RIV:661, Shor

šïšqan RIV:1060.

ṣïɣaq 'diarrhoea', cf *ṣɪɣaq* T209b 'watery mud', *ṣɪɣaqʰ* L305b, C92:38 'watery dung or excrements'.

¶ < **sïžgak* <CT **sïčkak* 'having diarrhoea' (cf EDPT 796a, read *sïčgak*), cf Sagay, Koybal *sïsqaq* RIV:661, Shor *šïšqaq* RIV:1060 'diarrhoea'.

° →EYu *šqʰaq* B110, *šėqʰaq* B106 'diarrhoea, thin excrements'.

ṣïɣaqta= 'to get or have diarrhoea', cf *ṣïɣaqʰta=* L305b 'id', *šïʁaqta=* M153b 'to defecate'.

¶ < **sïžgakta=* <CT **sïčkakla=*, cf Sagay *sïsqaqta=* RIV:661, Shor *šïšqaqta=* RIV:1060.

° →EYu *šėqʰaklu:l=* B106 'to have diarrhoea', *qʰusun šqʰakla=* B64 'to have watery diarrhoea' (*qʰusun* 'water').

ṣïkï, see ***ïṣkï*** 'two'.

ṣïkïṣ, see ***ïṣkïṣ*** 'beverage, food'.

ṣïŋyin 'sound'.

¶ ←Ch shēngyīn.

ṣïpa 'eighteen'. Equivalent of ***saqïs-yiɣïrmï***.

¶←Ch shíbā.

ṣïrma 'rubbish, rubbish heap', cf *ṣɪrma* L306b 'rotten, tattered; junk, scrap'.

ṣïrti= 'to curse', cf *ṣïrte=* L303a.

ṣïrtimi 'charm, spell'.

ṣïtïq 'wet', cf *ṣɪtïqʰ* L304a, CL171b, *šïdïq* M153b, *šidïq* M153b, *ṣïtʰtïqʰ* L304b.

ṣïwïra= 'to whisper', cf *ṣɪwura=* L306a, *ṣïwra=* L303a.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf EYu *šapra:=* S714; also loanword in Khak *sïbïra=* BI205a, Alt *šïbïra=* BT186b. The more common etymon is LM sibana= Les694a.

ṣopaq 'mud', cf *ṣopaqʰ* L306b, CL32, T209b, *šopaq* M151b, *šobaq* M151b, *ṣolpaqʰ* L307a, CL157b, *šołpaq* M151b, *šołbaq* M151b, *ṣïlpaqʰ* L302b.

ṣorɣïʰlɕïn (~ ***sorïʰɕïn***) 'ant', cf *ṣorɣoʰɕïn* L307b, CL160b, C86:10, T210a [mistranslated 'fly swatter'], *sorgoldsön* Her212, *ṣorɣolɕin* L307b:Da, *ṣorɣorɕin* L307b:Da, *ṣorwaʰɕin* L307b, *ṣorɣïwaʰɕïn* L307b, *ṣorɣo'aʰɕïn* L307b.

¶ ←EYu *šɔrʁɔlčėn* B108, *šorʁolčin* S722, *sorgoldsön* Her212, cf LM sirɣolǰi(n) Les717a

ṣouṣa 'under the authority of'. Equivalent of ***ïlïɣ aʰltïrta***.

¶ ←Ch shǒuxià.

ṣuala= 'to brush', cf L308a.

¶ ←Ch shuā.

ṣuaq, cf ***oʰṣaq*** 'crumbs'.

ṣueypi 'pen', cf *ṣuepi* L308b.

¶ ←Ch shuǐbǐ.

ṣuktï= (*ṣuktïɣï*) 'to load, to transport', cf *ṣukʰte=* L309b, CL171b, *ṣukte=* T210a, *ṣuktï=* T210a, *šukt(e)=* M152b, *šükte=* M153b, *šükti=* M153b, *ṣukutï=* T210a, *ʐuʰkʰte=* L311a.

¶ <CT **yükle=* (cf EDPT 912b, ESTJaIV:263), cf Khak *čükte=* BI324b, Tuva *čükte=* T551a, Tofa *čüʰkte=* R92b.

ṣuktïɣ 'pregnant', cf *ṣukʰtïɣ* L309a.

¶ <CT **yüklüg* 'pregnant' (cf ESTJaIV:262), cf Khak *čüktǐɣ* BI325a, Tuva *čüktüɣ* T551a 'having a load'.

ṣuku (*ṣukuɣï*) 'goat', cf L309a, *ṣukï* L309a, CL159a, *šuko* PotII:435b, *ško* Her199, *uško* M132b, *öṣkö* T194b, *üškö* M133b, *ṣuko* L245a 'id', *ɕʰüɣe* L239a, *ɕʰöɣe* L238a:Da 'goat (used in a derogatory sense)'.

¶ *öčkü <CT *ečkü (cf EDPT 24b, ESTJaIII:34), cf Khak öskĭ BI137b, Tuva öškü T342b, öʰškü Sat188 'goat', Tofa eʰški R106b 'stud deer'.

ʂuq= 'of something to stick, to adhere, to attach', cf ʂuqʰ= L309b, CL177b, šuq= M152b, ʂukʰ= L309a.

¶ <CT *yuk= (cf EDPT 897b), cf Khak čuX= BI324a, Tofa čoʰq= R90a.

saŋna= 'to think'.

¶ ←Ch xiǎng.

sɛn 'before, at first', cf L241a, C82:76b. Equivalent of **pʰornta**.

¶ ←Ch xiān.

siçï xaçï 'Sichı Khachı (legendary place of origin of the Yugur)', cf L342b, *siçi xaçi* L342b, *siçi xaçɿ* T210b, *siçi xaçi* T206b, *siʒo xaʒo* M102b, *sečže xačžin* M102b, *sečže xačži* PotI:442, *siçï* T206b, *χasi* T219b, *χaçi* T219a, *xaçï* T219a, *xaʒin* M134a, *qaʒï* M48b.

siki 'slender, slim, thin', cf L242b, *sike* L242b, CL171a, T210b, *sikeʏ* L242b, C87:566, *šike* M151a, *sike* M102b, *sikiʏ* CL171a 'id', L242b, 'id; stingy, mean'.

¶ < *iške <CT *yi:nčke (cf EDPT 945a, read *yi:nčge*, ESTJaI:364), cf Khak *niske* BI118a, Tuva *čiŋɣe* T534b, Tofa *ňiŋɣe* R49a, Yak *sinňiɣes* Slp324b.

sikuan 'habit'.

¶ ←Ch xíguàn.

-sin, idiolectical for **-sin** 'every'.

sisitï 'thin and soft'.

¶ ←Ch xìxìde.

sizaŋ 'Tibet', cf L342b.

¶ ←Ch Xīzàng.

sizï '(straw) mat', cf *sizɿ* L243b, CL167b, *sizï* M102b.

¶ ←Ch xízi.

° Also loanword in EYu *sicɿ* B112.

soɣïl= (~ **söɣïl=**) (*soɣïlɣi*) 'to roast', cf L244a, CL180b, *söɣïl=* L336b, T207a, *soɣïl=* L329b, *söɣül=* M104b, *söʁul=* M104b, *sökül=* M104b.

¶ <CT *sögül= (cf EDPT 821a), cf Yak *üöl=* Slp454a.

sor= (~ **sör=**) (*sorɣi*) 'to sweep', cf L244b, CL178a, T23, *sör=* L245a, *šör=* M152a, *šür=* T210b, *šür=* M153b, *ʂor=* L307b 'id', *šör*[*ine*] Her203 'to brush'.

¶ ←EYu *šü:r=* B109 'to sweep', *šör*[*ia*] Her203 'to brush', related to HY *ši'ür=* Mos98, Dgx *ʂuru=* Bökh134, BaoÑ *x̌ir=* CN157, BaoD *sir=* BL11.

sosi 'news', cf C82:78a.

¶ ←Ch xiāoxi.

sotʰiŋ 'slow', cf L243b, *sotin* CL55, T210b, *šotin* M152a.

¶ Probably ←NwM *ɕiɔ*^{44}*tʰiŋ*^{51} CZW195a 'leisurely and carefree'.

souçʰou 'an embroidered ball or flower used as a wedding ornament (in some parts of the country it was a tradition to throw this ball out of the window to one's husband to be)'.

¶ ←Ch xiùqiú 'a ball made of stripes and silks'.

soz (~ **söz**, **sözˈ**) (*sozki*) 'word; speech; language', cf L244a, CL14, T210b, *söz* L245a, *söz* L331a, T207b, M104b, *söz'* PotII:436a, *sös* Her202, *sioz* L326b, *süz* T107a, M107a.

• **kʰip söz** 'proverb'; **uzïk soz** 'lie'.

¶ <CT *söz (cf EDPT 860b), cf Khak *sös* BI197b, Tuva *sös* T387a, Yak *ös* Slp289b.

sozïr= (*sozïrɣi*) 'to haul, to draw, to drag; to transport', cf L244b, *sozur=* L244b,

sozur= L331b, CL59, *sozïr=* L331b, *sözïr=* L336b 'id', T207b, *sozïr=* T207a 'to haul, to drag, to stretch', *sözür=* L336b:Da 'to transport'.

¶ <CT **södür=* ~ **södre=*, cf Khak *sözĭr=* BI196a, Tožu *södür=* Čad25, Tofa *södürü=* R64b, *södrü=* R64b. In NE **södür=* prevails, elsewhere **süyre=* ~ **söyre=* (cf Räs435a).

° →EYu *čɔ:cér=* B145 'to be stretched, straightened'; the initial affricate is unusual, but could have arisen under the influence of the following *c*.

sozti= (~ ***sözti=***, ***sözti=***) 'to speak', cf *soz te=* L244a, *sözde=* M104b.

¶ Either <CT **sözle=* (cf EDPT 863a), cf Khak *söste=* BI197b 'to slander, instigate', Tuva *söɣle=* T385b 'to speak, to tell', or a compound consisting of *soz* 'word' + *ti=* 'to speak'. For a similar formation, cf ***yati=*** 'to agree'.

sör=, see ***sor=*** 'to sweep'.

söz, see ***soz*** 'word'.

sü 'boot', cf L245a, CL169a, *su* L245a, *süa* L245a, C87:564, *süü* T210b, *šö* M152a.

¶ ←Ch xuē.

süɛ, see ***süɛso*** 'school'.

süɛso (~ ***süɛ***) 'school', cf L245b, C82:70b, *söso* L245a, *süuse* T211a, *süe* L245a, *sö* L245a.

¶ ←Ch xuéxiào, xué.

° Also loanword in EYu *süesiao* B112.

sünan 'Sùnán (county)', cf *sunan* CL95.

¶ ←Ch sùnán; for the inexplicable front-prepalatal *s*, see also ***kansü*** 'Gānzhōu'.

° Also loanword in EYu *šünan* J̌38.

taçaqta= 'to waddle, to walk the way a fat person walks, to walk with bow-legs'.

tafa 'exceeding the proper limits, excessive'.

¶ ←NwM $ta^{213}_{13}fa$ CZW83b.

tayïn 'tomorrow', cf L94a, CL158b, T211a, *taʁïn* M109b, *dager*[*stegeline*] Her209.

¶ Compound consisting of *kʰun* 'day' + an unknown element, cf Chaghatay of the Muqaddimat *takün* Poppe273a 'yesterday'.

tayïni 'aunt (maternal uncle's wife)', cf *tayïna* L94b, CL165a, *tayane* L94a, *tayni* Wú316 (speech of Dàhé) 'id', *daṛenai* Her193 'aunt'. See ***taqa*** 'maternal uncle'.

¶ Crasis of CT **tagï* 'uncle' + *ana* 'mother' + affective suffix *-y*.

° →EYu *tayani* B125.

tayras= 'to murmur, to rumble', an onomatopoeic verb.

¶ Cf Shor *taʁra=* RIII:800 'to tinkle'.

tala= 'to carry (on horseback); to put or hang over', cf L92b 'id; to put up', *tała=* T211a, M110b 'to load'.

¶ ←Ch dā 'to put up; to put over; to lift together'.

tale (~ ***tali***) 'sea; lake', cf CL157a, *taley* L92b, T211a, *tałey* M110b, *tałi* M110b, *tali* M110b, *ta:ɬï* T212a, *da:ɬï* T178b.

¶ ←EYu *tali:* B125, J̌105a, S193, cf LM dalai Les224a.

tali, see ***tale*** 'sea, lake'.

taltaqï 'ghost; wild animal', cf L93a 'ghost, spirit', *tałtaqï* M110b 'the spirit of a deceased person'.

tamïŋ 'gate', cf L90a, *tamïn* M111a.

¶ ←Ch dàmén; for the second element, cf NwM $ta^{44}məŋ^{24}$ Liú101b.

tamïr 'vein; canal', cf L90a 'id, artery, blood vessel; menses', CL162a, M111a, *damör* Her195 'vein', T211b 'id; source, well'.

tamïr 'vein; canal', cf L90a 'id, artery, blood vessel; menses', CL162a, M111a, *damör* Her195 'vein', T211b 'id; source, well'.

¶ <CT **tamïr* (cf EDPT 508a, ESTJaIII:143), cf Khak *tamïr* BI216a, Tuva *damïr* T147a, Tofa *tamïr* R68b, Yak *tïmïr* Slp430b.

tan 'egg', cf L91b. Equivalent of ***çitan***, ***taʰqaɣï oʰsïrïq***.

¶ ←Ch dàn.

tan 'in case, if'.

¶ ←NwM *tan*[213] CZW87a.

tançin 'serious; terrific, awesome; awful, terrible; very', cf CL54 'terrible', L92a:Da 'worried, anxious', L91b, *taŋçiŋ* L94a 'very much, extremely', *tančin* M111b 'heavy storm'.

¶ According to Chén & Léi from Ch dāngjǐn (not attested elsewhere so far).

° EYu *tančën* B124 'dangerous, perilous'.

tanï= 'to know, to be or become aquainted; to recognize', cf L91b, CL179a, T211b, M111b, *tʰani=* T215b.

• ***pïʰtïɣ tanïmas*** 'illiterate', cf *pʰutïɣ tanïmas* L74b.

¶ ←EYu *tʰanė=* B114, J̌103b, cf LM tani= Les778b.

tanïs= 'to know one another, to be or become aquainted with one another', cf L91b, T211b, M111b.

tanşï 'but, yet, still, nevertheless'. Equivalent of ***taʰqï***.

¶ ←Ch dànshì.

taŋ 'dawn, early morning', cf L93a, T211b, M111b.

¶ <CT **taŋ* 'dawn' (cf EDPT 510b, ESTJaIII:144), cf Khak *taŋ* BI217a, Tuva *daŋ* T147a, Tofa *daŋ* R20b, Yak *tïŋ* Slp421a.

taŋ 'striped', probably idiolectical for *taŋïl* L93b '(of animals) having yellow eye rims or a yellow belly', *küzɣül taŋïl* M70b 'dog with red hair on its head and around the eyes and on the groin'.

• ***taŋnaɣan taŋ*** 'very striped, with many stripes'.

¶ Related to *taŋïl* 'corded' (cf EDPT 520a), recorded by Kashgari.

taŋqar 'in the morming', cf T211b, *taŋɣar* T13, M112a, *taŋʁar* M112a, *taŋɣaɹ* T211b 'id', *taŋqar* L93b, CL158b 'early morning, dawn', *taŋar* Her209 'tomorrow'.

¶ From *taŋ* 'dawn' + the older directive **-garu*, cf Sagay *taarta* RIII:860, Tuva *daarta* T140a 'tomorrow' (+ LOC), Tofa *daŋʁaarï* R20b 'in the morning'.

taŋqïna 'beautiful', cf L93b, CL171b, T211b, *taŋɣïna* M112a, *taŋɣɑna* M112a.

¶ From *taŋ* L93a 'beautiful' <CT **ta:ŋ* 'wonder(ful)' (cf EDPT 510b) + intensive suffix *-qïna*, cf Tuva *daŋɣïna* T147b 'beautiful woman'.

° →EYu *taŋgăna* Kot449 'nice, good-looking'.

taʰp= (speech of older speakers), see ***taʰq=*** 'to find'.

taʰq= (~ ***taʰp=***) 'to find', cf *taʰpʰ=* L94b, CL178b, *taʰp=* T211b, *tapʰ=* L90a:Da, *tap=* T211b, M110a, *tʰapʰ=* L118a.

¶ <CT **tap=* (cf EDPT 435b), cf Khak *tap=* BI217b, Tuva *tïʰp=* IP316, Tožu *tïp=* (*dïʰvar*) Čad48, Tofa *tïʰp=* R74b, Yak *tap=* Slp375a.

taqa 'maternal uncle', cf L94a, CL165a, T211b, M110a, *taqï* M110a, *taqo* M110a, *taɣe* T211a, *taɣey* L94b, *taʁey* M109b, *taʁïy* M109b, *dagay* PotII:435b, *dayai* Her193. See also ***taɣïni*** 'aunt'.

¶ <CT **tagï* ~ **tagay* (cf EDPT 474a, ESTJaIII:127), cf Khak *tayï* BI213b (+ POS3), *tay* BI213b (in compounds), Tuva *daay* T139a, *daayï* Mon150a, Tofa *daay* R20a, Yak *taay* Slp371a. WYu *q* is irregular.

° →EYu *taqa* (or *taɣa*) B125, *tagà* PotII:413b.

taʰqaɣï 'chicken', cf L94b, C86:9, *tʰaqaɣï* L119b, *tʰaʰqaɣï* L120a, CL159b, *tʰaʰqʰaɣï* L120a, *taqaqï* M110a, *taqaʁa* M110a, *taqaʁï* M110a.

• ***eʰrkïk taʰqaɣï*** 'rooster', cf *eʰrkekʰ taʰqaɣï* L94b.

¶ <CT **takagu* ~ **takïgu* (cf EDPT 468b), cf Khak *taŋaχ* BI217a, dial. *taʁaχ* BI212a, Tofa *taqqïňaq* R68b.

taʰqaɣï 'prostitute'. See ***taʰqaɣï*** 'chicken'.

¶ Calqued from Ch jì 'prostitute', and its near homophone jī 'chicken'.

taʰqï 'still, yet; also, moreover; or (in alternative questions)', cf L94b, CL175a, T211b, *tʰaʰqï* L120a, T211b, *taqï* M110a, *taqo* M110a, *taɣe* T211a, *taˣqï*[*ya*] L95a.

¶ <CT **takï* (cf EDPT 466a, ESTJaIII:122), Shor *taʁï* RIII:798.

° →EYu *taɣqʰė* B125.

taqïna= 'to run (away), to rush off, to run as a sport', cf L94a 'to run quickly (riding an animal)', M110a, *taqana=* M110a 'to run; to take care of'.

° EYu *taqʰantʰa=* B125 'to run quickly'.

tar= 'to sow, to plant, to cultivate land', cf L97b, CL177a, T211b, *dar=* T178a, *tarï=* M113b, *taru=* M113b.

• ***azïq tarma*** 'farmer'; ***yer tar=*** 'to sow, to plant, to cultivate'; ***yer tarma*** 'farmer', cf L261b.

¶ <CT **tarï=* (cf EDPT 532b, ESTJaIII:157), cf Khak *tarï=* BI220a, Tuva *tarï=* T408b, Tofa *tarï=* R69a.

tara= 'to comb', cf L98a, CL178a, T211b, M112b, *dara=* T178a.

¶ <CT **tara=* (cf EDPT 532a, ESTJaIII:147), cf Khak *tara=* BI218a, Tuva *dïra=* T194, Tofa *dïra=* R225a, Yak *taraa=* Slp375b.

tarïɣ 'wheat, grain', cf L98a, CL161a, *dark* Her195 'id', *tarïʁ* M113b, *darïχ* M24a 'millet', *tarïq* PotII:405 'Triticum vulgare Vill.'.

¶ <CT **tarïɣ* (cf EDPT 537b, ESTJaIII:157), cf Khak *tarïʁ* BI220b.

tarmaq 'finger; claw', cf T211b 'finger; nail', M112b 'id; claw', *tarmaqʰ* L98a 'finger; toe; claw', CL160b, *darmag* Her211 'claw', *tarmak* Man64 'finger'. See also ***tïrmaq***, ***tïrŋaq***.

¶ <CT **tarmak* 'claw' (cf EDPT 549b, ESTJaIII:347), cf Khak *tïrbaχ* BI245b, Tuva *dïrbak* T194b, Tofa *dïrbaq* R23a, Yak *tarbaχ* Slp376a.

° →EYu *tarmaq* B126, *darmag* Her211 'claw'.

tart 'prrrt (onomatopoeic for a squeezing sound)', cf *tartʰ* L98a 'onomatopoeic for the sound of a fart'.

taʰrt= 'to pull, to draw, to drag, to haul; to weigh; to bite', cf *taʰrtʰ=* L95b 'id; to snap at; to be useful', CL176b 'to pull; to weigh', *taʰrt=* T211b, *taɹʰt=* T212a, *taʰɹtʰ=* T212a, *tʰaʰrtʰ=* L120a, *tʰaɹʰt=* T215b, *tart=* M113a, *dart*[*öwaline*] Her212, *tʰarta=* T215b, *tarta=* M113a 'to pull, to drag'.

• ***tuʰtïn taʰrt=*** 'to smoke tobacco, cigarettes', cf *tʰuʰtʰun taʰrtʰ=* L95b, *tʰutum tʰaɹʰt=* T215b, *tutun tart=* M113a.

¶ <CT **tart=* (cf EDPT 534b, ESTJaIII:154), cf Khak *tart=* BI219a, Tuva *tïrt=* T430a, *tïʰrt=* Jan38, Tofa *tïʰrt=* R74b, Yak *tart=* Slp377b.

taʰrtïɣ 'rope, string, cord', cf *tartïʁ* M113a 'cord', *tʰartïɣ* L122a, *taʰttïɣ* L94b:Da 'woollen cord', *taʰrtïɣ* L95b, *tʰaʰrtïɣ* L120b 'large rope of a horse's harness'.

¶ <CT **tartïg* (cf ESTJaIII:156), cf Tuva *tïrtïɣ* T431a, Tofa *tïrtïɣ* R75a.

taʰrtqïş 'scales; a measure of weight, pound', cf *taʰrtʰqïş* L96a, CL174a, *tʰaʰrtʰkïş* L120b, *tartqïş* M113a.

¶ <CT *tartkuč* (cf ESTJaIII:156).

tas (~ ***taʰs***) 'outside', cf L97b, CL158a, M113b, *taʰs* L95a, T212a, *tʰaʰs* L120a 'id', *dass* Her209 'surface'.

• ***taʰsïnta*** 'outside', cf L95a; ***taʰsïŋqa*** 'out of it', cf *tasïnʁa* M113b.

¶ <CT **taš* (cf EDPT 556b, ESTJaIII:164), cf Sagay *tas* BI220b, Tuva *daštï* T150a, Tofa *taʰštï* R69b, Yak *tas* Slp378a.

tas (~ ***taʰs***) 'stone', cf *tas* L97b, CL158a, T212a, M113a, PotII:435b, Man64, *taʰs* L95a, C86:8, T212a, *tʰaʰs* L120a, *taz* Man64.

• ***şar tas*** 'pebble', cf L301a; ***tʰutuqus tas*** 'malachite', perhaps calqued from Ch kǒngqueshí (kǒngque 'peacock', shí 'stone'), or LM toɣos čilaɣu Les818b (toɣos 'peacock', čilaɣu 'stone'), synonym of ***çis***.

¶ <CT **ta:š* (cf EDPT 557a, ESTJaIII:167), cf Khak *tas* BI220b, Tuva *daš* T149b, Tofa *daš* R21a, *taš* R69a, Yak *taas* Slp371b.

taʰs, see ***tas*** 'outside'.

taʰs, see ***tas*** 'stone'.

taʰsqar 'outside', cf *tasqar* L97b, CL47, M113b, *tasɣar* L97b, CL47, T212b, *tʰɪsχaɹ* T216a, *tïsqar* M128b, *tïsqarï* M128b.

¶ <CT **taškaru* (cf EDPT 563a, read *tašgaru*, ESTJaIII:166), cf Khak *tasxar* BI221a, Tuva *daškaar* T149b, Tofa *taʰšqaarï* R69b, Yak *taharaa* Slp379b.

taʰsï= 'to spill, to overflow; to boil over (of water, a cauldron); to inflate, to distend', cf *tas=* L97b 'id', CL179b, *tasï=* CL46, M113b, *taʰs=* L95b 'to overflow'.

¶ <CT **ta:š=* (cf EDPT 559b, ESTJaIII:169), cf Khak *tas=* BI220b, Tuva *dažï=* T143a, Tofa *taʰš=* R69b.

taʰsït= 'to cause to spill, to cause to overflow'.

¶ Cf *tašït=* (cf EDPT 561b), recorded by Kashgari.

taʰt 'Tibetan; Eastern Yugur', cf T212a, *taʰtʰ* L94b, CL164b, *tat* M114a, PotII:436b, *taɹʰt* T212a 'Tibetan'.

¶ <CT **tat* 'stranger, alien' (cf EDPT 449a).

tatï= 'to taste', cf *tatʰ=* L91a, CL149 'id', *dade*[*pdro*] Her205 'flavour'.

¶ CT **ta:t=* 'to taste' (cf EDPT 449b, ESTJaIII:164), cf Khak *tadï=* BI212b 'to be tasty'.

tatïɣ 'tasty, good to eat; sweet', cf L91a, CL172b, T212a, *tatïʁ* M114a, *dadöx* Her212.

¶ <CT **ta:tïg* (cf EDPT 452a, ESTJaIII:164), cf Khak *tadïʁ* BI212b.

tattï= 'to scold', cf T212a, M114a, *tatʰtï=* L91a, CL179a, *dadi*[*ne*] Her205.

¶ Perhaps <Mongolic, cf EYu *taptʰa=* S735 'to curse constantly', LM dabta= Les213a 'to repeat'.

tawan 'sole of the foot', cf L97a, M109a, *tawon* T212a 'heel'.

¶ <CT **ta:ban* 'sole of the foot; mountain pass' (cf EDPT 441b, ESTJaIII:110), cf Khak *taban* BI211b, Tuva *davan* T140b.

tawar 'silk', cf L97a, CL169b, T212a, M109a, PotII:436b, *tawaɹ* T212a, *dawar* T178b, Her207.

¶ <CT **tabar* 'livestock; trade goods; silk goods' (cf EDPT 442b, ESTJaIII:114).

tawasïq 'bladder', cf *tawasïkʰ* L97a, CL162b, *tawïsïq* M109a 'id', *tawasïqʰ* L97a:Da 'scrotum'.

¶ <EYu *taßasăq* B125, *taßasėq* J̌105b, *tawasėq* S185 'bladder', cf LM dabusang ~ dabusaɣ Les213b.

te, see ***teɣ*** 'just now'.

teɣ= (*tekki*) 'to touch; to get at; to vanquish, to overpower (+ DAT)', cf L103b, *teg=*

T212b, *tek^{h}*= L103a, *tek*= M116a 'to touch'.

¶ <CT **teg*= (cf EDPT 476a, ESTJaIII:173), cf Khak *teŋ*= BI223a, Sagay *tiɣ*= BI224a, Tuva *deɣ*= T196a, Tofa *deɣ*= R23b, Yak *tiiy*= Slp382b.

temïr 'iron', cf L102a, CL158a, M117a, *temer* T212b, Man64, *temir* M116b, PotII:435b, *damör* Her209.

¶ <CT **temir* (cf EDPT 508b, ESTJaIII:188), cf Khak *timĭr* BI224b, Tuva *demir* T155a, Tofa *demir* R23b, Yak *timir* Slp384a.

temïrçï 'smith', cf *temïrçɿ* L102b, CL163b, *temïrçï* T212b, *temurçï* T212b, *temïrʒï* T16. Synonym of ***temïr soqpa***.

¶ <CT **temirči* (cf EDPT 509b, ESTJaIII:189).

teŋïr, see ***tiŋïr*** 'sky'.

terat= 'to pinch, to grind, to crush', cf *terat^{h}*= L104b 'to rub, to knead', CL176a 'to twist with the fingers', *terat*= M117b 'to cause to take away', *terwat^{h}*= L102a, *turwat^{h}*= L116b 'to twist (rope)', CL176a 'to rub the hands'.

terik (*terikki*) 'tree; wood, wooden; forest', cf *terik* M118a, *terek* T212b, M118a, *terek^{h}* L104b, CL157b, *dereg* Her204 'tree'.

• ***çiɣti terik*** 'jujube tree', cf *çiɣte terek^{h}* L231b, *ǯiɣde unɣek terik* M29a; ***q^{h}aq terik*** 'dead branch, twig'.

¶ <CT **terek* 'poplar' (cf EDPT 543a, ESTJaIII:205), cf Khak *tirek* BI226a, Tuva *terek* T412a 'poplar', Yak *terex* Pek2642, *tirex* Pek2679.

° →EYu *dereg* Her204.

teriktïɣ 'with trees', cf *terektïɣ* T212b.

¶ <CT **tereklig* (cf EDPT 546a).

terwi= 'to shake', cf *terwe*= L104b, CL180b, T212b, M118a, *derwö*[*bter*] Her207.

¶ <CT **tepre*= (cf EDPT 443b, ESTJaIII:200), cf Khak *tibĭre*= BI224a.

terwis= 'to shake'.

¶ <CT **tepreš*= (cf EDPT 445a).

tey 'two or three-year-old foal', cf L104a, T9, M115a, *tay* L96b, CL159a, M109b.

¶ <CT **tay* (cf EDPT 566b), cf Khak *tay* BI213b, Tuva *day* T143b, Yak *tïy* Slp418b.

tey (~ ***te***) 'just now, just a moment ago', cf L104a, CL131, *tay* L96b, CL131, M109b. Synonym of ***am***, ***halta***.

¶ ←NwM *tai*^{213} CZW86a, ZW130 'just; incidentally, in passing'.

teyla=: ***şaŋ teyla***= 'to be wounded, injured', cf *şaŋ tela*= L299b, *şaŋteła*= M67:208b 'id', *şaŋteła*= T208 'to wound', *dele*= M24a 'to be ill'.

¶ Perhaps ←Ch dài 'to bear, to have', cf also Dgx *san taila*= S709.

teylï 'of course, certainly, really', cf L104b, CL175a, *teyła* M115a, *taylï* L97a, CL175a 'at all; absolutely'.

¶ Perhaps ←NwM *tai*^{51} CZW85b 'very' + un unclear second element, maybe lái, as Chén and Léi (1985: 212) suggest.

° EYu *taili* B124 'always'.

teyteyzï 'bag; sack'.

¶ ←NwM *tai*$^{213}_{13}$*tai*$^{213}_{13}$*cɿ* CZW86b.

ti, ordinal particle.

¶ ←Ch dì.

ti= 'to say; to tell; to reply, to answer', cf L105a, CL176a, T213a, M118b, *te*= L102a, CL31, M114a, *tɿ*= T213a, *di*= T178b, M24a, *de*= T178b, *t^{h}i*= T216a, *di*[*nai*] Her200 'to say'.

¶ <CT **te:*= (cf EDPT 433b, ESTJaIII:221), cf Khak *tĭ*= BI227a, Tuva *de*= T196a, *di*=

T196a, Tofa *de=* R23a, Yak *die=* Slp114a.

tiat= 'to send, to dispatch; to carry, to transport; to abandon, to leave, to get rid of', cf *tiat^{h}=* L105a, CL178b, *tʏat=* T212a, *teat=* M114b, *tat=* M114b, *tæt=* M114b 'to send; to carry', *tead*[*ine*] Her201 'to send'.

ti^{h}kin 'thorn, thorny bush', cf *t^{h}iken* L127a, CL161a, T216a, *t^{h}ik^{h}en* L127a, *tiken* M118b, *tikken* M119a, *teken* M116a 'id', Her210 'firewood'.

¶ <CT **teken* ~ **tiken* (cf EDPT 483b), cf Khak *tĭɣenek* BI227, Tuva *ten* T410b, Tofa *te^{h}hen* R75b.

tiŋ, superlative particle, cf L107b, CL174b. Equivalent of ***yiŋ***.

¶ ←Ch dĭng.

tiŋïr (~ ***teŋïr***) 'sky, heaven; wheather', cf *teŋïr* L103a, CL157a, *teŋer* L103b 'id', T212b, *teŋïr* T212b, *teŋir* M117a, *teŋri* PotII:436a 'Heaven (as a deity)'.

¶ <CT **teŋeri* (cf EDPT 523b), cf Khak *tiɣĭr* BI224a, Tuva *deer* T196a, Tofa *deeri* R23b. WYu *teõŋ* Man63 might be a rendering of Ch tiān 'sky, heaven'.

tiŋïrwaṣ 'heaven's top', cf *tiŋïr paṣ* L103a 'up in the sky'.

¶ Compound consisting of *tiŋïr* 'sky, heaven' + *paṣ* 'head'.

tiŋna= 'to take the place of'.

¶ ←Ch dĭng.

tiola= 'to haul up, to lift, to hoist', cf L106a 'to hang; to fly', *tʏoła=* T213a 'to fasten', *toła=* M121a 'to add to'.

¶ ←Ch diào 'to lift up or let down with a rope'.

tiolal= 'to get hoisted up', cf L106a, *tołał=* M121a, *töłał=* M123a 'to hang oneself'.

tis= 'to talk together, to discuss', cf L108b, CL91, M119a.

¶ <CT **te:š=* (cf EDPT 559b, ESTJaIII:223), cf Shor *teš=* RIII:1105, Tuva *dìš=* T162a, Tofa *dìš=* R21a.

titaŋ 'able; strong', cf CL172b, *titan* M119a 'strong, forceful', *titaŋ* L107a 'strong (of animals); dexterous'.

° EYu *ti:taŋ* B128.

titïr= 'to make speak, to let say or tell', cf CL90.

¶ <CT **te:tür=* (cf EDPT 459b).

tit^{h}an 'carpet, rug', cf L107b.

¶ ←Ch dìtǎn.

tï^{h}k= (*tï^{h}kki*) 'to sew', cf *tï^{h}k^{h}=* L100b, CL181b, *t^{h}ïk^{h}=* CL8, *t^{h}ïk^{h}=* L122b, *tïk=* T214b, *tïk^{h}=* L100a:Da, *tek=* M116a, *tïq=* M128a, *teg*[*ine*] Her211.

• ***kizkï tï^{h}k=*** 'to sew clothes', cf *kezɣï tï^{h}k^{h}=* L151b, *kezɣï t^{h}ïk^{h}=* L151b; ***xuar tï^{h}k=*** 'to embroider', cf *xuar tïk^{h}=* L100a:Da, calqued from Ch xiùhuā 'to embroider' (xiù 'to embroider', huā 'flower'); ***yiz tï^{h}kpi*** 'tailor'.

¶ <CT **tik=* (cf EDPT 476b, ESTJaIII:227), cf Khak *tĭk=* BI227b, Yak *tik=* Slp383b.

tï^{h}k= 'to erect, to put up, to set up (especially of a cauldron on the trivet)', cf *tï^{h}k^{h}=* L100b, *t^{h}ïk^{h}=* L122b, *t^{h}ïk=* T217a, *tïk=* M128a, *tïχ=* T217a.

¶ <CT **tik=* 'to erect' (cf EDPT 476b, ESTJaIII:226), cf Khak *tĭk=* BI222b, Tuva *tik=* T413a, Yak *tik=* Slp383b.

tïkïr 'scrotum, testicles, ballocks; term of abuse for a person', cf L99b 'scrotum; testicles' *teqïr* M115b, *tekir* M116b 'scrotum'.

• ***sen tïkïr*** 'you prick!'.

¶ ←EYu *tėkėr* BĬ323 'male genitals (including the testicles)', cf Kal *dekü:r* Ram85b 'that what is inserted; penis (e.g. of a dog)', apparently derived from *dekəχə* 'to insert'.

Lacking in the other Mongolic languages and LM.

tïl 'tongue', cf L99a, CL161b, T214b, *teɬ* M116a, *döl* Her194.

¶ <CT **til ~ *tïl* (cf EDPT 489b, ESTJaIII:228), cf Khak *tĭl* BI227b, Tuva *dïl* T192b, Tofa *dïl* R23a, *tïl* R74a, Yak *tïl* Slp419a.

tïl (*tïlɣi*) 'dream', cf L99a, CL161b, *tïɬ* T214b, *teɬ* M116a.

¶ <CT **tü:l* (cf EDPT 490b, ESTJaIII:323), cf Yak *tüül* Slp416b. Elsewhere CT **tü:š* (cf EDPT 559a) prevails, cf Khak *tüs* BI243b, Tuva *düš* T191a, Tofa *düš* R22b.

tïli= (*tïliɣi*) 'to look for, to search for, to seek', cf *tïle=* L99b, CL178b, T214b, *tïɬe=* T215a, *tïɬa=* T215a, *tele=* T212b, M116b, *teɬe=* M116b, *tʰele=* T216a, *teɬa=* M116b, *tiɬa=* T213a.

¶ <CT **tile=* (cf EDPT 492a, ESTJaIII:231), cf Khak *tĭle=* BI227b, Tuva *dile=* T163a, Tofa *dile=* R21a.

tïlïsti= (~ ***tïsti=***) 'to dream', cf *tïlïste=* L99b, CL177a, *tel iste=* M32b 'id', *dols*[*üpter*] Her206 'dream'.

• ***kʰïr tïlïsti=*** 'to have a nightmare'.

¶ Perhaps a metathesis of *teɬ tüse=* M127b, *teɬ tüsi=* M127b, *teɬ tuse=* M126a, from *tïl* 'dream' + CT **tü:še=* 'to dream' (cf EDPT 561b, ESTJaIII:324).

tïmsïɣ 'mouth; lip; beak', cf L99a, CL162a 'id', *tïmsïq* T215a 'beak', *tumsïɣ* L113b:Da 'mouth', *domdsok* Her194 'lip'.

¶ <CT **tumšuk* (cf EDPT 509b), cf Khak *tumzuх* BI239a, Tuva *dumčuk* T183a 'nose, beak, trunk, snout', Tofa *tuŋžuq* R71b, Yak *tumus* Slp401a 'beak; snout'. WYu points to **tumšug*.

tïmsïɣlïɣ 'having a mouth', cf *tïmsïɣɬïɣ* T215a.

tïŋçan 'lamp, light', cf L100b, CL166b, *tïnžan* M128a, *tïnžæn* M128a.

¶ ←Ch dēngzhǎn Mat6169 'the saucer of an old-fashioned Chinese lamp; lamps', or perhaps surviving from an older loan *tïŋčan* (cf EDPT 516b).

tïp (*tïpki*) 'base, underside, the lower end, bottom; root (of a plant); foot (of a mountain); classifier for a heap or pad of dung', cf *tïpʰ* L98b 'id', CL173b, *tïp* T215a, M128b, *tupʰ* L113a, *tüp* M127a 'underside, base, foundation'.

¶ <CT **ti:p ~ *tü:p* 'base' (cf EDPT 434b, ESTJaIII:317), cf Khak *tüp* BI243a, Tuva *düp* T189a, Tofa *düp* R22b.

tïʰq= (*tïʰqqa*) 'to stick, insert or thrust into', cf *tïʰqʰ=* L100b, CL9, *tïχ=* T215a.

¶ <CT **tïk=* (cf EDPT 465a, ESTJaIII:337), cf Khak *tïʁïn=* BI244a (+ RFL).

tïrɣa=, see ***tïrna=*** 'to scratch'.

tïrïɣ 'alive', cf L101b, T215a, *terik* M118a.

¶ <CT **tirig* (cf EDPT 543b, ESTJaIII:240), cf Khak *tĭrĭɣ* BI228a, Tuva *diriɣ* T164a, Tofa *diriɣ* R21a, *tiriɣ* R69b.

tïrïŋ-tïrïŋ 'tap-tap (onomatopoeic for a high knocking sound)'.

tïrlï= (*tïrlïɣi*) 'to live; to be or become alive; to revive', cf L101b 'id, to regain consciousness, to come to, to come round', CL91, *tïrïl=* T215a, *teril=* M118a, *terïl=* M118b 'to revive'.

¶ <CT **tiril=* (cf EDPT 547b, ESTJaIII:242), cf Khak *tĭrĭl=* BI228b, Tuva *diril=* T164b, Tuva of China *dirli=* ZT2238.

tïrlït= 'to revive, to make alive', cf *tïrlïtʰ=* L101b, CL91, *tïrɬet=* M128b.

¶ <CT **tirilt=* (cf EDPT 545b s.v. *tirgür=*); in NE **tirgüz=* prevails.

tïrma 'turnip', cf L101b, *turma* L116b, CL161a, T214b, M125b, *torma* M122b, *dörma* Her212.

¶ <CT **turma* (cf EDPT 549b).

° →EYu *tʰurma* J̌83, *dörma* Her212.

tïrmaq 'nail; claw; finger, toe', cf *tïrmaqʰ* L101b:Da, CL162a *tïrmaq* M128b, *tïrwaq* M128b 'nail', *tïrmak* PotII:436a 'finger'.

¶ Contamination of *tarmaq* 'finger, claw' and *tïrŋaq* 'nail'.

tïrna= (~ *tïrɣa=*) 'to scratch', cf L101b, M128b, *tïrŋa=* L101b.

¶ <CT **tïrma=* ~ **tïrba=* (cf EDPT 550a s.v. *tarma=*, ESTJaIII:345), cf Khak *tïrba=* BI245a, Tuva *dïrba=* T194b, Tofa *dïrba=* R23a, Yak *tarbaa=* Slp376a.

tïrŋaq 'nail', cf *tïrŋaqʰ* L101b, *tïrʁaq* M128b, *trïngak* Man64, *dernag* Her194. See also ***tarmaq***, ***tïrmaq***.

¶ <CT **tïrŋak* 'nail' (cf EDPT 551b, ESTJaIII:348), cf Khak *tïrʁax* BI245b, Tuva *dïrɣak* T195a, Tofa *dïrʁaq* R23a, *tïrʁaq* R74a, Yak *tïŋïrax* Slp421b.

tïs (*tïski*) 'tooth', cf L101a, CL162a, T215a, M128b, *tʰɪs* T216a, *tes* M118b, *tis'* PotII:435a, *tïzz* Man65, *döss* Her194.

¶ <CT **tiːš* (cf EDPT 557b, ESTJaIII:242), cf Khak *tĭs* BI228b, Tuva *diš* T165b, Tofa *diš* R21a, Yak *tiis* Slp383a.

tïs (*tïski*) 'cauldron, cooking pot', cf L101a, CL162a, T215a, *tɪs* T213a, *tı̨s* M128b, *tis* M119a, *tõss* Man62, *döss* Her195, *čis* M143b, *ïʰtïs* L22a:Da, *ïʰtɪs* T220b, *hïtïs* L220b:Da, T181a.

¶ <CT **iddiš* ~ **idiš* 'cup, vessel' (cf EDPT 72a, ESTJaI:328a), cf Khak *ĭdĭs* BI65b, Tuva *idiš* T201b, Tofa *idiš* R24a.

tïsï 'female (of an animal)', cf *tïʰsɪ* L100b, C87:563, *tʰïsɪ* L123a, CL6, *tise* M119a, *tese* M118b.

¶ <CT **tiši* ~ **tïšï* (cf EDPT 560b, ESTJaIII:244), cf Khak *tĭzĭ* BI227b, Tuva *diži* T161b, Yak *tïhï* Slp422b.

tïsti= (*tïstiɣi*) 'to bite; to sting', cf *tïste=* L101a, CL175b, *tʰɪste=* T216a, *tiste=* M119a *tı̨ste=* T213a, T8, *teste=* M118b, *dste*[*pter*] Her205.

¶ <CT **tiːšle=* (cf EDPT 564b, ESTJaIII:244), cf Tuva *dište=* T165b.

tïsti= (*tïstiɣi*), see ***tïlïsti=*** 'to dream'.

tïz 'knee', cf L100b, CL177b, T215a, *tiz* M118b, *tez* M115a, *dess* Her194.

¶ <CT **tiːz* (cf EDPT 570b, ESTJaIII:336), cf Khak dial. *tĭs* BI228b, Khak *tĭzek* BI227a, Tuva *diskek* T165a, Tofa *tiskek* R69b, Yak *tühex* Slp416b.

tïz= (*tïzɣa*) 'to write', cf L101a, CL177b, T215a, M128a 'id', *tez=* M115a 'id; to draw'.

• ***tïzma*** 'writer; pen', cf M128a 'the process of writing'; ***pïʰtïɣ tïz=*** 'to write'.

¶ Perhaps <CT **tiz=* ~ **tïz=* 'to put in a row; to string' (cf EDPT 572a; ESTJaIII:218), cf Khak *tĭs=* BI228b, Tuva *dis=* T162a, Tofa *dis=* R21a, Yak *tis=* Slp385b 'to put in a row'.

tïzwaş 'kneecap', cf L101a, *tez waš* M89a, *tïz paş* L51b.

¶ Compound consisting of *tïz* 'knee' + *paş* 'head', cf Kyzyl *tïspas* ESTJaIII:337.

toɣ= (*toqqa*) 'to be born; to give birth', cf T22, *toʁ=* M119b, *toɣ*[*upte*] Man63, *tuɣ=* L114b, CL179b, T214a, *tuʁ=* M123b, *tʰuɣ=* L133b, *tuq=* M124a 'id', *tuɣ=* L114b:Da 'of animals to give birth'.

¶ <CT **tuɡ=* 'to be born' (cf EDPT 465a, ESTJaIII:245), cf Khak *tuʁ=* BI237b 'to calve'.

toɣïr 'other, another; other than, except for, apart from (+ ABL)', cf L110b, CL171a, T213a, *toʁïr* M119b, *toɣur* L110b, C82:76b, *toʁur* M119b.

toɣïr= 'to cause or let give birth', cf *tuɣïr=* CL180a 'to give birth', L114b, *tuʁur=* M123b, *toʁur=* M119b 'to help giving birth'.

¶ <CT **tuɡur=* (cf EDPT 472a, ESTJaIII:247).

ton 'garment, dress', cf L109a, CL168b 'long gown', T213a, M121b 'long kaftan, gown, dress, fur-coat', *don* Her196 'robe', PotII:436b 'fur-coat', *tun* M125a 'kaftan'.

¶ <CT *to:n (cf EDPT 512b, ESTJaIII:262), cf Khak *ton* BI231b, Tuva *ton* T415b, Tofa *don* R21b.

toŋïs 'pig', cf L109b, T213b, M122a, *toŋuz* L109b, *toŋus*' PotII:437, *towïs* T214a, M119b (mountain dial.) 'pig (only in the calendar of the twelve animal cycle)'.

¶ <CT *toŋuz (cf EDPT 527b, ESTJaIII:267).

toʰqï= 'to stir', cf *tʰoʰqï=* L129a 'to mix thoroughly, to mix well', L111a 'id, to make a mess of, to create disorder', *toχqo=* M120a, *toqï=* M121a 'to mix or stir (with a spoon or chopsticks)'.

¶ Perhaps <CT *tokï= 'to hit, to beat' (cf EDPT 467a, ESTJaIII:253), or ←EYu *tɔɣqė=* B129 'to stir, to mix', cf Bao *toqė=* S394, LM doki= Les257b 'to beckon, to nod, to beat a drum'.

toqïr 'round, circular, spherical', cf L110a, CL171a, T213b, *toqor* T213b, *togör* Her206.

• ***kük toqïr*** 'water melon', cf *kükʰ toqïr* L110a.

¶ Perhaps related to LM duɣuriɣ Les272a, EYu *tʰüɣrek* B122, *tʰökörök* S236.

toqïra= 'to fall (to the front), to topple down', cf CL179b 'to topple down, to collapse', L110a 'id; to beat it, to get lost', M121a 'to fall; to go away', *toqura=* M120b 'to collapse', L110b:Da 'to roll'.

¶ ←EYu *tuqura=* B131 'to roll; to beat it, to get lost', cf LM of Inner Mongolia duɣura= Měng764b 'to take turns'. The meaning 'to beat it, get lost' in both Yugur languages may be calqued from Ch gǔn 'to roll; to beat it'.

toʰqïs 'nine', cf L111a, CL173a, T213b, *toʰqʰïs* CL74, *tʰoʰqïs* L129b:Da, *toqïs* M121a, *toqus* M120b, *toqïş* T213b, *tokuz* PotII:436b, *tuks* Man61, *doχ* Her197.

¶ <CT *tokuz < *tokkuz (cf EDPT 474b, ESTJaIII:255), cf Khak *toʁïs* BI230a, Tuva *tos* T417a, Tofa *toʰhos* R70b, Yak *toʁus* Slp387b.

toʰqïson 'ninety', cf L111a, CL173b, *toqʰson* T213b, *tokson* PotII:437b, *toʰson* T214a, *doχon* Her198.

¶ <CT *tokson < *tokkuz o:n (cf EDPT 473b), cf Khak *toʁïzon* BI229b, Tuva *tozan* T414b, Tofa *toʰhozon* R70b, Yak *toʁus uon* Slp387b.

toʰqïs-yiɣïrmï 'nineteen', *toʰqïseyɣïrmï* L111b, CL173a, *toqïşyiɣïrmo* T213b, *toqsi germe* PotII:437a.

¶ Compound consisting of *toʰqïs* 'nine' + *yiɣïrmï* 'twenty'.

toqqan 'the old home, family home', cf *tuqʰqan* L114a, CL165b 'a married woman's parent's home', *tuqqan* T214b, M124a 'relatives'.

¶ <CT *tuggan (cf ESTJaIII:247), cf Khak *tuʁan* BI237b 'relative'.

toʰqtï 'two-year-old female lamb', cf *toʰqʰtï* L111b, *toχtï* CL159a, *tʰoʰqtï* T216b, *toqtï* M120b, *doχte* Her199 'one-year-old lamb'.

¶ <CT *toklï (cf EDPT 469a), cf Tuva *toɣdu* T313a.

toşililï 'have come reporting the good news'.

¶ The first element ←Ch dàoxǐ 'to congratulate', the second perhaps láile (lái 'to come', le, aspect particle).

toyçï 'wedding guest', cf *toyči* M120a 'id', *toyçı* L111b, CL165b 'person accompanying the marriage procession'.

¶ From *toy* L111b, C165b, T213a, M120a 'feast' <CT *toy (cf EDPT 566b) + agent suffix.

toz= 'to be or become satiated, to eat one's fill', cf L112a, CL16, T214a, M120a, *tuz=* M123b.

• ***iʰçikï toz=*** 'to eat one's fill, to eat one's belly full'.

¶ <CT *tod= (cf EDPT 451a, ESTJaIII:251), cf Khak *tos*= BI233b, Tuva *tot*= T414a, Tofa *tot*= R70b, Yak *tot*= Slp393a.

töʰrçin 'village; clan, tribe', cf *töʰçʰin* L117a, *töʰçin* L117a, C86:2, *tioʰçin* L106b 'clan, family', *tüčin* M128a 'id, department'.

¶ Perhaps related to Mgr *turėçin* S667 'leader, chief'.

törïm 'the year after next', cf L117a, *törem* T214a, *törin* M123a *tiorïm* L107a, CL158b.

töʰrsaq 'upside down; reverse; bad, hostile (of a person)'.

• ***pu kïsï töʰrsaqtï*** 'this person is bad'; ***pʰerïktï töʰrsaqqa mantïr=*** 'to put on one's hat backwards'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *tioʰrsɿ* L106b 'upside down, inverted, reverse', *teʰrsɿ* L104a 'irritable, irascible, impetuous, rash' <CT **ters* ~ **teris* 'false, adverse' (cf EDPT 553a) + *yaq* 'side'.

töʰrsaqta= 'to turn upside down, to reverse'.

tört 'four', cf T213b, M123a, *tʏört* T214a, *tiortʰ* L107a, CL173a, *tʏoɹt* T213b, *dürt* M24b, *türt* M127b, *tʏurt* Man61, *tʼurt* PotII:436b, *düt* Her197.

¶ <CT **tö:rt* (cf EDPT 534a, ESTJaIII:284), cf Khak *tört* BI236a, Tuva *dört* T179a, Tofa *dört* R22a, Yak *tüört* Slp413b.

törtiŋ 'wolf', cf *törteŋ* L117a, C87:564, *törden* M123a, *terteŋ* L104b, C87:564, *terdïŋ* PotII:435a, *terten* CL159b, T212b, M118a, *tertin* T212b, M118a, *terden* M118a, *terdin* M118a, *dirtiŋ* Man64.

° EYu *tarden* Her199.

törtïnçï 'fourth', cf *tiortïnçɿ* L107a, CL76, *törtinçï* T214a, *türtinǯi* M127b, *türtünč* M179.

¶ Cf Khak *törtĭnǯĭ* BI236a.

törtun 'forty', cf *törton* T214a, M123b, *tiorton* L107a, CL173b, *türton* M127b, *türtön* M127b, *dürtön* M24b, *kčon* PotII:437b, *dürdon* Her197.

¶ Compound consisting of *tört* 'four' + *on* 'ten', a formation typical of NE, cf Tuva *dörten* T179a, Tofa *dörten* R22a, *dörtön* R22a, Yak *tüört uon* Slp413b. Elsewhere CT **kürk* (cf EDPT 651a) prevails, cf Khak *xïrïx* BI301b.

tört-yiɣïrmï 'fourteen', cf *tiorçiyɣïrmï* L107a, CL74, *tʏurtšigerma* Man61.

¶ Compound consisting of *tört* 'four' + *yiɣïrmï* 'twenty'.

tös 'chest', cf L117a, CL31, M123b, *tios* L106b, CL162a, *tʏos* T214a, *döss* Her194, *tüs* M127b, *tus* M125b, Man64, *tuz* Man64.

¶ <CT **tö:š* (cf EDPT 558b, ESTJaIII:286), cf Khak *tös* BI236a, Tuva *töš* T420b, Tofa *döš* R22a, Yak *tüös* Slp414a.

-trʊ, older form of the evidential particle *-tï*, occurring in tales and songs only, cf L117b, CL172b, M123b, *dro* M24b, *-tru* M125b, *-tro* M125b, *turu* PotII:437

¶ According to Malov <CT **turur* (cf EDPT 529b).

tuan 'classifier for time, a period of'.

¶ <Ch duàn.

tuanna= 'to hold with both hands, to offer, to present', cf L112b, CL47, T214a 'id', *tuoanna*= M125b 'to treat'.

¶ <Ch duān.

tuaşï, idiolectical for ***çuaşï*** 'very'.

tuey 'couple, pair', cf *tue* L112b, CL67, *düy* M24b.

¶ <Ch duì.

tuki (~ ***tʰuki***) 'heifer', cf *tuke* L113b, CL69 'three or four-year-old cow'.

¶ <CT *tüge 'a half-grown calf' (cf EDPT 478b). WYu points to *tüke.

tuʰki= (*tuʰkiɣi*) 'to come to an end, to finish', cf *tuʰke*= L115b, *tüʰke*= T214a, *tʰuke*= L132b, C82:67a, *tʰuke*= T216b, *tüke*= M127a *tüge*= T212b, *čüke*= M147b, *teʰkeː*= T212b.

¶ <CT *tüke= (cf EDPT 479a).

tukiçer 'small heifer', cf *tukeçer* L114a, CL69, *tukeçir* M124a 'two or three-year-old cow'.

tuʰkit= 'to put an end to, to finish', cf *tʰuketʰ*= L132b 'to eliminate, to wipe out'.

¶ <CT *tüket= (cf EDPT 479b), cf Khak *tüɣet*= BI242a.

tun 'classifier for a beating, a meal', cf L113b, *tuïn* L112b.

¶ ←Ch dùn.

tuŋ 'cave'.

¶ ←Ch dòng.

tuo 'classifier for flowers'.

¶ ←Ch duǒ.

tur 'tomb', cf L116b, CL166a, M125b, *tʰor* T216b, *tʰoɹ* T216b, *tïr* T215a, *tïɹ* T215a 'id, grave mound, graveyard'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT dur Das630a 'tomb, grave', Amdo *dèr-sʰa* MG368 'burial site, graveyard', Xiàhé *tèr-sʰa* HL275b 'graveyard', (LT dur-sa Zhāng1266b).

° →EYu *otor* B16 'grave, tomb' (*ot* 'fire' + *tur*).

tur= (*turɣa*): **miça turɣa, miça tursa** 'shortly, in a little while', cf *tur*= L116b 'to stop, to cease; to dwell', CL180b 'to stop', T214b, M125b 'to be situated'.

¶ <CT *tur= 'to stand, to stop' (cf EDPT 529b, ESTJaIII:296), cf Khak *tur*= BI239b, Tuva *tur*= T424a, Tofa *tur*= R71b, Yak *tur*= Slp405a.

turaq 'soil, earth', cf *turwaqʰ* CL157b, T214b, *torwaq* T213b, M122a, *torwak*' PotII:435b, *dorwak* Her206, *tïrwaqʰ* CL31, T215a, M128b.

¶ <CT *toprak (cf EDPT 443a), cf Khak *tobraх* BI229a, Tuva *dovurak* T166a, Tofa *toʰpraq* R70b, Yak *toburax* Slp387a.

tus= (*tuski*) 'to descend, to go down; to fall', cf L116a, CL177b, M125b, *tuʰs*= L115b, CL177b, T214b, *tʰus*= L133b, T217a, *tʰüs*= T217a, *tüs*= M127b.

• **tusïp par=** 'to go down'; **tusïk kel=** 'to come down'; **qara tus=** 'to become dark, of the evening to fall; of bad luck to occur, of an accident to happen', cf *qara tus*= L116a, M125b 'of the sky to become dark'; **yiŋïr qara tus=** 'to become dark; of the evening to fall'; **iʰçikïşti qara tus=** 'to have a bad stomach; to be sad'; **köŋïlɣi qara tus=** to be or become weary, sorrowful, grieved; **nan tus=** 'of troubles to befall to, to get into trouble, to suffer difficulties', perhaps calqued from Ch nándǎo 'of difficulties to baffle, to daunt, to beat' (nán 'difficult', dǎo 'to fall'); **pozaŋ tus=** 'of the twilight to fall'.

¶ <CT *tüš= (cf EDPT 560a, ESTJaIII:330), cf Khak *tüs*= BI243b, Tuva *düš*= T186b, *düʰš*= Jan38, Tofa *tüʰš*= R73b, Yak *tüs*= Slp415a.

tusqan 'hare', cf T214b, *tʰusqan* CL66, T217a, *tusqʰan* L116a:Da, *tosqan* L112a, *toʰsqan* L111b, CL159b, *tʰosqʰan* L130a, *tʰo̤sqan* T216a, T8, C86:2, *toːsqan* M122b, *tousqan* M122b, *tuskan*' PotII:437, *tusgan* Her202, *towusqan* L111b.

¶ <CT *tabïškan (cf EDPT 447a). In NE, forms related to CT *kodan (cf EDPT 678a s.v. *koyan*) prevail.

tusïr= 'to make or let descend', cf *tuʰsïr*= CL177b, *tusur*= L116a, CL90, M126a, *tüsür*= M127b.

¶ <CT *tüšür= (cf EDPT 566a, ESTJaIII:333), cf Khak *tüzĭr*= BI242b, Tuva *düžür*= T186b, Tofa *tüʰhür*= R73b.

tut= 'to pluck wool', cf *tut^{h}=* L113b.

¶ <CT **tü:t= ~ *tï:t= ~ *ti:t=* (cf EDPT 450b, ESTJaIII:321), cf Khak *tït=* BI246a, Tuva *dït=* T192a, Tofa *tït=* R74b, Yak *tïït=* Slp423b.

tu^{h}t= (*tu^{h}tqa*) 'to hold; to catch, to catch or get hold of, to get; to do', cf *tu^{h}t^{h}=* L115a, CL176a, *t^{h}u^{h}t^{h}=* L133b:Da, *t^{h}ut^{h}=* L131a 'id', *t^{h}ut=* T217a, *tut=* T214b, M126a 'to hold'.

• ***pïşt tu^{h}t=*** 'to catch lice'; ***ïs tu^{h}t=*** 'to do; to work', cf *ïs tu^{h}t^{h}=* L114b, *ïs tut=* T214b, M126a; ***ïs tu^{h}tpa*** (~ ***ïs tu^{h}tma***) 'worker'.

¶ <CT **tut=* (cf EDPT 451a). Khak *tut=* BI241a, Tuva *tut=* T421b, *tu^{h}t=* Jan38, Tožu *tut=* (*du^{h}dar*) Čad48, Tofa *tu^{h}t=* R72b, Yak *tut=* Slp408b.

tu^{h}tit= 'to kindle', cf *t^{h}ute^{h}t^{h}=* L131a, *t^{h}uste^{h}t^{h}=* L134a 'id, to light, to burn; to stew, to simmer', *tu^{h}tet=* T214b, *tutet=* T214b, *tustet=* T214b, *tüstet=* M127b 'to smoke; to burn'.

¶ <CT **tütet=* 'to make smoke' (cf EDPT 452a), cf Khak *tüdet=* BI242a.

tu^{h}tïn 'tobacco', cf *t^{h}utïn* L131a, *t^{h}utun* L131a, *t^{h}ut^{h}un* L131a, CL158a, *t^{h}utum* T217a, *t^{h}ütün* T8, *tutun* M126b, *tütün* T217a, M126b, *tuχtïn ~ t^{h}utïn* Man65 'id', *t^{h}ut^{h}un* L131:Da 'id; mist and clouds'.

¶ <CT **tütün* 'smoke' (cf EDPT 457b), cf Khak *tüdün* BI242a.

tu^{h}tïrki 'rat', cf *t^{h}ut^{h}uke* L131a, *t^{h}iot^{h}uku* L126b 'jerboa'.

tu^{h}tïrqan 'rice', cf *t^{h}ut^{h}urq^{h}an* L131b, CL161a, *t^{h}ut^{h}urqan* L131b, *t^{h}ut^{h}uq^{h}an* L131b, *tuturqan* M126b, *tutïrqan* M126b, *tuturχan* PotII:401, *turgan* Her195.

¶ <CT **tuturkan* (cf EDPT 460b). Hermann's form is probably ←EYu *hturqan* B61, *ht^{h}urʁan* J̌14 'rice plant', *turχan* PotII:401, *turgan* Her195 'rice', cf LM tuturɣa(n) Les847a.

tu^{h}tqïş 'potholder; chopsticks', cf *t^{h}ut^{h}qïş* L131b 'potholder'.

¶ <CT **tutkuč* 'potholder; handle' (cf EDPT 453a, read *tutguč*), cf Khak *tutχïs* BI241, Tuva *tutkuuš* T426b, Tofa *tu^{h}tquš* R73a.

tuyïɣ 'hoof', cf L116a, CL160b, Man65, *tuyuʁ* M124a, *tïyïʁ* M124, *tuyaʁ* M124a, *t'uyak* PotII:435b.

¶ <CT **tuñug ~ *tuñag* (cf EDPT 519a), cf Khak *tuyʁaχ* BI239a, Tuva *duyuɣ* T185a, Tofa *tuyuʁ* R71b.

tuz 'salt', cf L116a, CL170b, T214b, M123b, PotII:436b, Man64, *düss* Her196.

¶ <CT **tu:z* (cf EDPT 571a, ESTJaIII:288), cf Khak *tus* BI240b, Tuva *dus* T184b, Tofa *tus* R72a, Yak *tuus* Slp410a.

tü^{h}k= 'to pour', cf *tö^{h}k^{h}=* L117a, CL181a, *tö^{h}k=* T13, *tio^{h}k^{h}=* L106b, *t^{h}iok^{h}=* L126b, *tök=* M123a 'id; to topple down'.

¶ <CT **tök=* (cf EDPT 477a, ESTJaIII:273), cf Khak *tök=* BI235a, Tuva *tök=* T417b, *tö^{h}k=* Jan38, Tofa *tö^{h}k=* R71a, Yak *toχ=* Slp393a.

tüy= 'to stick into, to put into', cf L115b, CL178a, T214b, M126b, *tue=* L112b, T214a, *tüyü=* M126b, *tü=* M126b.

t^{h}a 'he, she it'. Equivalent of ***o***, ***kv***.

¶ ←Ch tā.

t^{h}a= 'to guess', cf L117a, CL179b, *ta:=* M109a.

¶ ←EYu *t^{h}a:=* B113, J̌104b, S619, cf LM taɣa= Les763a.

t^{h}aɣ (*t^{h}aqqa*) 'mountain', cf L119b, CL157b, M215a, *taɣ* T211a, *taʁ* M109b, *taχ* Her200, *tag* PotII:435a.

• ***ya^{h}qa t^{h}aɣ*** 'southern mountain'.

¶ <CT **ta:g* (cf EDPT 463a, ESTJaIII:117), cf Khak *taʁ* BI212a, Tuva *daɣ* T140b, Tofa *daʁ* R20a, Yak *tïa* Slp417b.

tʰaɣar*: *tʰaɣar yü 'tent', cf *tʰaɣar* L120a, CL169b 'coarse, brown cloth; bag (used as a measure word)', *taʁar* M109a 'bag', *taṛar* Her210 'carpet'.

¶ <CT **tagar* 'container, sack' (cf EDPT 471b, ESTJaIII:120), cf Khak *taar* BI211a 'cloak', Tuva *taar* T401b 'bag'.

tʰaɣwaṣ 'mountain top', cf *tʰaɣ paṣ* L119b, *tʰaɣ paṣɻ* L51b, *taʁ waši* M88b (+ POS3)

¶ Compound consisting of *tʰaɣ* 'mountain' + *paṣ* 'head'.

tʰala 'steppe, plain', cf L119a, CL157b, *tʰała* T215a, *tała* T211a, M110b.

• ***pezïk tʰala*** 'Gobi'.

¶ ←EYu *tʰala* B115, J̌104a, S622 'steppe, plain', S371 'open country, countryside', cf LM tala Les771a.

tʰala= 'to prepare food'.

tʰamaʰkï 'tobacco', cf L118a, CL170a, *tamaqï* M110a, *tamak* PotII:436b.

¶ ←EYu *tʰamaʰkė* J̌104b, *tʰamėkʰė* B115, *tʰamakʰė* S623, *tamakkó* Man65, *tamaqï* M454, *tamake* TT49 'tobacco', *tamaq* PotII:401 'Nicotiana rustica', cf LM tamaki(n) Les774a.

tʰamtïr= 'to light a fire; to set fire to, to burn', cf L118a, CL178b, *tamtïr=* M111a, *tamdïr=* M111a, *tʰamtur=* L118b, *tamdr*[*aine*] Her210.

• ***ot tʰamtïr=*** 'to light a fire'.

¶ <CT **tamdur=* (cf EDPT 504a).

tʰanzï 'carpet, rug; blanket', cf *tænzï* M212a 'blanket'.

¶ ←Ch tǎnzi.

tʰaŋna= 'to heat up, to burn', cf L119a, *tʰanna=* L118b 'to heat up in warm water'.

• ***menï tʰaŋnap partï*** 'I'm burning' (lit. it is burning me).

¶ ←Ch tàng 'to scald, to burn; to heat up in warm water; to be very hot'.

tʰaŋqaraq 'sworn brother', cf *tʰaŋqaraqʰ* L119b 'id; sworn', *taŋɣïraq* M112a 'sworn brother; ceremony of becoming sworn brothers'.

¶ ←EYu *tʰaŋqaraq* B114 'sworn brothers, sisters', cf LM tangɣariɣ Les776b 'oath'.

tʰaŋṣa 'idea, plan, way out, solution, advice', cf L119b 'idea, plan, means, method, decision', T215b, *taŋša* M112a, *tanša* M111b 'sound advice; ability to learn, reason', *taŋxa* Her208 'will', *tʰaŋṣa=* T215b 'to think'.

° EYu *tʰaŋša* J̌50 'plan, idea', B114 'id, way, means', *taŋxa* Her208 'will'.

tʰaqan 'parched flour', cf L119b, CL169b, C82:69, T215b, *taqan* M110a, *tʰalqʰan* L119a, *tʰalqan* L119a, CL169b, T119a, *tʰałqan* T215a, *tałqan* M110b 'id; fried noodles', *talŋan* Her195 'barley flour'.

• ***yaɣ tʰaqan*** 'cookie', cf *yaɣ tʰalqʰan* L119 'oily parched flour, oily chow mein'.

¶ <CT **talkan* 'crushed parched grain' (cf EDPT 496b), cf Khak *talʁan* BI215a, Tuva *daʰlɣan* Čad14, Tofa *taʰlhan* R69b.

tʰar 'narrow', cf L121b, CL171a, T215b, *tar* M112a.

¶ <CT **ta:r* (cf EDPT 528a, ESTJaIII:146), cf Khak *tar* BI218a, Tuva *tar* T407b, Tofa *tar* R69a, Yak *taar* Pek2564.

tʰara= 'to spread, to leave, to go apart (of a crowd or guests)', cf L121b, CL16, T215b, *tara=* M112b.

¶ ←EYu *tara:=* S624 'to disperse, to dismiss', cf LM taraɣa= Les779b.

tʰarta=, see ***tʰayta=*** 'to throw (away)'.

tʰatïr= 'to make somebody guess, to ask a riddle'.

tʰay= 'to slip', cf L120b, *tay=* M109b, *tey=* M115a.

¶ <CT **ta:y=* (cf EDPT 567a), cf Tuva *tay=* T409a, Tofa *tay=* R68a.

tʰayla= (~ ***tʰila=***) 'to lift, to carry', cf L121a, *tʰela=* L123b, *tʰeyla=* L125a 'id', *tila=*

M119a 'to lift', *teyɬa=* M115b, *teyle=* M115b 'id; of two persons to carry on the shoulder', *tila*[*ne*] Her210 'to draw water'.

• ***su tʰila=*** 'to fetch water', cf *su tʰayla=* L121a, *su teyɬa=* M115.

¶ ←Chinese, perhaps a contamination of tái 'to lift, to raise; (of two or more persons) to carry' and tí 'to carry, to lift, to draw water'.

° Also loanword in EYu *gsön dila*[*ne*] Her210 (*gsön* 'water').

tʰayta= (~ ***tʰarta=***) 'to throw (away); to abandon; to dispose (of)', cf L120b, CL176b, *tʰæyta=* T215b, *tæyta=* T212b, *tʰazta=* L121a:Da, *tʰarta=* L121b, CL176b 'to throw (away)', *tarta=* M113a 'to take away'.

tʰawaq 'robber; scoundrel', cf *tʰawaqʰ* CL163b 'robber', L121a 'id; enemy, foe'.

° EYu *χara tʰaßaq* B47 'id' (*χara* 'black').

tʰazmaq 'riddle', cf T215b, *tʰazmaqʰ* L121b, CL168a, *tazmaq* M109.

¶ <CT **tapuzmak* (cf EDPT 448b).

° →EYu *tʰa:smaq* B114, *tʰa:cėmaq* J̌88.

tʰearïn, see ***tʰörïn*** 'midnight; at midnight'.

tʰeɣ= 'to gallop', cf L124b 'id', CL178b, *teɣ=* M114b, *tʰeɣ*[*et*]= T215b 'to spur on'.

• ***aʰttï mïŋki tʰeɣ=*** 'to gallop mounted on horseback', cf *aʰtʰtï mïnkeş tʰeɣ=* L124b, *attï minɣeš teɣ*[*ina*] M114b.

tʰeɣermin (~ ***tʰermin***) 'mill; millstone', cf *tʰeɣermen* L124b, CL20, *teɣermen* M114b 'id', *ternmen* Her195, *tagörmen* Her212 'mill'.

¶ <CT **tegirmen* (cf EDPT 486b, ESTJaIII:176).

tʰeɣïl= (~ ***tʰeŋïl=***) 'to be or become blind', cf *teɣïl=* T212a, *teɣïɬ=* M114b, *teɣeɬ=* M114b, *teʁïɬ=* M114b, *tʰeŋïl=* L124a, *tʏeŋïɬ=* T212b, *teŋïɬ=* M117b.

¶ <CT **tegil=* (cf EDPT 481a).

tʰeke 'male goat', cf L124a, CL159a, *tʰekʰe* L124a:Da, *teke* M116a, teke Her199.

¶ <CT **teke* (cf EDPT 477b), cf Tuva *deɣe* T151b, Tofa *teʰhe* R75b, or in view of the inital aspirated consonant ←EYu *tʰeke* B117, S684, *tʰekʰe* B117, cf LM teke Les797a.

tʰelïk, see ***tʰelk*** 'hole'.

tʰel= 'to make a hole, to pierce a hole', cf L123b, CL181a, T216a, *tel*[*uster*] Her208 'id', *tele=* M116b 'to gnaw (of mice)'.

¶ <CT **tel=* (cf EDPT 490b).

tʰelïn= 'to have or get holes, to be or become pierced', cf *tʰelïn=* L123b, CL115, *teɬïn=* M116b.

¶ <CT **telin=* (cf EDPT 501a).

tʰelk (~ ***tʰelïk***) 'hole; cave', cf *tʰelkʰ* L124a, CL18, *tʰelükʰ* L123b, CL157b, *tʰelük* T216a, *tʰeɬïq* T216a, *teɬïk* M116b, *teɬïq* T216a, *tʰïɬïq* T217a 'id', *telak* Her206 'ditch'.

• ***qarq tʰelk*** 'nostril', cf *qaŋïrïqʰtïŋ tʰelükʰ* L184b; ***qoŋqïr tʰelk*** 'anus'; ***su tʰelk*** 'well, spring', cf *su tʰelükʰ* L331b, *su telük* M105b.

¶ <CT **telük* (cf EDPT 498, ESTJaIII:186).

tʰelk, see ***tʰeŋïlïk*** 'deaf; blind'.

tʰemeke 'forehead, brow', cf L123b, *tʰemükʰ* L123b.

¶ Perhaps a contamination of NE **yemnek* ~ **yömnek*, CT **emgek* ~ **ömgek* 'fontanel, sinciput' (cf EDPT 159b, ESTJaI:351, Räs42b) and a form near Khak *tiɣey* BI224a 'mountain top, crown of the head', Tuva *teɣ* T410a 'id', Tofa *teʰhek* R75b 'fontanel'.

tʰenaɣ 'grease, fat', cf *tʰienaɣ* L126a, CL10, *tʰianaɣ* L126a, *tʰoynaɣ* L129b, *töynax* M123a 'id', *tönax yaʁ* M123a 'kidney fat'.

¶ Compound consisting of *yaɣ* 'fat' + an unknown first element.

tʰeŋï 'deaf', cf L124a, CL162b, T216a, *teŋï* M117b.

¶ Related to *töŋü* 'deaf' (cf EDPT 515b, read *toŋu*), recorded by Kashgari.

° →EYu *tʰeːŋė* B116 'a deaf person'.

tʰeŋïl=, see ***tʰeɣïl=*** 'to be blind'.

tʰeŋïlïk (~ ***tʰelk***) 'deaf; blind', cf *tʰeŋïlïkʰ* L124a, CL162b, *tʰeɣïlïkʰ* L124b, *teɣïlïk* M115a, *tegölök* Her211 'blind'.

• ***tʰeŋïlïk köz*** (~ ***tʰelk köz***) 'blind'; ***tʰeŋïlïk qʰulaq*** 'deaf'.

¶ Contamination of CT **teglük* 'blind' (cf EDPT 480b), and *tʰeŋï* 'deaf'.

tʰer (~ ***tʰerï***) (*tʰeryi*) 'skin; leather', cf L125b, CL141, T216a, *ter* M117b, Man64, *tʰerï* L125b, CL162a, *tere* M118a, *teri* M118a, *teræ* M118a, *tarɣe* Her211.

¶ <CT **teri* (cf EDPT 531a, ESTJaIII:207), cf Khak *teer* BI222b, Sagay *tirĭ* BI226a, Tofa *tere* R71:234, Yak *tirii* Slp385a.

tʰer (~ ***tʰerï***) 'sweat', cf L125b, CL162b, *tair*[*edör*] Her210.

¶ <CT **ter* (cf EDPT 528b, ESTJaIII:203), cf Khak *tir* BI226a, Tuva *der* T158b, Tofa *teri* R219b.

tʰer= 'to gather, to pick up', cf L125b, CL176b, T216a, *ter=* M117b.

¶ <CT **teːr=* (cf EDPT 529a, ESTJaIII:204), cf Khak *teer=* BI222b.

tʰeryin 'car; cart', cf *tʰeryen* L126a, CL168a 'cart', *teryen* M118a 'id; wheel'.

• ***yil tʰeryin*** 'car', cf *yel tʰeryen* L259a, *yelteryen* T183b, calqued from Ch qìchē 'car' (qì 'gas, air', chē 'car, cart').

¶ ←EYu *tʰeryen* B118, J̌104b, S634, *tergén* Man68, *tergen* TT49 'cart, carriage', cf LM terge(n) Les805a.

tʰerï, see ***tʰer*** 'skin'.

tʰerï, see ***tʰer*** 'sweat'.

tʰerïn, see ***tʰörïn*** 'midnight; at midnight'.

tʰermin, see ***tʰeɣermin*** 'mill'.

tʰetʰe: ***tʰetʰe vka*** 'paternal grandfather', ***tʰetʰe anika*** 'paternal grandmother', cf *tʰaytʰay oka* L120b, *tʰetʰey oka* L123b 'great-grandfather', *tʰaytʰay anika* L120b, *tʰetʰe anika* L123b, *tʰetʰey anika* L123b, *tʰetʰe* CL165a 'great-grandmother', *tetey* M118b, *tete* M118b, *tetey* M118b 'paternal grandmother'.

¶ ←NwM *tai*$^{213}_{13}$*tai* CZW103 'paternal great-grandfather', cf Ch tài.

tʰoumu 'head of a village', cf *tʰïumu* L122a, *tʰumï* T226, *tumo* M124b 'an official'.

¶ ←Ch tóumù 'chieftain'.

° Also loanword in EYu *tʰuːmu* B116.

tʰiɛn 'day'. Equivalent of ***kʰun***.

• ***ti ər tʰiɛn*** 'the next day' (lit. the second day), equivalent of ***sosïkïn***.

¶ ←Ch tiān.

tʰiɛnʂʰuaŋ 'skylight', cf *tʰienʂuŋ* CL166a, *tʰyenʂʰuaŋ* T216a, *tænčuan* M114b.

¶ ←Ch tiānchuāng.

tʰila=, cf ***tʰayla=*** 'to lift, to carry'.

tʰio 'classifier for fish', cf L126a.

¶ ←Ch tiáo.

tʰioʂɛn 'condition', cf L126b.

¶ ←Ch tiáojiàn.

tʰoɣ 'blunt', cf L129a 'bald; short; without horns; blunt, dull', CL162b, *toʁ* M24b, *toq* T213b, M120a 'short; bald'.

¶ <CT **tok* 'bald; hornless' (cf EDPT 464b). WYu points to **tog*.

tʰoɣïn 'yesterday', cf L129a, CL158b, T216a, *tʰoɣun* L129a, *tʰuɣïn* L133b, *tuʁïn* M123b, *tuɣïn* M123b.

¶ Compound consisting of *kʰun* 'day' + an unclear first element, perhaps CT **tü:n* 'night', as in **tü:ne kün* (cf ESTJaIII:316).

tʰoɣwaş 'bald', cf CL35, *toʁwaš* M119b, *tʰoɣ paş* L129a, CL35.

¶ Compound consisting of *tʰoɣ* 'blunt' + *paş* 'head'.

tʰol= 'to be or become full', cf L128a, CL177b, *tʰoł=* T216a, *toł=* T213a, *tuł=* M124b, *töl*[*bdro*] Her202.

¶ <CT **to:l=* (cf EDPT 491a, ESTJaIII:257), cf Khak *tol=* BI230b, Tuva *dol=* T169a, Tofa *dol=* R21a, Yak *tuol=* Slp402a.

tʰolï 'full', cf L128b, CL171b, *tʰołï* T216b, *tołu* M121a, *toło* M121a, *tułu* M124b.

¶ <CT **to:lu* (cf EDPT 491b, ESTJaIII:258), cf Tuva *dolu* T170a, Tofa *dolu* R21b, Yak *tolu* Pek2719.

tʰop-tʰolï 'very full'. See ***tʰolï*** 'full'.

tʰorla= 'to be or become hungry, to suffer from hunger', cf L130b, C82:70b, *torła=* T213b, M122b.

• ***iʰçikï tʰorla=*** to be hungry'.

¶ Probably related to *tʰor* L130a 'hunger, famine, starvation', and possibly to *tʰor=* L130a 'to suffer, to meet with difficulties' <CT **tu:r=* 'to be emaciated' (cf EDPT 530b), cf Yak *tuor=* Pek2824, and *aas-tuor* Pek2824.

tʰoşan 'gruff, mean, disagreeable, annoying, naughty, mischievous; terrible', cf L129b 'id; terrible'.

tʰot 'cold', cf *tʰotʰ* L128a, CL172a, *tot* M122b, *tot*[*er*] Her203.

tʰottïɣ 'freezing', cf *tʰotʰtïɣ* L128a.

tʰoz= 'to meet', cf CL16, T216b, *toz=* T214a, M120a, *tuz=* M123b 'id', *tʰoz=* L130b 'id, to greet; to hold a baby while it is relieving itself; to make up to, to fawn on'.

¶ Perhaps ←Mongolic, cf EYu *tʰɔs=* B120 'to meet', but replacement of *-s* by *-z* in WYu is peculiar. The meaning 'to hold a baby while it is relieving itself' occurs in Mongolic, cf LM tos= Les828a, but is not attested in EYu.

tʰozɣïr= 'to fill', cf L129b, *tʰozqïr=* L129b.

¶ < **tozgur=* <CT **toškur=* (cf EDPT 562b).

tʰörïn (~ ***tʰerïn***, ***tʰearïm***) 'midnight; at midnight', cf *tʰio'arïm* L126b, *tʰearïm* CL10, *tearïm* M114b, *tearïn* M114b, *tærïm* M114b.

• ***tʰörïnta***, ***tʰearïnta*** 'at midnight', cf *tʰio'arïmta* L126b.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of *tʰüni* 'night' + *yarïm* L255b 'half', cf *tʰune yarïm* L131b, *tʰun yarïm* L131b.

tʰuk: ***tʰuk pol=*** (speech of older speakers) 'to meet with, to run into (+ DAT)', cf *tʰuqʰ pol=* L133a 'to meet (unexpectedly), come across, to run into', *tʰuqʰ poł=* T196b, *tuq poł=* M124b 'to meet'. See also ***tʰuktis=*** 'to meet'.

¶ Compound consisting of *tʰuq* T217a, *tuq* M124a 'instance, chance' ←Arïk *tʰuk=* TB1769, cf Xiàhé *tʰėχ=* TB1769, Amdo *tʰuk=* MG443, *tʰėk=* MG207 'to meet, to come across', LT thug= Jä232a 'to meet' + *pol=*.

° Also loanword in EYu *tʰukla=* B122, S191 'to meet, come across, run into'.

tʰuki, see ***tuki*** 'heifer'.

tʰuktis= (*tʰuktiski*) (speech of younger speakers) 'to meet with, to run into (+ DAT)', cf *tʰuqʰtes=* L133b, *tuqtes=* M124b, *toqʰtas=* L110b:Da. See also ***tʰuk***.

tʰul= (*tʰulɣi*) 'to cook, to boil, to braise, to stew (meat)', cf L132a, CL177b, *tʰuł=*

T216b, *tʰoɬ=* T216a, *tuɬ=* M124b, *toɬ=* M121a, *tol*[*lüne*] Her211.

¶ <NE **tül=* 'to cook or boil meat', further only attested in Tuva *dül=* T188b 'to cook or boil meat', Tofa *dül=* R22b 'to put meat in the cauldron', Alt *tül=* BT161b 'to cook meat', RIII:1567 'to put in the cauldron in order to cook'. Cf perhaps also Khak *azïx-tülük* BI243a 'food supplies'.

tʰulïm 'bag', cf *tʰulum* L132a, *tʰolum* L128b:Da 'leather bag', *tułum* M124b 'leather bag for preparing and storing milk products', *tolöm* Her196 'butter tub, churn'.

¶ <CT **tulum* 'bag' (cf EDPT 500a s.v. *tulum* 'weapons') or, in view of the semantics ←EYu *tʰulum* S651 'skin sack', cf LM tulum Les841b.

tʰulkï 'fox', cf L132a, CL159b, *tulkï* T216b, *tułkï* M124b, *tułku* M124b, *tułko* M124b, *tül'kü* PotII:435b, *tölkö* M123a, *tołqï* T213a, *tołko* M121a, *tołɣo* M121a, *toqï* T2133b, *tulkö* Her199.

¶ < **tülkü* <CT **tilkü* (cf EDPT 498b), cf Khak *tülɣü* BI242b, Tuva *dilɣi* T162b, Tofa *dilɣi* R21a.

tʰuni 'night; at night', cf L132a, *tʰune* L131b, CL158b, T216b, *tʰuïne* CL10, *t'unno* PotII:437, *tüne* M127a, *tune* M125a.

• ***kiçi tʰuni*** 'yesterday evening, last night', cf *keçe tʰunï* L150b 'id', *keče tüne* M67b 'at night'.

¶ <CT **tü:ne* 'at night' (cf ESTJaIII:316) < **tü:n* 'night' (cf EDPT 513a, ESTJaIII:315), cf Khak *tün* BI243a 'night', Tuva *dün* T188b 'night', *düni* T188b 'at night', Tofa *tün* R73a 'night', *tünne* R73a 'id; at night', Yak *tüün* Slp417a 'night; at night'.

tʰunna= 'to move back, to retreat', cf *tʰunna=* L132a, *tunna=* M125.

tʰurti 'next year', cf *tʰurte* L134a, CL158b, *tuɹti* T214b, *törte* M123a.

tʰuti= (*tʰutiɣi*) 'to spit', cf L131a, *tʰute=* L131a, CL175b.

tʰutuqus 'peacock', cf L131a, *tʰutʰuqus* L131a, CL160a.

¶ Cf Nog *totïgus* Bas359b, Kum *totuquš* Bam320b, *toturquš* Bam320b 'peacock', Tat *tutïy koš* Gol559a 'parrot', Chuv *turtkăś* Šir444a 'peacock'.

tʰukʰaŋ 'adobe kang'.

¶ ←Ch tǔkàng.

tʰuŋna= 'to poke'.

¶ ←Ch tōng 'to open up by poking'.

tʰuŋ 'bucket', cf L132b, CL167a. See ***tʰuŋzï*** 'bucket'.

• ***su tʰuŋ*** 'bucket for water', cf *su tʰuŋ* L132b, L331b, calqued from Ch shuǐtǒng (shuǐ 'water', tǒng 'bucket').

¶ ←Ch tǒng.

tʰuŋpazï 'two-year-old lamb'.

¶ The second element NwM $ua^{21}cɿ^{21}$ Liú191 'suffix to denote the young of an animal', (with assimilation of *u* > *w* > *p* following a nasal), the first element unknown.

tʰuŋsï 'at the same time'.

¶ ←Ch tóngshí, for the second element cf NwM $sɿ^{51}$ CZW305a.

tʰuŋzï 'bucket', cf *tʰuŋzɿ* L133a. See ***tʰuŋ*** 'bucket'.

¶ ←Ch tǒng.

uʰçun 'thirty', cf *huçun* CL37, *huçun* L223a, *huçon* L223a, CL173b, *uʰčon* T217b, *učon* M132b, *üʰčon* T218b, *üçon* T218b, *üčon* M133b, *üčön* M133b, *d'on* Her197.

¶ Crasis of a compound consisting of *uş* 'three' + *on* 'ten', a formation typical of NE, cf Tuva *üžen* T444b, Tofa *üžen* R81a.

uçin (~ ***uzin***) 'together with, and; with, using', cf T218b, *uçun* L43b, *oçïn* L37a, *oçin* L35a, CL175a, T194b, *wuçin* L313b, CL133, *wučin* M22b, *wuǯin* M21b, *woǯin* M21b, *weçin* L312b:Da, *wečin* M21b 'id, over, via'. Synonym of ***puçin***.

¶ <CT **üčün* (cf EDPT 28b, ESTJaI:642), cf Khak *üčün* BI257b, Tuva *užun* T435b, Yak *isin* Pek967.

uɣ=, see ***uɣï=*** 'to grind'.

uɣï= (~ ***uɣ=***) (*uɣïɣi*) 'to grind, to crush', cf L42a, CL178a, T9, *uʁ=* M128a.

¶ <CT **ügi=* ~ **ögi=* (cf EDPT 101b, ESTJaI:618), cf Sagay *üü=* RI:1798, Tuva *öɣe=* T331b.

uʰk= (*uʰkki*) 'to be or become frightened, startled', cf *uʰrkʰ=* L43b, C86:10, *öʰrkʰ=* L46a:Da, *oʰkʰ=* T30. Synonym of ***soçï=***.

¶ <CT **hürk=* (cf EDPT 221a, ESTJaI:635), cf Khak *ürük=* BI256b, Yak *ürt=* Pek3175.

uʰk= (*uʰkki*) 'to fly', cf *uʰkʰ=* L43a, *öʰk=* T13, *örχk=* M84a, *ürk=* M133a 'id; to go upwards; to die', *uruq=* M131a 'to go upwards; to swell'.

¶ Perhaps a denominal verb from CT **ö:r* 'height' (cf EDPT 193a, ESTJaI:542) + **-(ü)k*.

uʰkït= 'to frighten', cf *uʰrkutʰ=* L43b 'to frighten'.

¶ <CT **ürkït=* (cf EDPT 226b s.v. *ürkït=*, Erdal 1991: 792).

ula= 'to unite, to join, to string', cf L41a, *uła=* T217b.

¶ <CT **ula=* (cf EDPT 126b, ESTJaI:587), cf Sagay, Koybal *ula=* BI248b, Tuva *ula=* T438a, Tofa *ula=* R76b.

ulaɣ 'beast of burden', cf L41a 'id', *ułaɣ* T217b, *ułaʁ* M129b, *ołaɣ* M81b 'id; horse and cart'.

¶ <CT **ulag* (cf EDPT 136a, ESTJaI:588), Sagay *ulaʁ* BI248 'cart', Tuva *ulaɣ* T438a 'relay (horse)', Tofa *ulaʁ* R76b 'cart'.

ulɣaq, see ***olɣaq*** 'kid goat'.

uli= (*uliɣi*) 'to share, to divide, to alot, to separate', cf *ule=* L41b, CL178b, *öwle=* L46a:Da 'to share, to divide', *lü*[*ne*] Her203 'to divide'.

¶ <CT **üle=* (cf EDPT 127b, ESTJaI:627), cf Khak *üle=* BI255a, Tuva *üle=* T447b, Tofa *üle=* R79b, Yak *üller=* Slp451b.

ulis= 'to share, to divide among each other', cf L41b, M129b, *ules=* L41b, CL178b, *wulis=* L313a, *ülis=* M132b, *ülüs=* M132b, *öwles=* L46a:Da 'to share'.

¶ <CT **üleš=* (cf EDPT 154a, ESTJaI:627), cf Khak *üles=* BI255a, Tuva *üleš=* T447a.

ulï (~ ***ulu***) 'dragon; thunder', cf L41a, *ułï* T217b, *ulu* L41b, CL157a 'id', *ułu* M129b, *ołu* M82a, *łu* M73b 'thunder (personified as a dragon)', *ulu* PotII:437 [dragon in the calendar of the twelve animal cycle], *olö* Her40:85 [dragon].

¶ Either a development of LT klu Jä8b 'serpent-dragon', Xiàhé *hlė* HL5a 'dragon, dragon deity', Reb-koň *lȯ* Roe149 'dragon' (cf RT157, RT62:33), or CT **lu:* (cf EDPT 763a ←Ch lóng 'dragon', ESTJaI:591), cognate to LM luu Les517b.

° EYu *ùlė* B21, *ulė* S473, *ułu* Kot447 'dragon', *ùlė:* S100 'thunder'; EYu *uɣlu* (or *uklu*) B19 'the Dragon King' is certainly ←Tibetan.

ulu, see ***ulï*** 'dragon, thunder'.

un (~ ***on***) 'voice', cf L39a, C82:70a, M129b, *on* T193b, M82a, *ʷǐn* T28 'voice'.

¶ <CT **ü:n* (cf EDPT 167a, ESTJaI:625), cf Khak *ün* BI255b, Tuva *ün* T447b, Tofa *ün* R79b.

-un, see ***on*** 'ten'.

un= (*unki*) 'to come or go out; to appear; to climb, to ascend', cf L39b, CL176b,

T217b, M129b, *ụn=* T218b, *ün=* T218b, M132b, *vn=* T218b, *ʷün=* T28, *on=* M82a 'to come out; to appear; to rise', *un=* M130a 'to cross (a river)', *n*[*odšaxter*] Her208 'to climb'.

• ***unïk kel=*** 'to come out, up'; ***unïp par=*** 'to go out, up'; ***kʰun un=*** 'of the sun to rise', cf L39b; ***sïk un=*** 'of a woman to marry', cf *sïkʰ un=* L39b, CL41, *sɪkun=* L327a; ***tïs un=*** 'of teeth to come out'; ***taʰrtqïṣqa un=*** 'to weigh', perhaps calqued from Ch sháng 'to go up; to weigh'; ; ***yüraqqa un=*** 'to rise up, to rise higher'.

¶ <CT **ü:n=* 'to rise, etc' (cf EDPT 169a, ESTJaI:530), cf Tuva *ün=* T449a, Tofa *ün=* R79b, Yak *üün=* Slp459b.

unkïn 'female camel', cf *unken* L41a, CL159b 'id', *aq ünɣen* M132b 'camel'.

¶ <CT **ingen* (cf EDPT 184a, ESTJaI:360), cf Tuva *eŋɣin* T615a 'female camel', Tofa *iŋɣen* R24b, 'full grown domesticated or wild doe or goat'. The WYu rounded vowel is irregular.

unkïn-ʐïq 'ugly'.

¶ Compound consisting of *un=* 'to go out' + PP + *ʐïq* 'bad'.

untïn 'the east', cf *untun* L40b, CL158a 'id', CL133 'frontside', M130a, *un'dun* PotII:435a, *ündün* M133a, *öndün* T194b, *öndön* T194b, *endün* Her204 'east, front'.

¶ <CT **öŋdün* 'in the east, in front' (cf EDPT 178a, ESTJaI:534).

untïqqʰa= 'to forget', cf *untupʰ qʰal=* L40b, *unduqqaɬ=* M130a, *ndoka*[*pdro*] Her208.

¶ Compound consisting of *qʰal=* 'to fall' + a first element *untu=* L40b, *unït=* T218a, *unut=* M130b, *untʰ=* CL179b, *ut=* T218a, *ot=* T194a, M83b, *öt=* T194b, *ʍutʰ=* L313a <CT **unït=* (cf EDPT 179b, ESTJaI:597), cf Khak *undu=* BI249b, Khak dial. *umdu=* BI249b, Tuva *ut=* (*uttur* < **untur* < **unutur*) T441b, Tofa *ut=* (*uttur*) R78a, Yak *umun=* Slp435a.

untïr= (~ ***untur=***) (*untïrɣi*) 'to bring or take or get out; to let go out; to cause to appear; to raise; to show; to take off (clothes), to undress', cf L40a, *undïr=* M130a, *vntur=* T218b, *untur=* CL176b, T218a, M130a, *ondïr=* M82a, *üntür=* M133a, *ündür=* M133a, *öndür=* M84a 'id', *untur=* L40b 'id; to sprain', *ndr*[*üne*] Her208 'to draw out'.

• ***oʰrsaŋ untïr=*** 'to take out an incense burner for praying', cf *oʰrsaŋ untur=* L40b 'to burn incense', *orsaŋ ündür=* M133a 'to fulfil a prayer'; ***tʰaŋṣa untïr=*** 'to get an idea, to have a plan', cf *tʰaŋṣa untïr=* L119b; ***kizkï untïr=*** 'to undress'.

¶ <CT **üntür=* (cf EDPT 181a, ESTJaI:532), cf Tuva *ündür=* T448b, Tofa *ündür=* R79b.

untïʰrkïn 'four days from now', cf L40a, *untuʰrkïn* L40b, *tureʰkïn* L116b:Da 'id', *undurxkon* M130a, *ündürxon* M133a, *ündürxün* M133a 'on the fifth day'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of an older *öŋdüri* 'forward, etc' (cf ESTJaI:534) + *kʰun* 'day'.

untur=, see ***untïr=*** 'to bring out'.

usïla= 'to be or become unhappy, worried', cf *ʍusɪla=* L313b 'id, to be fidgety, agitated'.

usïlan= 'to be or become unhappy, bored'.

uṣ (~ ***uʰṣ***) (*uṣki*) 'three', cf L43b, CL173a, *uš* M132b, Man61, Her197, *üṣ* T218b, *üš* M133b, *üš'* PotII:436b, *ʍuṣ* L313b, CL74, *vuṣ* T218b, *ʍïṣ* T219a, *ṣu* L308a, *oṣ* L37a:Da, and the oblique forms *üʰč* T218b, *üč* M133b.

¶ <CT **üč* (cf EDPT 18b, ESTJaI:641), cf Khak *üs* BI256b, Tuva *üš* T454b, Tofa *üš* R81a, Yak *üs* Slp458a.

uʰṣ, see ***uṣ*** 'three'.

uʰtïr (*uʰtïrɣa*) 'front, frontside; opposite side', cf *uʰltïr* L42b, *uʰltur* L42b, CL158a, *uʰltʰur* L42a, *uʰttʰur* T218a, *huɬʰtïr* T181a, *lʰutur* T190b, *ɬʰutur* T191a, *ɬʰutïr* T191a, *oʰtur* T12, *oɬtur* M82a, *otur* M83b, *utor* M131b, *utur* M132a.

• ***köz uʰtïrta*** 'before one's eyes', calqued from Ch yǎnqián (yǎn 'eye', qián 'front').

¶ <CT *utru ~ *uturu 'opposite' (cf EDPT 64a, ESTJaI:610), cf Khak udur BI247a, Tuva udur T434a, Tofa uʰturu R78b, Yak utarï Slp446a 'in front of, opposite'. WYu *l* may have been inserted by analogy with aʰltïr 'under, underside'.

uʰtïraqqa 'ahead', cf uʰlturaqʰ L42b, hutʰraqʰ L223a:Da, sutraqʰ L333a:Da 'id (used to denote the seat of honour)'.

¶ Perhaps a crasis of uʰtïr 'front' + yaq 'side' + DAT. For a similar formation, see **iʰçiraqqa** 'inwards'.

uz= (uzki) 'to tear, to rip', cf L44a, CL176a, M129a, üz= M132a, üzü= M132a, yuz= M43b.

• **şartɒ uz=** 'to tear to shreds'.

¶ <CT *üz= (cf EDPT 279b, ESTJaI:621), cf Khak üs= BI256b, Tuva üs= T445b, Tofa üs= R80b.

uzaq 'far, distant, far away, a long way', cf T218a, M129a, uzaqʰ CL70, L44b, T218a, ucaqʰ T217b, uzuaq T218a, ozaqʰ L37b, CL171a, ozaq M81a 'far'.

¶ <CT *uzak (cf EDPT 283a, ESTJaI:571), cf Khak uzax BI247b, Tuva uzak T436b.

uzaq-yaʰqïn 'far and near'.

¶ Hendiadys consisting of uzaq 'far' + yaʰqïn 'near', perhaps calqued from Ch yuǎnjìn (yuǎn 'far', jìn 'near').

uzɣan= (~ **ozɣan=**) 'to wake up', cf CL177a, uzʁan= M129a, ozɣan= T194b, ozʁan= M81a, uzuɣan= L45a, uzuʁan= M129a.

¶ <CT *odgan= ~ *udgan= (cf EDPT 62a, ESTJaI:430), cf Khak usxun= BI251b, usqan= RI:1747, Yak uhuɣun= Slp444b. Elsewhere in NE, forms related to CT *odun= (cf EDPT 62a, ESTJaI:430) occur, cf Tuva odun= T329a, Tofa odun= R51a. Forms with intial *u- occur in several Turkic languages.

uzɣar= 'to cause to wake up, to wake up somebody'.

¶ <CT *odgar= ~ *odgur= (cf EDPT 48a, ESTJaI:431), cf Khak usxur= BI251b, Sagay, Koybal, Kacha usqar= RI:1747, Tofa otqur= R53b. Forms with intial *u- occur in several Turkic languages.

uzin, idiolectical for **uçin** 'with'.

uzï (uzïɣi) 'self', cf L44a, uzu L44a, CL174a, T218a, M129a, uze M129a uzi L44a, M129a, usu M131b.

¶ POS3 of uz L44a, T218a, üz M132a <CT *ö:z 'self; interior part of an organism, pith, marrow' (cf EDPT 278a, ESTJaI:506), cf Tuva ös T340b 'aorta', Tofa ös R56b 'id; centre, middle', Yak üös Slp455b 'centre, middle; marrow, pith'.

uzï= (uzïɣa) 'to sleep, to be asleep, to go to sleep, to fall asleep', cf uzu= L44b, CL177a, M129a, uzʷu̯= T218a, T15, ucu= T217b 'to sleep', ozï= T194b 'to take a nap'.

¶ <CT *udï= (cf EDPT 42b, ESTJaI:579), cf Khak uzu= BI247b, Tuva udu= T434b, Tofa udu= R76a, Yak utïy= Slp446b.

uzïk 'lie; lying, false', cf uzuk T218a, uzukʰ L45a, uzuqʰ C82:66b, uzuq M129a.

¶ Perhaps related to Old Uygur eziik (or esiik) (cf EDPT 285a), further attested in NUyg ösek Wéi752b 'rumour, gossip, slander', Kzk ösek Shnitt294b 'gossip, scandal, slander, calumny', Kir ösök Jud600b, özök Jud588a 'slander, reproach', Karaim of the Krim ösek Bas444b 'gossip'.

uzïkçï 'liar', cf uzukʰçl L45a, CL42.

¶ Perhaps related to Old Uygur eziikči (or esiikči) (cf EDPT 286a).

uzïn (~ **uzun**) 'long', cf L44b, CL31, uzun L45a, CL171a, M129a, uzu̯n T9, uzʷun T15, uzin M129a, uze:n M129a, usun M131b.

¶ <CT *uzun (cf EDPT 288b, ESTJaI:571), cf Khak uzun BI248a, Tuva uzun T436b, Tofa uzun R76b, Yak uhun Slp445b.

uzïnat= 'to make longer'.

uzïrïq 'fist', cf uzurïq^{h} L45a, uzuruq^{h} L45b, CL162a, uzruq M129a, yüzuruq^{h} L281a 'id', yudruk Her194 'hand'.

¶ <CT *yuduruk ~ *yumduruk (cf EDPT 892b s.v. yudruk, ESTJaIV:248), cf Khak munzurux BI110b, Tuva čuduruk T546a, Tofa ňuduruq R49a, Yak suturuk Slp346a.

uzït 'devil; soul, spirit', cf uzït^{h} L44b, uzut^{h} L44b 'devil; person having a bag of tricks', uzut M129a, üzüt M132a 'spirit of a deceased; evil spirit', osöt Her211 'devil'.

¶ <CT *özüt 'soul' (cf EDPT 281b), cf Khak üzüt BI254b. WYu and Khak both point to *üzüt.

uzki 'else, otherwise, if not', cf üzɣe M132a 'other (seldom used)'.

¶ <CT *özge 'other' (cf EDPT 285b, ESTJaI:508a), cf Sagay öske RI:1294 'strange, alien', Shor öskɛ RI:1294, Tuva öske T340b 'other', Tofa ö^{h}ske R57a 'other; except; besides'.

uzkit= (uzkitki) 'to lie, to tell lies', cf uzuk^{h} et^{h}= L45a, uzuq et= M129a.

¶ Crasis of uzïk 'lie' + et= 'to do'.

uzun, see **uzïn** 'long'.

uƶ (uƶ-) 'point, tip', cf L44a, CL33, and the oblique forms uƶ T217b, uč M132a.

• **uƶï** 'its end', cf uƶl L44a, uƶu L43b, uǯu M132a, užu M129a 'its end'; **o^{h}qtïŋ uƶ** 'arrow'; **tïmsïɣnïŋ uƶï** 'lip'.

¶ <CT *u:č (cf EDPT 17b, ESTJaI:611), cf Khak us BI251a, Tuva uš T442a, Tofa uš R78b, Yak uhuk Slp444b. Western Yugur final -ƶ < *-č is irregular.

uƶtïɣ 'sharp (of a knife); pointed', cf L44a, CL171a 'pointed'.

¶ <CT *u:člug (cf EDPT 26a), cf Khak ustïʁ BI251b.

uƶyaɣ 'grease, fat', cf yuƶyaɣ L275b:Da 'cooked cow's fat', ƶuyaɣ L311b 'heated edible oil'.

¶ Compound consisting of yaɣ 'fat' as a second element + either uƶ L44a, T218b, C82:67b, už M129a, uʒ M129b (mountain dial.), uz M129a 'bovine (in the calendar of the twelve animal cycle only)' <CT *ud 'bovine' (cf EDPT 34a, ESTJaI:572), or CT *üz 'fat (especially the fat which rises when food is boiled)' (cf EDPT 278b), cf Khak üs BI256b '(melted) fat', Tuva üs T452a 'grease, oil', Tofa üs R80b '(liquid) fat, vegetable oil', typical of NE.

° →EYu užaq B19 'lard'.

vka, see **awaka** 'old man'.

ü^{h}çinçï 'third', cf ü^{h}čunçï T218b, üčünǯü M133b, üčünčö M133b, süçünçl L245b, CL76, u^{h}çïnçl L43a, učunču M132b, huçunçl L223b, CL160b, huçïnçl L223a, C86:6, fuçïnçl L90b, şuçïnçl L309b, şuçunçl L309b, şuç^{h}unçl L310a, şuşuïnçl T210a, çüçünçl T221b.

¶ Cf Khak üčïnǯï BI257b.

ü^{h}çüsï 'the three of them, three together', cf hüçüsï L223b, C82:72b, hüçü^{h}sï L223b, CL77, hüçüsï CL37, süçü^{h}sï L245b, CL78, süçüsï L245b, CL77, süçü^{h}sı T208a.

¶ From uş 'three' + a double POS3; unlikely to be a crasis of uş e^{h}sï L223b. For a similar formation, see **ïşkïsï** 'the two of them'.

ü^{h}çüz 'three hundred', cf hüçüz L223b, C86:6, süçüz L245b, T26, şuçüz L309b, üč yüz M133b, d'üss Her198.

¶ Crasis of uş 'three' + yüz 'hundred'.

üʰker, idiolectical for ***nüʰker*** 'friend'.

üʰkpi 'lung', cf *öʰkʰpe* L46a, CL162b, *öxkpe* M84a, *öxpe* M84b, *oxkpe* M81b, *öʰpʰke* L46a, *öʰpö* T11, *öpʰe* T22, *eʰkʰpe* L27b, CL30, *eʰpö* T22, *eʰpe* T22, *yürkpe* M46a, *ŋüpö* Her195.

¶ <CT **öpke* (cf EDPT 9a, ESTJaI:540), cf Khak *ökpe* BI134b, Tuva *ökpe* T334b, Tofa *öʰkpe* R56b.

üsï (~ ***yüsï***) (speech of younger speakers) 'its upside'. See ***üzi***.

• ***üsïŋki*** 'on, upon it', cf *yüsünɣe* M45b, *yüzüsünɣe* M132a; ***üsïnti*** 'on, above it'.

¶ Contraction of *üzi* 'upside' + POS3, cf *yüzeʰsï* L281a.

üzi 'upside', cf M132a, *üze* L48b, M132a, *üzü* M132a, *yüze* L281a, CL158a, M46a, *eze* L29b, T179a, M25a, *ezey* T8, *yüz* M45b. See ***üsï*** 'its upside'.

¶ <CT **ü:ze* 'above' (cf EDPT 280b, ESTJaI:622), cf Yak *üüse* Pek3185, *üöse* Pek3156.

wala= 'to gouge out (one's eyes)'.

¶ ←Ch wā 'to excavate, to scoop up'.

-waş 'head', occurs only as a second element in compounds. See ***paş*** 'head'.

wa, see ***pa***, question particle.

wanna= 'to walk past', cf L311a. Equivalent of ***qïzïɣla=***.

¶ ←Ch wán 'to go round curves; to turn a corner'.

wanwanzï 'curved, crooked'.

¶ ←NwM *van⁴⁴van⁴⁴cɿ* CZW44b, cf Ch wān 'curved'.

wey, see ***oy*** 'quick'.

wey, an exclamation, cf L312b.

weyla=: ***kʰaŋnï weyla=*** 'to heat the kang', cf *kʰaŋnï wela=* L312a, *qaŋ wiła=* M67:119 'id', M21b 'of the kang to be warm'.

¶ ←Ch wēi 'to stew'.

weywu'ər 'Uygur', cf *wewur* L312b, CL164b.

¶ ←Ch wéiwúěr.

wu 'dance'.

¶ ←Ch wǔ.

xapazï 'chin, lower jaw', cf M135a, *xapazɿ* L177a.

¶ ←NwM *xa⁴⁴pa²¹cɿ²¹* Liú115b, cf Ch xiàba.

xau 'good'. Equivalent of ***yaʰş***, synonym of ***xo***.

¶ ←Ch hǎo.

xayla= 'to harm, to do harm to; to kill, to murder', cf L178b 'id', *xeyła=* M136a, *xïyła=* M138b 'to scheme something bad'.

¶ ←Ch hài.

xeysüŋ '(black) bear'.

¶ ←Ch hēixióng; for the second element, cf NwM *süŋ⁵¹* CZW388b.

xï 'river'. Equivalent of ***qol***.

¶ ←Ch hè.

xo 'good'. Equivalent of ***yaʰş***, synonym of ***xau***.

¶ ←NwM *xɔ⁵¹* ZW129.

xor 'occurrence, time', cf *qʰur* L217a, C87:566, *xur* L183b, M138b 'id', *bar hor* Her198 'once' (*bar* for *pïr* 'one').

¶ <CT **kur* (cf EDPT 642a)

° →EYu *negehor* Her198 'once' (*neɣe* 'one').

xoraŋqat 'a Yugur surname (Chinese equivalent: Hè)', cf *xoraŋqat^{h}* L180a, *xoraŋɣat^{h}* L180a, *xoraŋʁat* M1367, *xaraŋɣat* T62:64, *oraŋɣat* M82b, *xurungut* PotI:441 'a Yugur clan name'.

xosï 'all, every, all of it, all of them, everything; altogether', cf L179a, CL85, *xosɪ* T219b, *χosɪ* T219b 'id', *gosi*[*ne*] Her200 'together'.

¶ POS3 of *xo* L179b, CL174b, M219b ←Mongolic, cf Kh *xuu* Han694b 'all, completely', Kal *χō* Ram191b 'all, whole'.

xoyin 'echo'.

¶ ←Ch huíyīn.

xuar 'flower', cf L181b, CL160b, *χuar* T219b, *xua* M138a, *huar* Her212, *q^{h}uar* L215a.

¶ ←Ch huār.

° Also loanword in EYu *huar* Her212.

xuay 'bad, evil'. Equivalent of ***ẓïq***.

¶ ←Ch huài.

xuayyüntï 'pregnant'.

¶←Ch huáiyùnde.

xuey 'meeting', cf *xue* L181b. Equivalent of ***lom***.

¶ ←Ch huì.

xuey 'time, instance'. Equivalent of ***xor***, ***qa^{h}t***.

¶ ←Ch huí.

xueyta 'answer'.

¶ ←Ch huídá.

xuli 'fox'. Equivalent of ***t^{h}ulkï***.

¶ ←Ch húli.

xuolaŋzï 'street vendor', cf *xulaŋzï* L182b, *xulaŋzɪ* L182b. Equivalent of ***ö^{h}rçü satpa***.

¶ ←Ch huòlángzi.

xuşuopato 'talk nonsense; sheer nonsense'.

¶ ←Ch húshuō-bādào.

ya 'all right', cf L246a, CL175a, M33a.

yaɣ 'oil, grease; butter', cf L250b, CL170a, T181b, *yaʁ* M34a, *yaX* Her195.

¶ <CT **ya:g* (cf EDPT 895a, ESTJaIV:58), cf Khak *čaʁ* BI305a, Tuva *čaɣ* T506a, Tofa *čaʁ* R82a, Yak *sïa* Slp354a.

yaɣ= (*yaqqa*) 'to rain; of the sun to set', cf L251a, *yaʁ=* M34a 'id', *yaɣ=* CL178b, T181b 'to rain'.

• ***k^{h}un yaɣ=*** 'of the sun to set', cf L251a, *kün yaʁ=* M34a; ***teŋïr yaɣ=*** 'to rain', cf L251a, *teŋir yaʁ=* M34a, *teŋri yaŋ*[*qïturu*] PotI:437, *teñer yaṛ*[*adru*] Her208; ***yaɣmïr yaɣ=*** 'to rain', cf L251a, CL150, T181b, *yaʁmïr yaʁ=* M34a.

¶ <CT **yag=* 'of rain or snow to pour down', **yagmur yag=* 'to rain' (cf EDPT 896a, ESTJaIV:57), cf Khak *čaʁ=* BI305a, Tuva *čaɣ=* T504a, Tofa *čaʁ=* R82a.

yaɣan 'elephant', cf L251a, CL159b, T181b, *yaʁan* M34a, *yaŋan* L249a, T181b, M36b.

¶ <CT **yagan* (cf EDPT 904a, ESTJaIV:60).

yaɣï 'war, combat; enemy', cf L251a 'id; quarrel', CL121 'enemy', T181b, *yaʁï* M34a 'war, hostility'.

¶ <CT **yagï* 'enemy; hostile' (cf EDPT 898a, ESTJaIV:55), cf Khak *čaa* BI304a, Tuva *čaa* T503a, Tofa *čaa* R81a 'war'.

yaɣmïr 'rain', cf L251b, CL157a, T181b, *yaʁmïr* M34a, *yaxmör* Her208.

¶ <CT **yagmur* (cf EDPT 903b, ESTJaIV:57), cf Khak *naŋmïr* BI114b, Khak dial. *naʁbïr* BI113a, Yak *samïïr* Slp313b.

yakʰïr 'Yugur men's proper name', cf *yaʁker* M66b.

¶ Crasis of *yaɣ* 'butter' + *kʰïr* 'dirty'. Similar names are ***sukʰïr*** (*su* 'water'), and *sutʰ kʰïr* CL142, *sut ker* M106b (*sutʰ* 'milk').

yalɣa= 'to lick', cf L248b, *yałʁa=* M35b, *yaɣla=* L251b, CL175b, *yaʁła=* M34a.

¶ <CT **yalga=* (cf EDPT 926b, ESTJaIV:87), cf Khak *čalʁa=* BI309a, Tuva *čïlɣa=* T555b, Tofa *čïlʁa=* R93a, Yak *salaa=* Slp310b.

yalïŋ 'naked, bare', cf L248a, *yałïŋ* T182a, M36a, *yaŋ* L249a, M36b 'id; poor'.

¶ <CT **yalïŋ ~ *yalaŋ* (cf EDPT 929b, ESTJaIV:104), cf Khak *čalaŋ* BI308b 'on horseback (of an unsaddled horse)'.

yalwar= 'to beg, to request, to beseech (+ DAT)', cf L248b, *yałwar=* T182a, M35b, *yalwar*[*ya*] Her208.

¶ <CT **yalbar=* (cf EDPT 920b, ESTJaIV:92), cf Tuva *čalwar=* T513b.

° →EYu *yalwar*[*ya*] Her208.

yam 'all right?', cf L246b, CL138.

¶ From *ya* 'all right' + question particle *-m*.

yama= 'to patch, to mend, to repair clothes', cf L246b, CL178a, T182a, M36a, *yama*[*xline*] Her202.

¶ <CT **yama=* (cf EDPT 934b, ESTJaIV:108), cf Khak *nama=* BI113b, Tuva *čama=* T515a, Tofa *ňama=* R49b, Yak *samaa=* Slp313a.

yan 'side; near; hip', cf M36a 'id', CL158a, T182a 'side; near', L247b, *yen* L258b 'side, flank; hip part; the meat on the hip bone'.

¶ <CT **ya:n* (cf EDPT 940a, ESTJaIV:113), cf Khak *nan* BI114 'side; upper part of the hip', Sagay *čan* BI310a 'side', Tuva *čan* T515b 'near', Tofa *ňan* R50a 'pelvis; near'.

yan=: ***köŋül yan=*** 'to be or become bored, distressed, disgusted; to vomit' (*köŋül* 'heart'), cf *kioŋül yan=* L152a 'to be bellowing with rage', *küŋeł yan=* M36b (s.v. *yaŋ=*) 'to be angry'. See also ***yantïr=*** 'to vomit'.

¶ Cf *yan=* 'to vomit' (cf EDPT 942a), recorded by Kashgari. Apparently a special semantic development of *yan=* L247b, CL178a, T182a, M36a 'to turn back, to return' <CT **yan=* (cf EDPT 941b, ESTJaIV:111), cf Khak *nan=* BI114a, Tuva *čan=* T516a, Tofa *ňan=* R50a.

yantïr= 'to vomit', cf L247b 'id; to return, to make turn back', CL178b 'to return'. See also ***köŋül yan=*** 'to be bored; to vomit'.

¶ <CT **yantur=* 'to return; to send back one's food, to vomit' (cf EDPT 948a), cf Khak *nandïr=* BI114a 'to return; to repulse', Tuva *čandïr=* T516a, Tofa *ňandïr=* R50a 'to send back, to return'.

yaŋaq (~ ***yaq***) 'jaw; cheek', cf *yaŋaqʰ* L249a, *yiŋaqʰ* L266b 'lower jaw', *yiŋnaqʰ* L267a:Da 'flesh of the lower jaw', *yiŋaq* M41a, *yïnaq* M47b 'cheek', *ǯiʁaq* M29a 'lower part of the cheek', *iŋek* M32a (seldom used), *yiŋag* Her194 'jaw'.

¶ <CT **yaŋak* 'cheek bone' (cf EDPT 948b, ESTJaIV:123), cf Khak *naax* BI112b, Tuva *čaak* T503b, Tofa *ňaaq* R49b, Yak *sïŋaax* Slp360a. Malov's form *iŋek* is probably <CT **eŋek* 'lower jaw, chin' (cf EDPT 183b).

yaŋï 'new', cf L249a, CL172a, T182b, M37a, *yaŋa* L249a:Da, M36b.

¶ <CT **yaŋï* (cf EDPT 943b, ESTJaIV:124), cf Khak *naa* BI112a, dial. *naʁï* BI113a, Tuva *čaa* T503a, Tofa *ňaa* R49b, Yak *saŋa* Slp315a.

yaŋqïɕa 'alone, only, by oneself', cf *yaŋqʰïɕa* L249b, *yaŋkïɕa* T182a, *yaŋʁïča* M37a, *yaŋqʰïsɕa* L249b, CL175a.

¶ Contraction of *yaŋqïs* 'alone' + ADV *-ɕa*.

yaŋqïs 'alone, single', cf L249b, *yaŋqʰïs* L249b, CL47, *yaŋʁïs* M36b.

¶ <CT **yalŋus* 'alone, only, solitary' (cf EDPT 930b, ESTJaIV:97), cf Khak *čalʁïs* BI309a, dial. *čaʁïs* BI305b, Kyzyl *naʁïs* BI113a, Tuva *čaŋɣïs* T516b, Tofa *ňuŋ(ʁ)us* R49a, *ňũ:s* R71:210.

yaŋ-yaŋ 'all kinds of, all sorts of', cf L249b, M36b.

¶ ←Ch yáng-yáng.

yaŋzï 'form, shape', cf *yaŋzɿ* L250a, *yaŋcɿ* T182a, *yaŋza* M37a, *yanza* M36b.

¶ ←Ch yàngzi.

° Also loanword in EYu *yaŋcɿ* B155.

yapa 'mute', cf L246a.

¶ ←Ch yǎba.

yaq, see ***yaŋaq*** 'jaw'.

yaq 'side', cf T182b, M35b, *yaqʰ* L250b, CL41, *ǯaq* M28a.

• ***oŋ yaq*** 'right side', cf L33b; ***sol yaq*** 'left side', cf L328a.

¶ <CT **ya:k* (cf ESTJaIV:82).

yaʰq 'no', cf *yaqʰ* L250b, CL172b, *yaq* M35a.

¶ Cf NUyg *yaq* Nad775c 'no'.

yaʰqa 'above, upper; southern', cf L252a 'id; the upper part; deity; gift, present', CL22 'upper part; deity', T182b 'south (far away)', T182b 'name of a mountain range in the south; name of a shamanist prayer', *yaχqa* M38a, *yaqa* M38a 'id; above, front'.

¶ Perhaps related to CT **yaka* 'edge, border; collar' (cf EDPT 898a, ESTJaIV:82), cf Khak *čaʁa* BI305a 'trousers' belt; edge, border; collar', Tuva *čaɣa* T506a 'lapel; collar', Tofa *čaʰha* R85a 'collar', Yak *saʁa* Slp309a 'collar; border'. For the semantics, cf EYu *čaqa* B142 'waist of trousers; classifier for garments; south', LM ǰaqa Les1041 'brim, border, collar'. The meaning 'south(ern)' seems to be typical of WYu and EYu.

yaʰqal=, see ***yeqqal=*** 'to shake'.

yaqïn= 'to cover with a blanket', cf L250b 'id; to drape over one's shoulder, to wrap around', M35b 'to cover'.

yaʰqïn 'near, nearby, close; friend', cf L252b 'id', CL171a, T182b, *yaqïn* M35a 'near'.

¶ <CT **yakïn* (cf EDPT 904a, ESTJaIV:84), cf Khak *čaʁïn* BI305b.

yaqïnɕïq 'blanket, quilt', cf *yaqïnǯiq* M35b, *yaqïnɕïqʰ* CL169b 'id', L250b 'id; luggage'.

yar= 'to smash, to split, to break, to cleave', cf L255a, CL177a, M37a.

¶ <CT **ya:r=* (cf EDPT 954b, ESTJaIV:135), cf Khak *čar=* BI311a, Tuva *čar=* T518a, Tofa *čar=* R83b.

yara= 'to suit, to be suitable for, to be or become pleasant to (+ DAT)', cf L255a 'to fit, to suit; to take a fancy to', CL179a 'to like', M37a 'to fit, to suit'.

• ***közïŋki yara=*** 'to be or become pleasant in one's eyes, to like'.

¶ <CT **yara=* 'to be successful, convenient, suitable' (cf EDPT 956a, ESTJaIV:137), cf Khak *čara=* BI311a.

yarat= 'to love', cf M37a 'id', *yaratʰ=* L255b 'id; to cause to fit'.

¶ <CT **yarat=* 'to make or find suitable, convenient' (cf EDPT 959b, ESTJaIV:139), cf Khak *čarat=* BI311b 'to find suitable'.

yarɣïɕï 'chief, official', cf *yarɣïɕɿ* L256b, CL165a, *yarïɣɕɿ* L256a 'official (manager

of the tribal chieftains)', *yarʁïčï* M37a, *yarʁuči* M37a, *yarχɕɿ* T183a 'senior, head (of administration)'.

¶ <CT **yargu* 'legal decision, judgement' (cf EDPT 963b) + agent suffix *-ɕï*.

yarma 'two-year-old calf', cf L256a, M37b 'id', PotII:436b 'calf', Her198 'one-year-old calf'. See also ***yarmaka*** 'two-year-old calf'.

¶ ←Tibetan, cf LT yar-ma Das1131a 'a barren yak-cow; also a crossbred cow', Xiàhé *yar-ma* HL509a 'a two-year-old cow that can be milked after calving'.

° Also loanword in EYu *yarma* Her198 'one-year-old calf'.

yarmaka 'two-year-old calf', cf L256a. See also ***yarma*** 'two-year-old calf'.

¶ From ***yarma*** 'two-year-old calf' + perhaps the affective suffix *-ka*.

° →EYu *yarka* B153, S154 'two-year-old bovine'.

yas (~ ***yaʰs***) 'year of age', cf L253b, CL158a, M37b, *yaʰs* L252b.

• ***yaʰs-kīʰçiɣ*** 'young', cf *yas kʰïçʰiɣ* L254b, *yas kičiɣ* M37b, perhaps calqued from Ch niánqīng (nián 'year', qīng 'small, tender').

¶ <CT **ya:š* 'year of age' (cf EDPT 975b, ESTJaIV:161), cf Khak *čas* BI313a, Yak *saas* Slp306a.

yas (~ ***yaʰs***) 'tear', cf L253b, CL158a, M37b, *yaʰs* L252b 'tear; young, tender', T183a, *yas* T183a 'young'.

• ***köztīŋ yaʰs*** 'tear'.

¶ <CT **ya:š* 'tear, moist; young, tender;' (cf EDPT 975b, ESTJaIV:161), cf Khak *čas* BI313a 'tear, moist; young', Tuva *čaš* T522b 'tear; young', Tofa *češ* R87a 'fresh, young'.

yaʰs= (~ ***aʰs=***) 'to hide (oneself)', cf CL178b, T183a, *yas=* M37b, *yaʰʂ=* T183a 'id', *yaʰs=* L253a, *yas=* L254a 'id; to lay in ambush'.

¶ <CT **yaš=* (cf EDPT 976a, ESTJaIV:160), cf Yak *sas=* Slp318a.

yaʰsa= 'to be or become a certain year of age', cf L253a, T183a, *yasa=* L254a, CL180a, T183a, M37b.

¶ <CT **ya:ša=* (cf EDPT 976b, ESTJaIV:163), cf Khak *čaza=* BI306a.

yaʰsïl 'green', cf L253a, CL171b, *yaxsïɬ* M30a, *yasïɬ* M38a, *yasïl* L254a, PotII435b, *yasöl*[*der*] Her203.

¶ <CT **ya:šïl* (cf EDPT 978a, ESTJaIV:164), cf Beltir *čazïl* BI306b.

yaʰsïr= 'to hide somebody or something', cf L253a, CL178b, *yasör*[*öbter*] Her204.

¶ <CT **yašur=* (cf EDPT 979b, ESTJaIV:161), cf Khak *čazïr=* BI307a, Tuva *čažïr=* T509a, Tofa *čaʰhir=* R85a.

yaʰʂ 'good', cf T183a, *yaxʂ* L250a, CL172a, *yaxš*[*dro*] Her200, *yaxʂɿ* L250a, CL172a, *yaχʂɿ* T183b, *yaxʂï̱* T183b, T9, *yaxšï* M38a, *yaʰʂɿ* T183b, *yaʰʂi* T182a, *yakši* PotII:436b.

• ***yaʰʂ mʊ!*** 'hello, hi! how are you?', cf *yakšima* Man62.

¶ <CT **yaxšï* (cf EDPT 908a, ESTJaIV:63), cf Khak *čaxsï* BI314a.

yaʰt= 'to lie, to lie down', cf T183a, *yaʰtʰ=* L251b, *yaxt=* M38a, *yat=* M38a.

¶ <CT **yat=* (cf EDPT 884a, ESTJaIV:156), cf Khak *čat=* BI313b, Tuva *čït=* T553b, *čïʰt=* Jan38, Tofa *čïʰt=* R94b, Yak *sït=* Slp363a.

yata= 'cannot, to be unable to, to be incapable of (+ CSIM); cannot stand, bear, or endure (+ COO)', cf L247a 'id', C179a, T183a, M38a 'cannot, to be unable to'.

¶ ←EYu *yïta=* B155, S731, *ïta=* Ǐ47, cf LM yada= Les422a.

yataɣ 'rope, cord', cf L247a, *yotaɣ* L270a, *yotaʁ* M42b, *yowataɣ* L272a, CL20, *yowataʁ* M41b, *yuwataɣ* L275b, *yuwataʁ*[*dïr*] M43a, *yüataqʰ* L277a:Da 'a thin cord (used for divination)'.

¶ The second element perhaps related to LT thag-pa Jä227b 'rope', the first

unknown.

yatal, see ***yotal*** 'work, matter, thing, affair'.

yati= 'to agree', cf L247a, *ya ti=* L246a, C92:41.

¶ Compound consisting of *ya* 'all right' + *ti=* 'to say'.

yay (~ ***e***) (*yayɣa*) 'summer', cf M34b, *yai*[*wobdro*] Her203, *ey* L29a, T178b, *yey* L261a, CL158b, T183b, *yæy* T183b, M38b. See also ***enta*** 'in summer'.

¶ <CT **yay* 'spring' (cf EDPT 980a, ESTJaIV:74), cf Khak *čay* BI307b, Tuva *čay* T510b, Tofa *čay* R83a, Yak *say* Slp309b 'summer'.

yaz 'spring', cf L254b, CL158b, T183b, M34a, *yas*[*bobdro*] Her203.

¶ <CT **ya:z* 'summer; spring' (cf EDPT 982b, ESTJaIV:71), cf Khak *čas* BI313b, Tuva *čas* T521a, Tofa *čas* R84b, Yak *saas* Slp306a 'spring'.

yaz= 'to spread, to spread out (e.g. a blanket)', cf L254b, CL176a, T183b, M34b.

• ***yazmaq yaz=*** 'to make pancakes', cf M34b, *yazmaq*^{h} *yaz=* L254b, L255a, perhaps calqued from Chinese tān jiānbing (tān 'to spread out; to fry batter in a thin layer', jiānbing 'thin pancake made of millet flour, etc').

¶ <CT **yad=* 'to spread out (on the ground)' (cf EDPT 883b, ESTJaIV:76), cf Khak *čas=* BI313b, Tuva *čat=* T508a, Tofa *čat=* R84b 'to spread (out)'. In view of the meaning probably not <CT **yaz=* 'to take apart, to untie, to unfold' (cf EDPT 983b, ESTJaIV:69), cf Khak *čas=* BI313b 'to unroll, to unwind, to loosen', Tuva *čas=* T510a, Tofa *čas=* R84b 'to unpack, to unroll, to open, to take apart, etc'.

yazï 'a plain', cf L254b, CL157b, *yazɪ* T183b, *yaz* T183b.

¶ <CT **yazï* (cf EDPT 984b, ESTJaIV:73), cf Khak *čazï* BI306b, Tofa *čazï* R83a, Yak *sïhïï* Slp363a.

yazïra= 'to run', cf *yazɪra=* L255a.

yazïras= 'to run (for a race)'.

yazmaq 'pancake', cf T183b, M34b, *yazmaq*^{h} L255a, CL170a, T13 'thin, flat pancake'.

yɛnçuŋ 'grave, serious'. Equivalent of ***tançin***.

¶ ←Ch yánzhòng.

yɛnçʰɛn 'before one's eyes; at the spot, at once', cf *yençʰen* L259a, *yenčen* M39b.

¶ ←Ch yǎnqián.

° Also loanword in EYu *yenčʰen* B154.

yel, see ***yil*** 'wind'.

yeqqal= (~ ***yaʰqal=***) 'to shake (e.g. of a fluid in a jar)', cf *yeqʰqʰal=* L260a, *yeqʰal=* L260a, *yeyqʰal=* L261a, *yeyqal=* L261a 'to be shaken, to be disturbed', *yayqaɬ=* M34b 'to be shaken'.

¶ <CT **yaykal=* 'to shake, to sway' (cf EDPT 981b, ESTJaIV:78), cf Khak *čayxal=* BI308a. Cf further Tuva *čayɣa=* T511a, Tofa *čaʰyha=* R84b.

° →EYu *yaɣqʰal=* B153 'to shake, to rock, to swing', *yaχqal=* S190, S191, S284 'id; to stagger, to sway', *yaxgal*[*na*] Her209 'to shake'.

yer (*yerɣi*) 'place, locality; ground, floor; earth; field, land under cultivation', cf L261b, CL157a, T183b, M39a, *yer'* PotII:435b, *žer* CL14, *yir* Her201.

• ***kïsï yoq yer*** 'an uninhabited place; the Gobi desert'; ***tuz yer*** 'salt plain'; ***tʰaɣ yer*** 'mountainous area, cf CL157b.

¶ <CT **yer* (cf EDPT 954a, ESTJaIV:191), cf Khak *čir* BI317a, Tuva *čer* T528b, Tofa *čer* R86b, Yak *sir* Slp325a.

yer 'song', cf L261b, CL157a, T183b, M39a, *yeɹ* T184a, *ǯer* T186b, *yïr* CL46, T186a, *yir* Her205 'id', *yïr* L257b 'id; drama'.

¶ <CT *ïr ~ *yïr (cf EDPT 192b, ESTJaIV:285), cf Khak ïr BI331a, Tuva ïr T598b, Tofa ïr R101a.

yer 'right, correct, so; is (obsolescent)', cf L261b, *er* L30a, CL124 'id', L30a:Da 'right', *ere* L30a 'is', *yere* M39b, *yeri* M39b, *yerï* M39b 'really'.

¶ Contraction of *yerer* L262a, *erer* L30b, *erür* M130b 'is', ultimately from the defective verb CT *er= 'to be' (cf EDPT 193b).

yerin, see **erin** 'man'.

yerla= (*yerlaɣa*) 'to sing', cf L262a, CL178b, *yerła=* T183b, M39b, *yïrła=* M48b, *yirla=* L269b, M48b, *yirla*[*ine*] Her205, *yïrla=* CL46 'id', *yïrla=* L258a 'id; to play, to act'.

• **yer yerla=** 'to sing', cf L261b.

¶ <CT *ïrla= (cf EDPT 230a, ESTJaIV:286), cf Khak ïrla= BI331b, Tuva ïrla= T600a, Tofa ïrla= R101a, Yak ïllaa= Slp525a.

yerlat= 'to make to sing, to let sing', cf *yerlat*^{h}= L262a.

¶ <CT *ïrlat=, cf Khak ïrlat= BI331b, Tuva ïrlat= T600a, Yak ïllat= Slp525b.

yi, see **i** 'one'.

yi= (*yiɣi*) 'to eat', cf L263a, CL175b, T184a, M40a, *yi*[*ne*] Her205, *ye=* L258a, M38b, *ǯi=* M29a, T186b, *ǯe=* M29a, *ɕi=* T176a, and the oblique forms *si=* L241b, T210b, *si*[*ti*] L242a.

¶ <CT *ye:= (cf EDPT 869b, ESTJaI:332), cf Khak *čï=* BI318a, Tuva *či=* T533b, Tofa *či=* R88a, Yak *sie=* Slp328a.

yiɕï 'always, all along'.

¶ ←Ch yīzhí.

yiɣ 'light (not heavy); raw, unripe', cf L267b, CL171b 'id', *ɕiɣ* T176a, *ǯiɣ* M29a, *yik*[*ter*] Her209 'light'.

¶ <CT *yig 'raw' (cf EDPT 910b), cf Khak *čïɣ* BI318a, Tuva *čiɣ* T531b, Tofa *čiɣ* R88a 'raw, uncooked; unripe'; it cannot be excluded that these latter forms are related to *čig ~ *čïg 'moist, raw' (cf EDPT 413a). The meaning 'light' is peculiar of WYu.

yiɣ= (*yiqqa*) 'to assemble, to collect, to bring together; to tidy up (e.g. by putting in a cupboard)', cf L267b, *yïɣ=* L257b, *yeɣ=* L260a 'id; to amass, to accumulate; to get things ready, to pack; to settle, to put an end to', *yiʁ=* M40a, *yïɣ=* CL178b, T186a, *yïʁ=* M47a, *yiq=* M40b, *yik=* M40b 'to collect, to put together, to put on a heap'.

¶ <CT *yïg= (cf EDPT 897a, ESTJaIV:271), cf Khak *čïʁ=* BI325b, Tuva *čïɣ=* T560b, Tofa *čïʁ=* R92b.

yiɣaş 'wood; piece of wood, log; wooden', cf L267b, CL160b, T184a, *yiʁaš* M40a, *yïɣaş* L257b, *yïʁaš* M47a, *yaɣaş* L251a, *yagaš'* PotII:435a 'id', *yirax* Her209, *yoɣaš* Man64 'tree'.

• **aq yiɣaş** 'poplar'; **küy yiɣaş** 'pine, fir'.

¶ <CT *ïgač ~ *yïgač (cf EDPT 79b, ESTJaI:71), cf Tuva *ïyaš* T603a, Tofa *ňeš* (*ňeǯï*) R48a. Elsewehere CT *agač prevails, cf Khak *aɣas* BI16a.

yiɣiş 'female dog, bitch; a derogative term for a woman having several lovers', cf *yiɣeş* L266a, *yigeş* T184a, *eɣeş* L27a, CL159b, *eɣeš* M25a, *igeşʏ* T181a, *yeš* Her99 'female dog'.

¶ <NE *egeš, cf Shor *eš* RI:903 'female (of an animal)', Tuva dial. *eeš* T624b 'female bear', Tofa *eeš* R107b 'id; female sable'. Cf also *igiš* 'an unruly, uncontrollable animal' (cf EDPT 118a), recorded by Kashgari. WYu *-ş* (instead of *-s*) <NE *-š is irregular.

yiɣïn 'shoulder', cf L268a, CL162a, *iɣen* M31a, *eɣïn* L27a, *žiɣïn* CL14, *ǯiɣin* M29a, *yigen* Her194.

¶ <CT *egin* (cf EDPT 109a, ESTJaI:225), cf Khak *iŋnǐ* BI61b (+ POS3), Tuva *eɣin* (*ekti*) T605a.

yiɣïr 'gazelle', cf L268a, CL159b, T184a, M40a, *yiʁïr* M40b, *yiɣer* M40a, *ɕiɣïr* T176b, *ǯiɣer* M29a, *ǯiʁïr* M29a 'Mongolian gazelle', *yigar* Her199 'antelope'.

¶ Cf Khak dial. *čiɣǐr* BI315b, Yak *sier* Pek2192 'chestnut coloured (of a horse)', probably related to CT **yeg(i)ren* 'chestnut (a horse colour)' (cf EDPT 914a, ESTJaIV:22, ESTJaIV:24). For the semantics, cf EYu *če:ren* B144 'Mongolian gazelle', LM ǰegere(n) Les1043b 'antelope'.

yiɣïr= 'to twist, to twine', cf L268a, *yeɣïr=* L260a 'id, to spin', *higr*[*ine*] Her210 'to weave'.

¶ <CT **egir=* (cf EDPT 113a, ESTJaI:227), cf Khak *ir=* BI62a, Tuva *eer=* T623b, Tofa *eer=* R107a.

yiɣïrmï 'twenty (used only in the anticipating numerals)', cf L268a, CL173a, *yigïrmi* M40a, *yiɣirmi* M40a, *yigïrma* M40a, *yigerma* Man62, *iɣïrmi* M31a, *ǯïɣïrma* M31b (sanddhi form), *čïʁïrmo* M148a, *ɕiɣïrmo* T221a, *yegerme* PotII:437a, *yigörmen* Her197.

¶ <CT **yegirmi* (cf EDPT 915b, ESTJaIV:201), cf Khak *čibǐrɣǐ* BI315b, Shor *čɛɣirbɛ* RIII:1958, Tuva *čeerbi* T561a, Yak *süürbe* Slp352b. Except for WYu, NE points to **yegirbi* ~ **yegirbe*.

yiɣït (*yiɣïtki*) 'young man; bachelor', cf M40b, *yiɣït*^{h} L268a, CL163a, *yiɣit* M40a, *yïɣït* T23, M47b, *yiket* Her193, *ɕïɣït* T23.

¶ <CT **yigit* (cf EDPT 911b, ESTJaIV:198), cf Khak *čiit* BI316a, Tofa *ǐiit* R48b.

yikʰï 'rib', cf L266a, *ikʰï* L31b, *yikï* L266a, M40b, *ǯikï* T186b 'id', *yige* Her194 'loins', and the form *yik* T184a, M40b 'rib' (where *-ï* is incorrectly analysed as a POS3).

¶ <CT **eyekü* (cf EDPT 272a, read *eyegü*), cf Tuva *eeɣi* T622a, Tofa *eeɣi* R107a.

yil (~ ***yel***) 'wind; air', cf M40b, Man64, *yel* L259a, CL157a, T183b, *yel'* PotII:435a, *yeł* T8, *ǯil* T186b, *yïł* M47b, *ɕił* T25 'wind'.

• ***qoŋqïrtaqï yil*** 'fart'.

¶ <CT **yel* (cf EDPT 916b, ESTJaIV:174), cf Khak *čil* BI316a.

yil (*yilɣa*) 'year', cf L265a, CL158b, M40b, *yił* T25, *yel* M48b, *yeł* T183b, *ǯił* T186b, *ǯil* PotII:435a, *ɕił* T221b, *yïł* T186a, M47b, [*bür*]*yail* Her197 (*bür* for *pïr* 'one').

¶ <CT **yïl* (cf EDPT 917a, ESTJaIV:275), cf Khak *čïl* BI325b, Tuva *čïl* T554b, Tofa *čïl* R93a, Yak *sïl* Slp356a.

yilan 'snake', cf L265b, CL160b, Her212, *yiłan* T184b, M40b, *yïłan* T186a, M47b, *ilan'* PotII:437, *ɕiłan* T176b.

¶ <CT **yïlan* (cf EDPT 930a, ESTJaIV:277), cf Khak *čïlan* BI326a, Tuva *čïlan* T555a, Tofa *čulan* R91a.

yilɣa= (*yilɣaɣa*) 'to cry', cf L266a, CL32, *yelɣa=* L259b, *ǯiłɣa=* T186b, *yïlɣa=* L257a, C93:45, *yïłʁa=* M47b, *ǯilɣe=* T186b, *yiɣla=* L268b, CL179a, *yiɣła=* T184a, *yiʁła=* M40a, *yeɣla=* L260a, *yïɣla=* L257b, C93:45, *yïʁła=* M47a 'id', *yiɻla*[*ine*] Her205 'to complain '.

¶ <CT **ï:gla=* ~ **yï:gla=* (cf EDPT 85b, ESTJaI:80), cf Khak *ïlʁa=* BI330a, Tuva *ïɣla=* T591a, *ïïla=* T602a, *aala=* T28a, Tofa *ïʁla=* R99a.

yilɣas= 'to cry together', cf *yiɣlas=* L268b, *yïɣlas=* L257b, *yïʁlas=* M47a.

¶ <CT **ï:glaš=* ~ **yï:glaš=* (cf EDPT 86a), cf Tuva *ïɣlaš=* T591b, Tofa *ïʁlaš=* R100a.

yilïɣ '(luke) warm', cf *yiłïʁ* M40b, *yelïɣ* L259b, *ilïɣ* L31a, CL172a.

¶ <CT **yïlïg* (cf EDPT 925a, ESTJaIV:276), cf Khak *čïlïʁ* BI326b, Tuva *čïlïɣ* T556b, Tofa *čïlïʁ* R93a.

yiltïs (~ ***yïltïs***) 'star', cf M41a, *yiltɪs* T184a, *yïltïs* L257a, *yïɬtïs* M47b, *yïɬtus* T186a, *yultïs* L275a, CL157a, *yuɬtïs* M44a, *yultus* L275a, PotII:435b, *yoltïs* L270b, *yõltas* Man63, *yülts* Her196.

¶ <CT **yïlduz* (cf EDPT 922b, ESTJaIV:279), cf Khak *čïltïs* BI326b, Tuva *sïldïs* T397a, Tožu *dïʰldïs* Čad48, Tofa *sïltïs* R66b, Yak *sulus* Slp341b.

yiltïs 'root', cf L265b, *yiɬtïs* M40b, *yeltïs* L259b, *yeltʰïs* L259b, *yïltïs* CL160b, *yïɬtïs* M47b, *il'dis* PotII:435b, *yöldös* Her204.

¶ <CT **yildiz* ~ **yïldïz* (cf EDPT 922b, ESTJaI:350), cf Shor *čïltïs* RIII:2087, Kyzyl *šį̈lɬti˙ş* Joki29, Tofa *sïltïs* R66b, Yak *silis* Slp323a.

° →EYu *yiltăs* B154, *yeltes* S693, *yeltės* S732, *iɬtės* J̌96b, *iltïs* PotII:415a, *yöldös* Her204.

yim 'medicine, remedy', cf L263a, *yem* L258a, M39a, *em* L25a.

¶ <CT **em* (cf EDPT 155a, ESTJaI:270), cf Khak *im* BI58a, Tuva *em* T612b, Tofa *em* R103b.

yim= (*yimqa*) 'to close the eyes', cf L263a, CL175b, T25, *yïm=* T186a, *yem=* M39a, *yum=* M44a, *ɕim=* T176b.

¶ <CT **yïm=* ~ **yum=* (cf EDPT 934a, ESTJaIV:245), cf Khak *nuʙ=* BI198a (probably < **nuŋ=* < **num=*), Yak *sim=* Slp323b. Cf further Khak *nïmxïs=* BI120a 'to blink the eye'.

yim= 'to suck', cf L263a, *yem=* L258a, *em=* L25a, CL43, Her205.

• ***yimïɣ yim=*** 'to suck the breast, of a baby to feed at the breast'.

¶ <CT **em=* (cf EDPT 155b, ESTJaI:271), cf Khak *em=* BI334b, Tuva *em=* T613a, Tofa *em=* R103b, Yak *em=* Slp539b.

yimïɣ 'female breast', cf L263b, *yemïɣ* L28a, *emïɣ* L25a, CL162a, *emïʙ* M25b, *xemïk* PotII:435a, *nemik* Her194.

¶ <CT **emig* (cf EDPT 158b, ESTJaI:272), typical of NE, cf Tuva *emiɣ* T613a, Tofa *emiy* R104a, Yak *emiiy* Slp539b.

yimïs= 'to suckle, to feed a baby at the breast', cf L263b, *imïs=* L30a, *yemïs=* L258a, *emïz=* M25b.

• ***sut yimïs=***, ***yimïɣ yimïs=*** 'to nurse, to feed a baby at the breast', both probably calqued from Chinese wèinăi 'to breastfeed, to suckle' (wèi 'to feed', năi 'breast; milk; to breastfeed'.

¶ <CT **emüz=* (cf EDPT 165a, ESTJaI:272), cf Khak *emĭs=* BI334b, Tofa *emis=* R104a, Yak *emt=* Slp540b.

yimïyiyaŋ 'exactly alike'.

¶ ←Ch yīmú-yīyàng.

yimsa= (~ ***imsa=***) (*yimsaɣa*) 'to use, to make use of; to try on', cf L263b, CL178b, T184a, *yimse=* T184a, *imse=* T181a, *yemse=* M39b, *yumsa=* M44a, *yümsa=* L277b.

¶ <CT **yumša=* 'to order, to send on an errand' (cf EDPT 939a, ESTJaIV:251), cf Khak *nïmza=* BI120a 'to order'. The unrounded vowel is typical of NE.

yimsaq, see ***imsaq*** 'soft'.

yin 'sheep dung used as a fuel; sheep dung mixed with urine', cf L264b, T184a, M41a, *yiŋ* M41a 'sheep dung; contents of the intestines', *yim* L263a 'dung', L258b 'id; food sediments in the stomach', *yen* M39a 'soft, dry sheep dung used as a fuel', *en* M25b 'contents of the intestines'.

• ***qoy yin*** 'dung and urine; sheep dung used as a fuel', cf L264b 'sheep's powder dung'.

¶ <CT **yin* 'animal's dung' (cf EDPT 941a, ESTJaIV:27), cf Khak *nĭn* BI118a 'con-

tents of the intestines', Tuva *čin* T534b.

yiŋ 'sleeve', cf L266b, CL169a, T184a, M41a, *yeŋ* L260a, PotII:436a, *ǯiŋ* M29b, *ǯin* M29b, *ɕiŋ* T221b.

¶ <CT **yeŋ* (cf EDPT 940b, ESTJaIV:186), cf Khak *nĭŋ* BI118a, Tuva *čeŋ* T527b, Tofa *ńeŋ* R48a, Yak *sieX* Afa555a.

yiŋ, superlative particle, cf L266b, CL169a, T184a, M41a, *iŋ* M32a, *yeŋ* L260a.

¶ <CT **eŋ* (cf EDPT 166a), cf Khak *iŋ* BI61b, Tuva *eŋ* T614b, Tofa *eŋ* R104b.

yiŋïr (*yiŋïrγa*) 'evening', cf L266b, CL158b, T184a, M47b, *yiŋer* M41a, *yeŋir* M39a, *ǯiŋer* M29b, *yïŋïr* M41a, *yïnïr* M47b, *giŋer*[*wobter*] Her196. See also ***kʰuniŋkïr*** 'afternoon'.

• ***kiçi yiŋïr*** 'last night'; ***puγïn yiŋïr*** 'tonight'.

¶ <CT **iŋir* ~ **ïŋïr* ~ **imir* ~ **ïmïr* 'dusk' (cf EDPT 188b, ESTJaI:354), cf Khak *iir* BI57b 'evening', Tuva *imir* T207, Tofa *imir* R24a, Yak *im* Slp148b.

yiŋni 'needle', cf M41a, *yiŋne* L267a, CL167a, T184a, M41a, Her211, *ǯiŋi* T186b, *yiŋnie* L267a.

¶ <CT **igne* (cf EDPT 110a, ESTJaI:367), cf Khak *ĭŋe* BI67b, Tuva *ine* T208a, Tofa *iyne* R24a, Yak *inne* Slp151a.

yiŋni= 'to sieve, to strain', cf *yiŋne=* L267a, *eŋne=* L26b, *iŋne=* L31b, *ïnne=* L21a, 'to sieve (flour)'. See also ***iŋnek*** 'a large sieve'.

¶ < **egle=* <CT **elge=* 'to sift' (cf EDPT 143a, ESTJaI:261), cf Khak *ilγe=* BI57a, Tuva *elγe=* T610b, *eɣle=* T605b, Tofa *elγe=* R103a.

yiʰp 'rope, thread', cf *yeʰpʰ* L260b, CL167a, *ɕeʰp* T210b, *ɕeʰp* T221a, *žeʰpʰ* CL14, *ɕipʰ* L241b, *ɕi̯pʰ* CL32, *ɕi̯p* T211a, T8, *yipʰ* CL32, *yip* M41a, *žip* Man62, *čʸip* T175a, *ɕïp* T211a, *yap* Her212 'id', *yep* M39a 'id; family line'.

¶ <CT **yip* ~ **yep* (cf EDPT 870b, ESTJaIV:268), cf Khak *čĭp* BI319a, Tuva *čep* T528a, *čeʰp* Pb509a, Tofa *čeʰp* R87b, Yak *sap* Slp315b.

yirïŋ 'nasal mucus, snot', cf L269b, *yerïŋ* L262a, CL162b, *yerin* M39b.

¶ <CT **iriŋ* 'pus' (cf EDPT 233a, ESTJaI:373), cf Khak *ĭrĭŋ* BI68, Tuva *iriŋ* T210a, Tofa *iriŋ* R24b, Yak *iriŋe* Slp153b.

° →EYu *yėrėŋ* B154, *yerėŋ* J̌97a, S406 'nasal mucus, snot; pus'.

yisï 'meaning'.

¶ ←Ch yìsi.

yiɕ 'food', cf *yiγïɕ* L268a, CL169b, *yiγeš* M40a.

yit= 'to lead along on a rein', cf M41b, *yitʰ=* L264b, *yetʰ=* L258b, *yet=* M39b, *ǯit=* T186b, *itʰ=* L30a, *eytʰ=* L29a.

¶ <CT **ye:t=* (cf EDPT 884b, ESTJaI:387), cf Tuva *čet=* T524b, Tofa *čet=* R87a, Yak *siet=* Pek2194.

yitali, see ***itali*** 'together'.

yitaq (~ ***itaq***) 'scoundrel, bastard, son of a bitch', cf *itaqʰ* L30a.

¶ Perhaps related to LT yi-dwags Das1132b 'a class of spiritual beings (..) condemned to suffer torments of hunger and thirst in the ghost-world', Xiàhé *yė-dak* HL510b 'hungry devil'.

° Also loanword in EYu *yitaq* B155, *i:taq* J̌5, *yütaq* S330 'greedy, avaricious', BaoX *idėG* BC64 'id'.

yitï 'seven', cf L264a, CL172a, T184b, *yite* T184b, *yide* Her197, *yiti* M41b, *yitʰtï* L264b, *ǯitï* T186b, *yetï* PotII:436b, *yeti* M40a, *ǯetæ* M29a, *žitõ* Man61, *yïtï* T186a, *ɕïtï* T177b, *ɕïtï* T221b 'id', *yitï* L264a 'id; week'.

¶ <CT *yeti < *yetti (cf EDPT 886a, ESTJaIV:167), cf Khak čitĭ BI317b, Tuva čedi T524b, Tofa čedi R86a, Yak sette Slp370a.

yitïr= 'to feed, to cause to eat', cf L264b, C82:73b, T184b, yitʰïr= T184b, yitir= M41b, yidir= M40b, yetir= M40a, yetïr= M40a.

¶ <CT *ye:tür= (cf EDPT 892b).

yitun 'seventy', cf yiton L264b, CL173b, yitʰton L264b, yidon Her198, yeton M40a, yedon PotII:437b, çiton T221b, ǯeton M29a.

¶ Crasis of yitï 'seven' + *on* 'ten', a formation typical of NE (cf ESTJaIV:195), cf Khak čiton BI317b, Tuva čeden T524b, Tofa čedon R86a, Yak *sette uon* Slp370a. Elsewhere CT *yetmïs (cf EDPT 891b) prevails.

yiuti 'many, much', cf yïuti L256b, yïute L256b, CL120, yuwte L275b.

yixa, see **ixa** 'all of a sudden'.

yixou, see **ixou** 'afterwards'.

yiyaŋ, see **iyaŋ** 'similar'.

yiz 'fabric, cloth', cf L269a, CL169a, T184b, M40b, yez L261a, T184a, M38b, ǯiz T186b, yuz M43b 'linnen', yis Her207 'piece of cloth'.

¶ <CT *ed 'possessions, goods' (cf EDPT 33a), cf Khak *is* BI63b, Tuva *et* T620a.

yiz 'track, trace', cf L269a, C82:70a, M40b, *is* M32a, yez M38b 'track, trace'.

¶ <CT *i:z ~ *ï:z (cf EDPT 277a, ESTJaI:646), cf Khak ǐs BI68a, Tuva *is* T210b, Tofa *is* R24b.

yizï= (yizïya) 'to rot, to go bad', cf L269a, C93:43, yiz= CL180a, M40b.

¶ <CT *yïdï= (cf EDPT 886a), typical of NE, cf Khak čïzï= BI325b, Kyzyl sïzï= RIV:664, Tuva čïdï= T554a, Tofa čïdï= R92b, Yak sïtïy= Slp363b.

yiztïɣ 'having traces, tracks'.

¶ <CT *i:zlig, cf Tofa istiɣ R24b.

yïltïs, see **yiltïs** 'star'.

yoɣïn 'thick; coarse', cf L271b, CL171a, yoʁïn M41b, yoɣun L271b, yoʁun M41b, yoɣum T184b, yuʁun M43a.

¶ <CT *yogun ~ *yogan (cf EDPT 904b, ESTJaIV:208), cf Khak čoon BI853b, Tuva čoon T540a, Tofa ňoon R48b, Yak suon Slp342b.

yoɣïr 'Yugur', cf CL41, T184b, yoɣur L271b, CL164b, T184b, yoʁur M41b, yüɣïr L279b, yuʁur M43a.

• **sarïɣ yoɣïr** 'Yellow Uygur', cf sarïɣ yoɣur L271b, sarïʁ yuʁur M100b.

¶ <CT *uygur. A metathesized form *iugures* was already noted by Rubrouck (cf Ligeti 1934: 243), who travelled in Central Asia in the thirteenth century.

° →EYu yɔʁɔr B155.

yoɣïr= 'to mix flour and water, to knead dough', cf L271b, yoʁïr= M41b, yuʁur= M43a, yugur[*aine*] Her208.

¶ <CT *yugur= (cf EDPT 906a, ESTJaIV:243), cf Khak čuur= Čan369b, Shor čuur= RIII:2172, Tuva čuur= T549a, Tofa čuur= R91b.

yol 'way, road, path; journey', cf yoɬ T184b, M42a, yol' PotII:435a 'id', yol L270a, CL157b 'id; mile, li', yuɬ M43b 'fate'.

¶ <CT *yo:l (cf EDPT 917a, ESTJaIV:217), cf Khak čol BI320a 'road, journey', Tuva čol T538b, Tofa čol R89a 'fate', Yak suol Slp342a 'road, journey, track'.

yola= 'to shake, to sway', cf L270b.

¶ ←Ch yáo.

yolal= 'to show off', cf *yolalï=* L270b 'of a woman to be seductively dressed'.

¶ ←Ch yāo 'coquettish' as in yāolǐ yāoqī.

yoq 'not present; missing, lacking, without; poor', cf T185a, M42a, *yok* PotII:437, *yoqʰ* L271a, CL172b, T185a, *yok* Man62, *yoɡ* Her200, *ǯoq* M30a.

¶ <CT **yo:k* (cf EDPT 895b, ESTJaIV:211), cf Khak *čox* BI321a 'not present; poor; poverty', Tuva *čok* T537b, Tofa *čoq* R89a, *yoq* R25a, Yak *suoх* Slp344a 'not present'.

yoqqʰa= 'to die (not polite)', *yolqqʰa*[*pptï*] T245, *yołqqa*[*ptro*] M67:99, *yülqʰ qʰa*[*pʰtro*] CL34, *yülqqʰa*[*ptra*] T245, *yülqqa*[*ptro*] M67:100 'to die'. See ***yoq pol=*** 'to die (polite)'.

¶ Crasis of *yülïp* 'dying' + *qʰal=* 'to fall'), cf *yülïpʰ qʰal=* L205a, L278b.

yor=, see ***yör=*** 'to braid, to plait'.

yor=, see ***yör=*** 'to untie'.

yorɣa 'ambler', cf L274a, *yorʁa* [*at*] M42b.

¶ <CT **yɔrga* (cf EDPT 964a, ESTJaIV:225), cf Khak *čorʁa* BI320b.

yoʰrt (*yoʰrtqa*) 'abandoned camp', cf *yoʰrtʰ* CL28 'foundations', C92:36, *yuʰrtʰ* L275b:Da, C92:36 'foundations of a tent', *yoʰrtʰ* L272a 'id, also of a building; nomadic camp; family, household', *yurt* T185b, *ǯört* T185b, *ǯöɹt* T185b 'household, house; village', *yurt* M45a 'village; people', *yürt* Her206 'ground'.

¶ <CT **yurt* ~ **yu:rt* (cf EDPT 958a, ESTJaIV:254), cf Khak *čurt* BI323b, Tuva *čuʰrt* T547b, Tofa *čuʰrt* R91b, Yak *surt* Slp345a, *suurt* Pek2365.

yoşï 'if'.

¶ ←Ch yàoshi.

yotal (~ ***yatal***) 'work, matter, thing, affair, problem', cf L270a, C87:567, T185a, *yowtał* T185a, *youtał* M42b, *yawtal* L253a, TT13, *yawtał* T183a, M33a, *yaltal* L248b, *yoltal* CL115, L270b, *yołtał* M42a.

¶ ←EYu *yaptal* BǏ332, Ǐ74 'business, affair', S135 'circumstances, situation, state of affairs', S343 'affair, business, matter', *ya:tal* S122 'question, problem', *yawėtal* S683 'meaning, idea; cause, reason', S731 'action; conduct; matter, affair; gait', *yaßtal* B153 'horse's gait', cf LM yabudal Les420a. The secondary *-l-* in WYu probably arose under the influence of the final *-l*.

yotuŋ 'cave', cf L270a 'cave dwelling', *yowtun* M41b 'burial cave'.

¶ ←Ch yáodòng 'cave dwelling'.

° Also loanword in EYu *yaotoŋ* B152, *yɔ:tɔ̆ŋ* B155.

youpiŋzï 'large oil cake (prepared by putting oil in the pan, dough on top of it and again oil)', cf *yïupiŋzɪ* L256b, CL170a.

• ***çʰi youpiŋzï*** 'oil cake, especially prepared for camel herds'.

¶ ←Ch yóubǐng.

yoz= 'to go past; to pass time', cf L272b, CL179b, T185a, M42a, *yöz=* M42b, *yuz=* M43b, *yuza=* M43b.

¶ Perhaps <CT **oz=* 'to overtake, to surpass, to flee' (cf EDPT 279b, ESTJaI:425), cf Khak *os=* BI131b '(of a squirrel) to hop from branch to branch', Tofa *os=* R53b 'to overtake'.

yör= (~ ***yor=***, ***yür=***) (*yöryi*) 'to braid, to plait (hair); to twist (rope, strands)', cf L276a, CL178a, *hör=* L223b:Da, *ör=* L46b 'to weave, to plait, to braid', *yor=* L273a, CL178a, *yur=* Man62, *yürle=* M46b 'to braid (pigtail)'.

¶ <CT **ö:r=* (cf EDPT 195b, ESTJaI:544), cf Khak *ür=* BI255b, Yak *ör=* Slp287b.

yör= 'to untie, to undo', cf L276a, *yor=* L273a, CL178a, *yür=* L281b, *yur=* M44b, *ör=* L46b 'id', *yor*[*ïwoʰt*]= T185a, *yor*[*ïfut*]= T185a '(of a rope) to snap'.

¶ <CT *yö:r= (cf EDPT 955b, ESTJaIV:223), cf Yak *süör=* Slp349b.

yörɣin= 'to learn', cf *yörɣen=* L276b, C82:70b, *yörgen=* T185a, *yorɣen=* L274b, CL30, *örɣen=* L47b, CL177b, *örgen*[*ine*] Her207, *ürgen=* T218b, *ürɣen=* M133a, *yürɣen=* M46b, *yurɣen=* M44b.

¶ <CT *ögren=* (cf EDPT 114b, ESTJaI:496), cf Khak *üɣren=* BI253b, Tuva *öören=* T338a, Tofa *öören=* R56a, Yak *üören=* Slp455a.

yörɣit= 'to teach', cf *yörɣet*^{h}= L276b, *yorɣet*^{h}= L274b, *örɣet*^{h}= L47a, CL177b, *ürɣet=* M132a, *yürɣet=* M46b, *öryed*[*ine*] Her206.

¶ <CT *ögret=* (cf EDPT 114a, ESTJaI:497), cf Khak *üɣret=* BI254a, Tuva *ööret=* T337b, Tofa *ööret=* R56a, Yak *üöret=* Slp455a.

yörin, see ***erin*** 'man'.

yörïnçï 'spider', cf *yorïmçl* L273b, CL160a, *yörumç*^{h}*l* L176a, *yörümç*^{h}*l* L276b:Da.

¶ From an older *ö:rümči (cf further ESTJaI:545), related to *yör=* 'to plait', cf Sagay *öriŋmežek* BI137a, Khak *ĭrĭmžĭk* BI68a, Tuva *eeremčik* T623b, Tofa *eremžik* R105a.

yörlï= (*yörlïɣi*) 'to turn, to walk around, to circumambulate; to surround', cf L276b, *yorle=* L274a, *örle=* L46b 'to turn, to turn over, to turn to; to give a patient one's best wishes (...); to feel dizzy', *yorlï=* CL179b, *yörlu=* L276b, *yorlu=* L274a, *yurlï=* L275b:Da, *yürle=* M46b, *yürli*[*ne*] Her209 'to turn', *örlü=* L47a:Da 'id; to visit', *yürle=* M46b 'to turn, to feel dizzy', *yurlu=* M44b 'to visit'.

¶ <CT *ebiril= 'to revolve, etc' (cf EDPT 14b, ESTJaI:498), cf Khak *ibĭrĭl=* BI54b.

yörmi 'braid', cf *yörme* L276b, *yorme* L274a, *yürme* L281b, M46b.

¶ <CT *ö:rme* (cf ESTJaI:545).

yuŋç*^{h}*u 'use'.

¶ ←Ch yòngchu.

yü (*yüɣi*) 'house; family', cf L276b, CL165a, T185b, M45b, *žü* M31a, *ü:* M132a, *yu* M43a, *yüy* L279b, T185b, *üye* M45b, *žüe* M45b, *yüö* T185b, *yö* T25, *iyö* T181a, *sü* T210b, *çö* T25, *üy* M132a 'id', PotII:436b 'yurt', *yü* Her195 'tent'.

• ***yü*^{h}*sïŋki*** 'home, homewards', cf *sü*^{h}*sïŋke* L245b, *hüsïŋke* L223b; ***aq yü*** 'tent', cf *aq*^{h} *yü* L276b 'white tent'; ***ara yü*** 'junk room, depot, store', cf *ara yü* L19a, L276b, *ara üy* M132b; ***çʰi yü*** 'tent', cf *çʰi yü* L236a, *tʰi yü* L126a, *tʰiy yü* L127b; ***palïq yü*** 'stone house', cf *palïq üy* M86b 'adobe house (not a tent)'; ***qara yü*** 'tent', cf *qara yü* L276b 'brown tent', M45b 'tent (of the mountain Yugur)'; ***tʰaɣar yü*** 'tent'; ***yaŋï yü*** 'the new home of newly-weds', cf *yaŋï yü* L249a 'bridal chamber'; ***yiz yü*** 'tent', cf *yiz yü* L236a 'tent of camelherds'.

¶ <CT *eb* (cf EDPT 3b, ESTJaI:513), cf Khak *ib* BI54a. Tuva *öɣ* T330a and Tofa *öɣ* R54a developed from an older *ög < *eW.

yü= (*yüɣa*) 'to wash', cf L276b, CL178a, *yu=* M43a, *yuW=* M43a, *yü*[*yüne*] Her209, and the oblique form *sü*[*ti*] L245b.

• ***poz yü=*** 'to wash oneself', cf *poztï yü=* L65a; ***kizkï yü=*** 'to wash clothes'.

¶ <CT *yu:=* (cf EDPT 870a, ESTJaIV:238), cf Khak *čuʁ=* BI322b, Tuva *čuɣ=* T548b, Tofa *ču=* R91a, Yak *suuy=* Slp346b.

yüat= (*yüatqa*) 'to be or become ashamed, shy', cf *yüat*^{h}= L277a 'id', CL10, *yüWat*^{h}= L280a, CL10, *yuWat*^{h}= L275b:Da 'to be shy', *yoWat=* M41b, *yuat=* M42a, *yoat=* M41b, *öWusma* Her208 'to be ashamed'.

¶ <CT *uyat=* (cf EDPT 269b, ESTJaI:562), cf Khak *uyat=* BI253b, Tuva *ïyat=* T602b, Tofa *ňat=* R50b, Yak *saat=* Slp306b.

yüataçan 'timid, fearfull', cf *yüWataçan* L280a, *yuWataçaŋ* L275b:Da.

yüɣal= 'to rest, to take a rest', cf L279b, CL177a, *yükal=* L279a 'id, to have a breather', *yuʁaɬ=* M43a, *yuʁ aɬ=* M43a, *yoɣ aɬ=* T184b 'to rest', and perhaps *yüŋal=* L279a 'to stop (working), to take a rest'.

¶ Compound consisting of *al=* 'to take' + *yuʁ* M43a, *yoʁ* T184b, *ɋoɣ* T176b 'rest, break', perhaps ←Arïk *uk* Qú91:153, Xiàhé *ėk* HL380b, LT dbugs Jä388b 'breath, respiration'. Cf also the similarly formed verbal compound Xiàhé *ʔėχ-len=* TB1711 'to inhale' (*len=* 'to take').

yüɛ 'month', cf *yür* L281b, *yur* M44b, *yor* M42b, *yuor* M42b, *yuer* M44b, *yer* M39a. Equivalent of ***ay***.

¶ ←Ch yuè.

yüɛn 'like before, as before, again, re-', cf *yüen* T185b, T234. Equivalent of ***eni***.

¶ ←NwM *üɛn*[51] ZW131 'still, yet; even, also, too', cf Ch yuán 'primary, original, former'. Cf further the compound NwM *üɛn*[53]*ɕɛn*[44] ZW131 'before, previously'.

yüɛnwey 'an official', cf *yüenwe* L277b.

¶ ←Ch yuánwài L277b.

yüɣï 'feather', cf L279b, *yugö* Her207, *yüɣ* T185b.

¶ <CT **yüg* (cf EDPT 910b), cf Khak *čüɣ* BI324a, Tuva *čüɣ* T549b.

yüɣïş, see ***yüş*** 'towel'.

yükʰïɕʰer (~ ***yükɕʰer***) 'often, all the time, frequently', cf L279a, *yokeɕʰer* L271a, *ɋukïɕʰer* L310b, *ɋuqʰïɕʰer* L311a, *ɋuqʰɕʰer* L311a *ɋuɕʰeker* L311b, *üɕʰüker* L48a, *üɕʰüken* L48a 'id', *yukčer* M43b 'anyway, without reason', *yükʰïɕin* T185b [no translation].

° EYu *škʰù ùčėkė* B110, *ikʰučikė* J̌52, *yikʰučikė* S198, *sėkʰučikė* S198 'often'.

yükɕʰer, see ***yükʰïɕʰer*** 'often'.

yül= (*yülɣi*) 'to die', cf L278b, CL178a, T185b, M46a, *yul=* L275a:Da, M43b, *yöl=* T21, L276a, *öl=* M84a, *yol=* T184b, *yul*[*ïpta*] Man63, *yul*[*obdro*] Her201.

¶ <CT **öl=* (cf EDPT 125b, ESTJaI:525), cf Khak *öl=* BI135a, Tuva *öl=* T335b, Tofa *öl=* R55b, Yak *öl=* Slp285b.

yülɣïn 'tamarisk', cf *yülɣun* L279a, *yulɣïn* L275a, CL42, *yulɣun* L275a, C87:563, *yülɣïm* L279a, *yulɣïm* L275a, *yülɣïm* L257a, *yolɣun* L270b 'branchy tamarisk (Tamarix ramosissima Ledeb.)', *yułʁun* M44a, *yułʁum* M44a 'a small species of reed', *yułɣum* T185b, *yołɣïm* T184b, *yołɣam* T184b 'a species of long grass'.

¶ < **yulgun* <CT **yïlgun* 'tamarisk' (cf EDPT 926b, ESTJaIV:277).

yülïɣ 'dead, deceased; corpse', cf L278b 'id', T185b, *yülug* T185, *yulïʁ* M44a 'corpse'.

¶ <CT **ölüg* 'dead; corpse' (cf EDPT 142a, ESTJaI:527), cf Khak *ölĭɣ* BI135a, Tuva *ölüɣ* T335b, Tofa *ölüɣ* R55b.

° →EYu *hlek* (or *hleɣ*) B60, *ùlėk* (or *ùlėɣ*) B21, *u:lėk* (or *u:lėɣ*) S395 'corpse', *oloq* (or *oloɢ*) S698 'carcass', unless a development from an older Turkic loanword in Mongolic, cf SH *ölük* Haen124 'dead', LM ölög Les634a 'inanimate object'.

yülïr= (*yülïrɣi*) 'to kill', cf L278b, CL178a, T185b, *yülur=* L279a, T185b, *yülür=* M46a, *ülür=* M132b, *yułïr=* M44a, *yułur=* M44a, *yulur=* T185b, *yölür=* L276a:Da, *yolür=* T184b, *ölö*[*bter*] Her203.

¶ <CT **ölür=* (cf EDPT 151a, ESTJaI:527), cf Tuva *ölür=* T335b, Tofa *ölür=* R55a, Yak *ölör=* Slp285b. Elsewhere CT **öldür=* (cf EDPT 133b) prevails, cf Khak *öldĭr=* BI135a.

yülïrïş= 'to kill one another'.

¶ <CT **ölürüš=*, cf Tuva *ölürüš=* T335b, Yak *ölörüs=* Slp286a.

yüm 'trousers', cf L277b, CL32, T185b, *yim* L263a, T29, Man63, *yum* Man63, *yöm* L276a, *yom* L269b, *yem* M39a, *üm* L47a, CL169a, *öm'* PotII:436b, *yüyüm* L279b.

¶ <CT **üm* (cf EDPT 155b).

yümït= (*yümïtqa*) 'to come together, to assemble', cf T185b, M44b, *yumït^{h}*= CL43, L274b, *yumut^{h}*= L274b, C93:43, *yumut*= T185b, M44a, *yomït^{h}*= L269b, *yimït^{h}*= L263a, C93:43.

¶ <CT **yomït*= 'to come together' (cf EDPT 935a, ESTJaIV:219).

yümo 'about, approximately'.

¶ ←Ch yuēmo.

yüntar= 'to gather together; to round up (things)', cf *yontar*= L270a, *yimtar*= L263b, C93:43, *yomtar*= L269b, C93:43, M42a, *yumtar*= M44a, *yemtar*= M39a, *yemdar*= M39a 'id', *yomdar*[*bglin*] Her201 'to receive'.

¶ <CT **yomtar*= 'to bring together' (cf EDPT 935b, ESTJaIV:219).

yünzï 'kitchen garden', cf *yünzɿ* L278b, *yüenzɿ* L277b, *yönʇï* T185a, *yüen* L277a, *yon* M42a.

¶ ←NwM *üɛn*$^{51}_{44}$*cɿ* CZW272a, cf Ch yuán.

° Also loanword in EYu *yüancɿ* B155.

yüŋ 'wool; hair on the body; feathers', cf L279a, CL168b, *žüŋ* CL15, *yuŋ* L275a 'id', *yüŋ* T185b, *yuŋ* M44b, *yun* M44b 'wool'.

• ***ʇiʇinïŋ yüŋ*** 'pubic hair'; ***poz yüŋ*** 'hair on the body'; ***qoy yüŋ*** 'sheep wool', cf *qoy yuŋ* L275a; ***ta^{h}qaɣïnïŋ yüŋ*** 'feather', cf *ta^{h}qaɣï yuŋ* L275b.

¶ <CT **yuŋ* ~ **yüŋ* (cf EDPT 941b, ESTJaIV:267), cf Khak *nüŋ* BI119b, Tuva *čüŋ* T551b, Yak *suŋ* Slp342a.

yüqa 'thin', cf L279b, CL123, T185b, *yuqa* L275b, CL171a, M43a, *yoqa* L271a.

¶ < **yuka* <CT **yubka* ~ **yuyka* (cf EDPT 874a, ESTJaIV:241), cf Khak *čuʁa* BI322b, Tuva *čuɣa* T544b, Tofa *čuʁa* R91a.

yür 'fish', cf L281b, CL169b, T185b, M46a, *yor* M42b.

¶ ←Ch yú + ér.

yür=, see ***yör=*** 'to braid, to plait'.

yüraq 'the south; upside', cf *yuraq^{h}* L275b, *yuraq* T185b, M44b, *yoraq^{h}* L273b, CL68, *yoraq* M42b, *yiraq* T184b.

¶ Crasis of *yürï* 'upward' + *yaq* 'side', cf *yorï yaq^{h}* L275b.

yürï (~ ***yorï***) 'upward', cf *yorï* L273b, CL158a 'id; southward; more than; place of honour', T185a 'upward; more than', M42b, *yoɹï* T185a 'forward; place of honour', *yörï* M43b 'upward', *yurï* M45a 'id; south', *yürï* L281b:Da, *yurü* PotII:436b, *yüre* Her204 'south'.

¶ <CT **ö:rü* 'upward' (cf EDPT 197b, ESTJaI:543), cf Tuva *öörü* T338b, *örü* T340a; elsewhere in NE, CT **ö:re* (cf ESTJaI:543) prevails, cf Sagay *ööre* BI136a, Yak *örö* Slp288a.

yürik (~ ***örek***) 'heart, soul', cf *yürek^{h}* L281b, *yürek* T186a, M46b, *yurek* PotII:436a, *ürek* M133a, *yörek^{h}* L276a, CL162b, *yörek* T185a, M43a, *yörïk* T185b, *örek^{h}* CL30, *örek* T194b, M84a, *erek^{h}* L30b, CL30, *ïrik* Man65, *rök* Her195.

¶ <CT **yürek* (cf EDPT 965a, ESTJaIV:270), cf Khak *čürek* BI325a, Tuva *čürek* T551b, Tofa *čürek* R92a, Yak *sürex* Slp350b.

yüs 'bad, evil', cf L280a, CL172a, *yus* L275b, M45a, *yüus* L257a, C82:67b, *yïs* L257b, *yuz* PotII:436b, *yuuz* PotII:436b 'id', *yüs*[*xedro*] Her201 'enemy' (for *yüs kïsïtrʊ* 'it is a bad person').

¶ <CT **yabïz* (cf EDPT 881a, ESTJaIV:47), cf Yak *suos* Slp343b.

yüsï, see ***üsï*** 'its upside'.

yüş (~ ***yüɣïş***) 'towel, cleaning towel', cf L280a:Da, *yüɣïş* L279b, CL167a, *yuɣïş* L275b, *yuʁïš* M43b.

yüt 'bile', cf *yüt^{h}* L278a, *öt^{h}* CL162b, L46a, *höt^{h}* L223b:Da, *yöt^{h}* L276a, *yöt* M43a.

¶ <CT **ö:t* (cf EDPT 35b, ESTJaI:504), cf Khak *ööt* BI136b, Tuva *öt* T341b, Tofa *öt* R56b.

yüti= (*yütiɣi*) 'to move, to move over, to migrate', cf *yüte=* L277b, *yüte=* M46b, *yüde=* M45b.

¶ ←Mongolic, cf LM yegüd= Les430b.

yütïr= (*yütïrɣi*) 'to cough', cf L277b, *yütur=* L278a, *yüter=* M47a, *yutïr=* L274b, *yutur=* L274b, M45a, *yöder*[*uter*] Her205.

¶ <CT **yötür=* (cf ESTJaI:557), cf Tuva *čödür=* T542a, Tofa *čödür=* R90b 'to cough', Sagay *čidïr* BI316a 'cough'. Elsewhere CT **yötkür=* and **yötel=* (cf ESTJaI:557) prevail, cf Khak *čidïl=* BI316a; cf further CT **yötül* 'cough' (cf EDPT 889b), Khak *čidïl* BI316a, Yak *sötöl* Slp337a.

yütïrïk 'cough', cf *yüturïk^{h}* L278a, *yuturïk^{h}* L274b.

¶ <CT **yötürük*, cf Tofa *čödürük* R90b.

yüwas 'calm, placid (of a horse)', cf *yowas* L272b, *yowaş* L272b 'well-behaved, good (said of livestock)', *yuwas* T185b 'calm, quiet'.

¶ <CT **yobaš* ~ **yubaš* (cf ESTJaIV:51), cf Kacha *d'obaš* RIII:445, Koybal *d'obas* RIII:444, Shor *čobaš* RIII:2031; elsewhere in NE, CT **yabaš* (cf EDPT 880b, ESTJaIV:51) prevails, cf Khak *čabas* BI304b 'calm (of animals, people, water)', Tuva *čaaš* T505a, Tofa *čaaš* R82a 'calm, placid'.

yüwaş 'roof', cf L280a, CL166a, T186a, *yuwaš* M43a, M45b, *yowaş* T185a, *yübaş* T185b, Her207.

¶ Compound consisting of *yü* 'house' + *paş* 'head, top'.

yüz (*yüzki*) 'face', cf L280a, CL161b, T186a, M45b, *yuz* M43b, PotII:435b, *žüz* CL15.

¶ <CT **yü:z* (cf EDPT 983a, ESTJaIV:259), cf Sagay *čüs* BI325a, Yak *süüs* Slp353b.

yüz (*yüzki*) 'hundred', cf L280b, CL173b, T186a, M45b, *yuz* M43b, PotII:437b, *žüz* CL15, *yüs* T186a, *yüss* Her198, *yöz* M42b, *ɋüs* T17.

¶ <CT **yü:z* (cf EDPT 983a, ESTJaIV:260), cf Khak *čüs* BI325a, Tuva *čüs* T525a, Tofa *čüs* R92b, Yak *süüs* Slp353b.

yüzïnɋï 'hundredth'.

yüzüri= 'to become more, to develop, to expand', cf *uzure=* L45b 'to grow in number, to increase'.

¶ <CT **üdre=* 'to increase, to multiply, to flourish' (cf EDPT 68a, Räs519a).

° →EYu *cėre:=* S697 'to breed, to reproduce', *cüre=* B151 'to rise, to develop, to expand, to increase, to grow'.

zan (~ ***can***) 'station', cf *ɋan* L282a.

¶ ←NwM *can*^{213} CZW51b, cf Ch zhàn.

zïk, see ***sïk*** 'door'.

zona, see ***cona*** 'bee; wasp'.

ʐïli= 'to harass, to offend, to provoke', cf *ʐɿle=* L310a.
¶ ←Ch rě.
ʐïq 'bad; evil, wicked', cf T221a, *ʐïq*^{h} L310a, CL15, *ʐoq*^{h} L310a, T221a.
• ***ʐïqtïʐuq*** 'very bad', an idiolectical jingle.
ʐuanʐuantï 'weak, feeble'. Equivalent of ***imsaq***.
¶ ←Ch ruǎnruande.
ʐukuo 'if'.
¶ ←Ch rúguǒ.

List of suffixes, clitics and particles

Coding

A	*a/i*
G	*k/q/ɣ*
K	*k/q*
L	*l/n/t*
M	*m/p*
N	*n/t*

-A	verbalizer	4.5.6.
-A	repetitive converb	6.2.3.
-ar	causative	6.5.1.
-A*tï*	dubitative	6.1.6
-ɕa	adverb	4.5.4.
-ɕa	contrastive particle	7.3.4.
-(a)ɕan	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-ɕï	agent	4.5.2.
-ɕïq	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-ɕAr	diminutive	4.5.1.
-ɕik	diminutive	4.5.1.
-ek	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-(ï)ɣ	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-GA	dative	4.3.4.
-GA(*ş*)	coordinative converb	6.2.4.
-ɣaq	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-GAK	habitual	6.1.1.
-GAK	habitual participle	6.4.2.
-GA*n*	narrative past	6.1.5.
-GA*n*	present/past participle	6.4.1.
-GA*nt*A	temporal converb	6.4.1.1.
-GA*ntï*	narrative past evidential	6.1.5.
-G*ar*	verbalizer	4.5.6.
-G*e*	third person imperative	6.1.8.
-G*ï*	future verbal noun	6.3.8.
-G*ïɕï*	future agent	6.4.6.
-G*ïla*	purpose	6.3.7.
-G*ïla*	purpose converb	6.2.6.
-G*ïmis*	negative future	6.1.2.
-G*ïmistï*	negative future evidential	6.1.2.
-G*ïr*	causative	6.5.1.
-G*v*	manner adverb	4.5.4.
-G*v*	future	6.1.2.
-hanï	terminative	6.3.4.

-har	resultative	6.3.3.
-i	copulative	7.3.1.
iʰkin	dubitative particle	7.3.5.
-in	first person imperative singular	6.1.8.
-inï	first person imperative plural	6.1.8.
-ir	future participle	6.4.3.
-it	quick action	6.3.6.
-(s)*ï*(*n*)	third person possessive	4.2.
-(s)*ïn*	third person possessive accusative	4.2.
-ïr	causative	6.5.1.
-ïs	causative	6.5.1.
-ït	causative	6.5.1.
-(*ï*)*k*	verbalizer	4.5.6.
-(*ï*)K	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-ka	affective	4.5.1.
-kï	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-K*ï*	attributive noun clitic	4.4.2.
-K*ïna*	intensive	6.2.4.
-l	reflexive	6.5.2.
-la	clause marker particle	7.3.10
-LA	verbalizer	4.5.6.
-LA*r*	plural	4.1.
-L*ï*	reflexive	6.5.2.
-L*ïɣ*	adjective	4.5.3.
-m	question particle	7.3.8.
-(*ï*)*m*	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-ma	indefinite/concessive particle	7.3.9.
-MA	verbal noun	6.6.1
-MA	negative verb	6.5.5.
-maq	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-MA*s*	negative habitual	6.1.1.
-MA*s*	negative habitual and future participle	6.4.4.
-MA*stï*	negative dubitative	6.1.6.
M*i*	question particle	7.3.8.
-M*in*	negative converb	6.2.5.
-M*inï*	negative imperative first person plural	6.1.8.
-M*intï*	negative past evidential	6.1.4.
-(*ï*)*n*	reflexive	6.5.2.
-(*ï*)*nqï*	ordinal	5.6.
-nï	coordinative clitic	4.4.3.
-nï	intensive particle	7.3.6.
-N*ï*	accusative	4.3.2.
-N*ïŋ*	genitive	4.3.3.
-(*ï*)*ŋ*	first/second person possessive	4.2.
-(*ï*)*p*	compounding converb	6.2.1.
pa	dubitative particle	7.3.5.
-(*ï*)*ppar*	progressive	6.1.3.

-(ï)*ptï*	past evidential	6.1.4.
-*qaʂ*	affective	4.5.1.
-(A)*r*	verbalizer	4.5.6.
-(ï)*r*AK	comparative	4.5.3.
-(ï)*s*	reciprocal	6.5.3.
-*s*A	conditional	6.1.7.
-*sa*	particle	7.3.7.
-*sin*	clitic 'every'	4.4.4.
-(Gï)*ʂ*	verbal noun	6.6.3.
-(Gï)*ʂ*	future	6.1.2.
-(ï)*ʂki*	spatial clitic dative	4.4.1.
-(ï)*ʂti*	spatial clitic locative	4.4.1.
-(ï)*ʂtin*	spatial clitic ablative	4.4.1.
-(Gï)*ʂtï*	future evidential	6.1.2.
-*t*	causative	6.5.1.
-*t*	intensive	6.5.1.
-*t*A	locative	4.3.5.
-*t*A*ɣ*	equative	4.3.7.
-*t*A*n*	ablative	4.3.6.
-*tar*	affective	4.5.1.
-*tï*	evidential particle	7.3.2.
-(^{h})*tï*	past	6.1.4.
-*tïr*	existential particle	7.3.3.
-*tïr*	causative	6.5.1.
-*u*^{h}*t*	completive	6.3.1.
-*ʊ*	vocative	4.3.8.
-*ʊ*	simultaneous converb	6.2.2.
-*ʊ*	tense auxiliary	6.3.9.
-*ʊtï*	progressive evidential	6.1.3.
-*ʊyoq*	negative progressive	6.1.3.
-*ʊyoqtï*	negative progressive evidential	6.1.3.
-(ï)*wal*=	inceptive	6.3.5.
-(ï)*wat*=	finitive	6.3.2.
-*ya*	clause marker particle	7.3.10
-*yn*	first person imperative singular	6.1.8.
-*ynï*	first person imperative plural	6.1.8.

Abbreviations

1. Grammatical abbreviations

ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AND	coordinative clitic
AUX	tense auxiliary
CAUS	causative
CN	negative converb
COM	completive (aktionsart)
COMP	comparative
CON	compounding converb
COND	conditional
COO	coordinative converb
COP	copulative particle
CPUR	purposive converb
CREP	repetitive converb
CSIM	simultaneous converb
CTMP	temporal converb
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DUB	dubitative
DUBN	negative dubitative
EQU	equative
EV	evidential particle
EX	existential particle
EXCL	exclamation
FIN	finitive (aktionsart)
FUT	future
FUTev	future evidential
FUTN	negative future
FUTNev	negative future evidential
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
HABN	negative habitual
IMP1sg	1st person imperative singular
IMP1pl	1st person imperative plural
IMP3	3rd person imperative
IMPN	negative imperative
IN	in (spatial clitic)
INC	inceptive (aktionsart)
INT	intensive
JINGLE	jingle
KI	adjectivizer
LOC	locative
NAR	narrative past
NARev	narrative past evidential
NEG	negative
ONOM	onomatopoeic
PFUT	future participle
PHAB	habitual participle
PP	present/past participle
PN	negative habitual/future participle
PAS	passive
PAST	past
PASTev	past evidential
PASTNev	negative past evidential
PCL1	clause particle *-ya*
PCL2	clause particle *-la*
PCL3	clause particle *-ma*
PCL4	clause particle *-ça*
PCL5	clause particle *-sa*
PL	plural
POS1/2	1st and 2nd person possessive
POS3	3rd person possessive
POS3ACC	3rd person possessive accusative
PROG	progressive
PROGev	progressive evidential
PROGN	negative progressive
PROGNev	negative progressive evidential
PUR	purposive
Q	question particle
QUI	quick or sudden action (aktionsart)
REC	reciprocal
RES	resultative (aktionsart)
RFL	reflexive
SUP	superlative particle
TER	terminative (aktionsart)
VN	verbal noun
VNAG	future agent noun
VNFUT	future verbal noun
VOC	vocative

2. Abbreviations of languages, sources, and authors

Alt	Altay Turkish
Amdo	Amdo dialect of Tibetan
Ar	Arabic
Arïk	Arïk dialect of Tibetan
B	Bolčuluu
Bam	Bammatov
BaoD	Baoan of Dàhéjiā
BaoÑ	Baoan of Ñantoq
BaoX	Baoan of Xiàzhuāng
Bas	Baskakov
BC	Bökh & Chén Náixióng
Beltir	Beltir dialect of Khakas
BI	Baskakov & Inkižekova-Grekul
BJ̌	Bolčuluu & J̌alcan 1988
BL	Bökh & Liú Zhàoxióng
BSZ	Baskakov, Šapšal & Zajončkovski
BT	Baskakov &Toščakova
C	Chén Zōngzhèn
Čad	Čadamba
Čan	Čankov
Cas	Castrén
Ch	Chinese
Chuv	Chuvash
CL	Chén Zōngzhèn & Léi Xuǎnchūn 1985
CN	Chén Náixióng
CT	Common Turkic
CZW	Chén, Zhōu & Wáng
Dag	Dagur
Dgx	Dongxiang
DT	Doerfer & Tezcan
Dul	Dul'zon
EDPT	Clauson
Enk	Enkhbat
ESTJa	Sevortjan
EYu	Eastern Yugur
Ghop	Ghopuri
Gol	Golovkina
Haen	Haenisch
Han	Hangin
Her	Hermanns
HL	Huà & Lóng
HY	Huá-Yí Yìyǔ
IP	Isxakov & Pal'mbax
Ir	Iranian
J̌	J̌uunast 1981
Jä	Jäschke
Jan	Janhunen
Jud	Judaxin
Kacha	Kacha dialect of Khakas
Kal	Kalmuk
Kh	Khalkha
Khak	Khakas
Khal	Khalaj
Khas	Khasbaatar
Kir	Kirgiz
Kot	Kotwicz
Kow	Kowalewski
Koybal	Koybal dialect of Khakas
Kum	Kumyk
Kyzyl	Kyzyl dialect of Khakas
Kzk	Kazak
L	Léi Xuǎnchūn 1992
L:Da	Dàhé speech in L
Les	Lessing
LM	Literary Mongolian
LT	Literary Tibetan
M	Malov
Man	Mannerheim
MG	Mǐn & Gěng
Mgr	Monguor
Mon	Monguš
Mos	Mostaert
Muq	Muqaddimat Al-Adab
Nad	Nadžip
NE	North Eastern Turkic languages
Nog	Nogay
NUyg	New Uyghur
NwM	Northwest Mandarin
Pek	Pekarskij
Pot	Potanin
R	Rassadin
RI-IV	Radloff
Ram	Ramstedt
Räs	Räsänen
Reb-koň	Reb-koň dialect of Tibetan
Roe	Roerich
RT	Róna-Tas
S	Sūn Zhú
Sagay	Sagay dialect of Khakas
Sal	Salar
SH	Secret History
Shnit	Shnitnikov
Šir	Širotkin
Slp	Slepcov
SM	Southern Mongolic languages
S/M	de Smedt & Mostaert
T	Teniševev
Tat	Tatar
TB	Huáng et al.
Tofa	Tofalar
Tožu	Tožu dialect of Tuva
TT	Teniševev & Todaeva
WYu	Western Yugur
Xiàhé	Xiàhé dialect of Tibetan
Yak	Yakut
ZT	Nǔěrbiékè et al.
ZW	Zhōu & Wáng

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CAJ	Central Asiatic Journal
JSFOu	Journal de la Societé Finno-ougrienne
MZYW	Mínzú Yǔwén [Language and literature of teh nationalities]
RO	Rocznik Orientalistyczny
SEC	Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia

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Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

De Joegoeren zijn een kleine, officieel erkende nationaliteit van 12.297 mensen, woonachtig in het Autonome Gewest Sunan Yugur in de provincie Gansu in het noordwesten van China.

De Joegoeren wonen in een regio waar talen uit vier taalfamilies, de Turkse, Mongoolse, Tibetaanse en Chinese taalfamilie, samenkomen. Taalkundig gezien kan de nationaliteit der Joegoeren zelf ook opgedeeld worden in vieren. De grootste groep vormen de Turkstalige of West-Joegoeren, ongeveer 4600 mensen; hun taal vormt het onderwerp van dit proefschrift. Daarnaast zijn er de Mongoolstalige of Oost-Joegoeren, ongeveer 2800 mensen, en een waarschijnlijk zeer kleine groep van Tibetaanstaligen. De overige Joegoeren spreken enkel Chinees. Chinees fungeert ook als kontakt-taal tussen alle Joegoeren, en als schriftelijk medium; het West- en Oost-Joegoer zelf zijn ongeschreven talen.

De termen West- en Oost-Joegoeren zijn recentelijk door Chinese taalkundigen bedacht om verwarring te voorkomen: de eigenbenaming van beide groepen is identiek, namelijk 'Geel-Joegoer'.

Het West-Joegoer behoort tot de Turkse taalfamilie, die bestaat uit een dertigtal verschillende talen waarvan het Turks van Turkije de meest bekende is.

De Turkse talen kenmerken zich door agglutinatie (aanhechting), dat wil zeggen dat woordvorming en het aangeven van de funktie van woorden in een zin uitgedrukt wordt door suffixen of achtervoegsels die aan het woord worden aangehecht. Op deze wijze kan bijvoorbeeld het West-Joegoerse woord **al** 'nemen', uitgebouwd worden tot **al-ın** 'meenemen', en verder tot **al-ın-dır** 'laten meenemen'; hieraan kan wederom een suffix toegevoegd worden dat de funktie van het woord in de zin uitdrukt: **al-ın-dır-gış**'zal laten meenemen'.

Daarnaast kenmerken de Turkse talen zich door klinkerharmonie, dat wil zeggen dat de klinkers van een taal in twee groepen uiteen vallen op grond van een bepaald kenmerk, en dat in één en hetzelfde woord slechts klinkers uit één en dezelfde groep mogen voortkomen. In het West-Joegoer is klinkerharmonie echter niet meer operatief, behalve in een beperkt aantal suffixen. Zo heeft het suffix van de datief, de naamval die het meewerkend voorwerp of een richting uitdrukt, twee vormen, **-gi** en **-ga**. Welke van de twee vormen aan een bepaald woord aangehecht mag worden, wordt dus (onder andere) bepaald door de klinker van dat woord, bijvoorbeeld **yü-gi** 'naar huis toe', en **pu-ga** 'hier naartoe'.

Tot slot kenmerken de Turkse talen zich door een zinsvolgorde die nogal afwijkt van de Nederlandse: de werkwoordsvorm staat helemaal aan het einde van de zin, en alle andere zinsdelen, tot en met bijzinnen toe, staan ervoor. Een voorbeeld is de West-Joegoer zin **ko thogın kiginnı men pılgış** 'ik weet dat hij/zij gister gekomen is', ofwel (bijna) letterlijk: 'hij/zij gister gekomen ik weet'.

Binnen de Turkse taalfamilie kan het West-Joegoer ingedeeld worden bij de noordoostelijke Turkse talen. Deze talen bevinden zich aan de rand van het Turkstalige areaal, en hebben niet deelgenomen aan de ontwikkelingen van de centrale Turkse talen, zoals het Turks, Kazaks en Nieuw-Oeigoers. Deze perifere Turkse talen, waar-

toe onder meer het Chakassisch, Toevinisch en Jakoetisch behoren, hebben een aantal oude kenmerken en woorden bewaard, die ook al werden aangetroffen in de oudste Turkse bronnen uit de 8e eeuw, maar elders verloren zijn gegaan.

Zo treedt in het West-Joegoer het zeldzame verschijnsel van preaspiratie op: een 'h-achtige' klank volgend op een klinker en voorafgaand aan een stemloze medeklinker, als bijvoorbeeld in **aht** 'paard'. Dit woord is niet gelijk aan het woord **at**, dat 'naam' betekent.

Dit verschijnsel blijkt nu te korresponderen met gefaryngaliseerde (met 'dichtgeknepen' keel uitgesproken) klinkers in het Toevinisch, waar het woord voor 'paard' **a't** luidt, en met gewone korte klinkers in het Jakoetisch: **at**. De gewone korte klinkers in het West-Joegoer en Toevinisch daarentegen, zoals in het woord **at**, naam', korresponderen met lange klinkers in het Jakoetisch: **aat** 'naam'.

Door het opstellen van dergelijke korrespondenties beoogt de Turkologie, de studie van de Turkse talen, de onderlinge samenhang en historische ontwikkeling van de Turkse talen nader vast te stellen.

Daarnaast beoogt de Turkologie de bijzonderheden van de grammatika en de woordenschat van afzonderlijke Turkse talen te beschrijven en te analyseren. Voor het West-Joegoer, een minderheidstaal temidden van en beïnvloed door verschillende andere talen, levert dit verrassende resultaten op.

De woordenschat van het West-Joegoer wordt vooral beïnvloed door het Chinees. Dit blijkt niet alleen een grote leverancier van leenwoorden (ongeveer een vijfde van de woordenschat is van Chinese oorsprong), maar ook van woordgrappen. Een voorbeeld is het West-Joegoer woord **tahqagy** 'kip', dat ook 'prostituée' kan betekenen, vanwege de overeenkomst tussen de Chinese woorden jī 'kip', en jì 'prostituée' (de streepjes geven verschillende tonen weer). Oudere Mongoolse en Tibetaanse leenwoorden worden nu eveneens snel verdrongen door Chinese leenwoorden.

Uit het Tibetaans heeft het West-Joegoer het zogeheten verschijnsel van 'evidentiality' ('kennelijkheid') ontleend. Voor het West-Joegoer houdt dat in: een in het werkwoord uitgedrukte notie die de mate van aktieve betrokkenheid van de spreker weergeeft. Standaard wordt de basisvorm van het werkwoord gebruikt voor de eerste persoon, en de 'kennelijkheidsvorm' voor de tweede en derde persoon. De spreker kan immers niet voor andere personen bepalen wat zij wensen te doen. Een voorbeeld is **men kiş** 'ik zal komen', en **kô kiştı** 'hij/zij zal komen'.

Indien de betrokkenheid van de spreker bij een handeling groot is, dan kan ook de derde persoon de basisvorm van het werkwoord krijgen, bijvoorbeeld: **maga qharô kehltı** 'ik heb een brief ontvangen' (letterlijk: 'naar mij brief is gekomen').

Indien daarentegen de aktieve betrokkenheid van de spreker bij een handeling klein is, dan kan dat uitgedrukt worden door middel van de 'kennelijkheidsvorm', bijvoorbeeld: **men untıqqhattı** 'ik heb het (per ongeluk) vergeten'. In dit geval wordt de basisvorm, **men untıqqhahtı** als erg onbeleefd beschouwd, omdat deze suggereert: 'expres vergeten'.

Ook een voor de spreker ongewenste aktie wordt uitgedrukt met de 'kennelijkheidsvorm', bijvoorbeeld: **men phertırıştı!** 'ik zal/zou slaag krijgen!'

Het is dus niet zozeer het onderwerp dat bepaalt welke werkwoordsvorm gebruikt wordt, maar de omstandigheid.

Verder zijn er in het hedendaagse West-Joegoer verschillen waar te nemen tussen het taalgebruik van oudere en van jongere sprekers, en wel op alle nivo's van de taal: uitspraak, woordkeus en, zij het in mindere mate, de grammatika.

De toekomst van het West-Joegoer is onzeker; in het Autonome Gewest Sunan Yugur spreken ook jongeren nog steeds de taal, al is de invloed van het Chinees onmiskenbaar. Vanwege de moeilijke ekonomische omstandigheden in het gebied echter proberen veel West-Joegoeren elders een bestaan op te bouwen, en buiten het Gewest zijn er in feite geen taalgemeenschappen groot genoeg om het spreken van de taal in stand te houden. Kinderen uit gemengde huwelijken spreken doorgaans alleen Chinees.

In dit licht is het een verheugende ontwikkeling dat onlangs Tsjongıl Jakhır, als eerste van zijn nationaliteit, gepromoveerd is in de Joegoerologie, en de studie van het West-Joegoer kan voortzetten en tevens bij de West-Joegoeren de belangstelling voor hun eigen taal kan opwekken en stimuleren.

Curriculum Vitae

Persoonlijke gegevens

Naam:	Roos
Voornamen:	Martina Erica (Marti)
Geboortedatum:	22 januari 1963
Geboorteplaats:	Heerlen

Opleidingen

1985-1991	Rijksuniversiteit Leiden Vakgroep Vergelijkende Taalwetenschappen
1981-1985	Rijksinstituut voor HBO, Maastricht Opleiding tot Vertaler
1975-1981	Stedelijk Lyceum, Maastricht Gymnasium-α

Werkervaring

1997	parttime docent, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van het Islamitisch Midden Oosten
1992-1996	AIO, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden Vakgroep Vergelijkende Taalwetenschappen

Stellingen

1. Het West-Joegoer is, evenals het Chakassisch, Toevinisch en Jakoetisch, te beschouwen als noordoostelijke Turkse taal op grond van de ontwikkeling van de Turkse *d. De noordoostelijke talen hebben slechts een klein aantal archaïsmen gemeen en zijn niet nader binnen een enkele subgroep te klassificeren, ook niet op grond van hun ontwikkeling van de Turkse *d.

2. Het verschijnsel van preaspiratie in het West-Joegoer korrespondeert met gefaryngaliseerde klinkers in het Toevinisch, en met korte kinkers in het Jakoetisch. Het ontbreken van preaspiratie in het West-Joegoer en faryngalisatie in het Toevinisch korrespondeert met lange klinkers in het Jakoetisch.

3. De 'evidential' in het West-Joegoer is niet gelijk aan de Turkse maar aan de Tibetaanse 'evidential': de eerste drukt een 'inferential' uit of informatie van 'horen zeggen', de laatste drukt de mate van kontrole van de kant van de spreker op de in het werkwoord uitgedrukte handeling uit.

4. Het taalmateriaal van Chén en Léi is geschreven in een archaïserende spelling en weerspiegelt niet de hedendaagse uitspraak van het West-Joegoer.

5. Tenishev's veronderstelling (1976a: 633) dat de Oost-Joegoeren gemongoliseerde West-Joegoeren zouden zijn, verklaart niet de oorsprong van de Oost-Joegoerse taal.

6. Het niet onderkennen van de rol van taalkontakt heeft ertoe geleid dat de noordelijke Altay-dialekten ten onrechte geklassificeerd zijn als behorende tot de noordoostelijke Turkse talen.

7. Ondanks hun titels kunnen de woordenboeken van Sevortjan (1974-) en Clauson (1972) niet als etymologische woordenboeken van het Turks beschouwd worden aangezien zij de ontwikkeling van woorden niet verklaren.

8. Dat Radloff's 'Proben' (1866-1907) en 'Wörterbuch' (1893-1911) van de Turkse talen nog steeds worden gebruikt, bewijst het belang van het vastleggen van taalgegevens.

9. Als AIO-schap en zwangerschap onverenigbaar zijn, dan is wetenschap onverenigbaar met het leven.

10. Velen zijn bereid je de weg te wijzen, maar slechts weinigen om je de proviand te bieden voor de reis (Tibetaans spreekwoord).